

BRUNO FORMENT

LA TERRA, IL CIELO E L'INFERNO

THE REPRESENTATION AND RECEPTION
OF GRECO-ROMAN MYTHOLOGY IN *OPERA SERIA*



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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
PRELIMINARY NOTES	v
MUSIC EXAMPLES	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE. THE WILL FOR TRUTH	7
Celestial verisimilitude	10
The derision of the gods	13
The classicist filter	20
Aristotle on mythology	23
Neo-Aristotelian musings	25
The nature of the gods	30
Muratori's <i>understanding</i>	35
History triumphant: Zeno	40
Artefacts of myth	46
Operatic juxtapositions	48
CHAPTER TWO. ADDRESSING THE DIVINE: THE 'NUMINOUS' ACCOMPAGNATO	50
"Un nume io sento"	50
Ecclesiastical origins?	57
Paganism and censorship	60
The oblique perspective	62
The gods out of the machine	66
The voice of destiny	70
CHAPTER THREE. ARCADIAN MOONLIGHT ON ENDYMION	74
The Endymion legacy	76
A swansong for Neoplatonism	78
Arrows, dogs, trees and birdcatchers	89
Endymion demythologized	100
Endymion in Arcadia	105
CHAPTER FOUR. FROM <i>EFFEMINATO</i> TO <i>VIRTUOSO</i>	106

CHAPTER FIVE. STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF OPERATIC MYTHS:	
THE CASE OF <i>L'Ifigenia</i>	122
Which Iphigenia?	124
<i>L'Ifigenia</i> : sources and authorship	127
A cursory glance at <i>L'Ifigenia</i>	130
Horizontal-synchronic reading	153
Vertical-diachronic reading	163
Conclusion	170
 CHAPTER SIX. FREDERICK'S ATHENS	171
"Ecraser l'infâme"	172
Apollonian temples	179
1741-6: the attraction of Dresden	182
1742-52: reform	184
A new sensibility (for myth)	191
Francesco Algarotti	198
"Quel oracol tremendo!"	205
Conclusion: Athens revived?	208
 APPENDICES	
1.1 Greco-Roman mythology in opera, 1690-1800: a survey	1
1.2 Apostolo Zeno <i>Gl'inganni felici</i> (Venice, 1695): I,16	171
1.3 Subject matter in the <i>drammi</i> of Apostolo Zeno	173
1.4 Esteban de Arteaga <i>Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente</i> (1782-5): excerpts	175
2.1 Vinci <i>Astianatte / L'Andromaca</i> (1701, 1725 and 1728)	181
2.2 Religious-inspired disclaimers: an anthology	184
2.3 Giacomo Francesco Bussani <i>Enea in Italia</i> (Venice, 1675): I,1-2	186
2.4 Niccolò Jommelli <i>Didone abbandonata</i> Mk. III (Stuttgart, 1763): I,1	188
5.1 Jommelli <i>L'Ifigenia</i> (Rome, 1751): Agamennone "Figlia, qualor ti miro" (II,4), mm. 1-32	193
5.2 Ifigenia "Tacer mi conviene" (II,10), mm. 23-52	197
5.3 Erifile "Pria, che nell'ore estreme" (III,4), mm. 1-34	200
5.4 Ifigenia "Ahi padre... e il sangue mio" (III,9)	208
5.5 Jommelli <i>Didone</i> Mk. II (Vienna, 1749): Iarba "Fosca nube" (II,6), mm. 1-4	216
6.1 Christian Gottfried Krause <i>Von der musikalischen Poesie</i> (1752): excerpt	218
6.2 Graun <i>Ifigenia in Aulide</i> (Berlin, 1748): Agamemnone "Alta Diva" (I,1)	222
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	229
 DUTCH SUMMARY	250
 CD-ROM: APPENDIX 1.1, HYPERTEXT INTERFACE	

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B.F.

PRELIMINARY NOTES

Unless stated otherwise, I have retained the original language and orthography of the primary sources. Although I do not assume all readers to be familiar with Italian, I have refrained from translating libretto excerpts so as not to distort the sonorities and metrical feet inherent to operatic poetry. Italian prose excerpts, on the other hand, have been translated in the body; in most cases, the original is retrievable from the footnotes.

Five chapters of this dissertation originate from essays presented on scholarly meetings and/or reviewed by journals. Portions of Chapter One were read at graduate student meetings organized by the musicology departments of Ghent University (December 2004) and the Catholic University of Leuven (February 2005). Chapter Two emerged from papers for the *12th Biennial Conference on Baroque Music* (Warsaw, July 2006) and the conference *Ancient Drama in Modern Opera* (Oxford, July 2007). An early draft of Chapter Three was reviewed by the *Cambridge Opera Journal*. Chapter Four was read at the *37th Annual Meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* (Montreal, April 2006) and the *Tredicesimo Convegno Annuale della Società Italiana di Musicologia* (Turin, October 2006); an Italian translation is forthcoming in the *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*. Fragments of Chapter Five, finally, were read at the symposium *The embodied myth in the dramma per musica* (Brussels, December 2006).

MUSIC EXAMPLES

No.	Source
Corpus 1.1	Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana [I-Vnm], Cod. It. IV 460
2.1	Brussels, Royal Conservatoire [B-Bc], no. 2365
2.2	Naples, Conservatorio ‘S. Pietro a Majella’ [I-Nc], Rari 1.6.16
2.3	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [A-Wn], Mus.Hs.16487
2.4	I-Nc 29.3.24
2.5	I-Nc 32.6.14
2.6	A-Wn Mus.Hs.18103
2.7	TERMINI 1970, 454-5 (with emendations)
2.8	I-Vnm, Cod. It. IV 412
2.9	I-Nc, Rari 1.6.26
3.1-4	A-Wn Mus.Hs.17685
4.1-4	A-Wn Mus.Hs.16487
5.1-18 + 5.28	I-Nc Rari 7.8.8
5.19-27	B-Bc 2182
5.29	I-Nc Rari 7.7.8
5.30-31	Florence, Conservatorio ‘Luigi Cherubini,’ B.IX.143 / B.1426
5.32	I-Nc Rari 7.7.26
5.33	I-Nc Rari 7.7.9
6.1	DDT, XV, 114-5
6.2	GRAUN 1773-4, III, 481-2
App. 2.4	A-Wn Mus.Hs.16488
5.1-5.2	I-Nc Rari 7.8.8
5.3-5.4	B-Bc 2182 (transcribed by Vinciane Baudhuin, reprinted by courtesy)
5.5	A-Wn Mus.Hs.16282
6.2	B-Bc 2115



INTRODUCTION

DIDONE
I miei casi infelici
Favolose memorie un dì saranno
E forse diverranno
Soggetti miserabili e dolenti
Alle tragiche scene i miei tormenti.

Metastasio *Didone abbandonata* (Naples, 1724) – III, 17

On the verge of suicide, Metastasio's Dido transcends her mortal self in a phrase of candid metatheatricality. "My wretched experiences," she exclaims, "will one day constitute fabulous memories, and perhaps my sufferings will become miserable and mournful subjects for the tragic scene." A few moments later, all physical traces of Dido's existence are devoured by the flames of Carthage and swept away by the waves of the Mediterranean Sea. What remains is subject matter for tragic masterpieces like *Didone abbandonata*, the libretto with which Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) would garner so much fame that Dido's musings can today be read as a self-fulfilling prophecy.¹

To what extent, however, did Dido's author perceive her adventures as 'fabulous,' that is, as 'fictitious'? Metastasio must have been wary to answer that question. In 1716, eight years before *Didone*, the illustrious man prefaced his *Poesia* with the following words:

It is characteristic of the human mind to revise those things of which the experience does not depict present and sensible ideas to the fantasy. In the light of this universal custom, I too have cast doubt on the issue whether those valorous women presented by antiquity are true beings or vain names and ingenious inventions from fabulous Greece.²

Unfortunately for us, he did not penetrate the matter any deeper and instead conducted his thoughts towards the dedicatee of his anthology, Aurelia Gambacorta d'Este. The noble lady's example, he wrote, simply sufficed to shatter all doubts regarding the existence of Greek heroines. Yet, could he have retained his reservations for Dido? Was she perhaps to be ranked among those 'vain names' and 'ingenious inventions,' be it from fabulous *Rome*?

¹ Some one hundred eighty *Didone* productions are recorded for the Settecento alone (see Appendix 1.1, "Dido"); even in the nineteenth century, Metastasio's drama provoked a volume of *Lettere drammatico-critiche* (by Antonio Bazzarini, 1816) and an ensuing *Risposta* (anonymous, 1819).

² METASTASIO 1953-65, III, 11: "Egli è proprio dell'umana mente rivocare in dubbio quelle cose delle quali l'esperienza presenti e sensibili idee alla fantasia non dipinga. Da quale universal costume condotto anch'io, nel dubbioso pensiero, se le valorose donne che l'antichità ci presenta fossero veri soggetti o nomi vani e della favolosa Grecia ingegnose invenzioni [...]".

When taking the modern concept of ‘myth’ as point of departure – which we will do throughout this study – Dido must be regarded as such. Today, myth can be roughly defined as a “story of the deeds of supernatural beings” which “concerns a creation” and is “considered absolutely true” and “sacred” by its users.³ *Didone abbandonata* may not feature any supernatural beings, still it suggests that, on leaving Dido and Carthage, Aeneas obeys the commands of a god, Apollo, and a ghost, his dead father Anchises. Two creations are furthermore alluded to in Metastasio’s plot: a past one, namely of Carthage by Dido, and a future one, of Rome by Aeneas and his offspring. The latter foundation must have borne sacred implications for a born Roman and lifelong representative of *romanità*; however, as Metastasio acknowledged in the foreword, the combination of Aeneas’s wanderings after the Trojan War (thirteenth century BC) and the establishment of Carthage (814 BC) within one and the same plot implied a “happy anachronism” – not exactly a statement of veracity.⁴ Gluck’s librettist Ranieri de’ Calzabigi, on the other hand, identified Dido and Aeneas as “modern historical characters,” equal in status to Alexander the Great, Cyrus of Persia, and Semiramis of Babylon.⁵

Indeed, the eighteenth century was prone to riddle myth’s status vis-à-vis history. Problems already arise from the concept *mito* itself, which in eighteenth-century Italian was far less widespread than *favola* or ‘fable,’ a term surrounded with uncertainty. Thus the authoritative *Vocabolario* (1612) issued by the Crusca Academy, an obligatory instrument for settecento poets, defined *favola* as “what is found to be untrue, but [is] sometimes verisimilar, sometimes not.”⁶ Lodovico Antonio Muratori in his turn argued in *Delle riflessioni sopra il buon gusto nelle scienze e nelle arti* (1708) that *favola* constituted

what one says and relates about something; and the same thing that is told and said, *whether true or false* [my emphasis], is called *Fabula* – after the verb *fari* [to speak] – among the Latins and *mythos* among the Greeks. One could here show by way of various examples that historical things and truths too happened to be called *mythos* or *Fabulae* by authoritative authors.⁷

³ ELIADE 1991, 5.

⁴ METASTASIO 2002-4, I, 69: “Tutto ciò [of the plot] si ha da Virgilio, il quale con un felice anacronismo unisce il tempo della fondazione di Cartagine agli errori di Enea.”

⁵ CALZABIGI 1994, I, 114: “[...] certamente Agamennone, Achille, Teseo, Clitennestra, Ifigenia, Tieste, Ercole, Ecuba, Aiace, Ulisse, Polissena, personaggi storici più antichi, non sono più cantanti di Ciro, di Didone, di Alessandro, di Semiramide e di Enea, personaggi storici più moderni.” (*Dissertazione su le poesie drammatiche del Signore Abate Pietro Metastasio*, 1755).

⁶ CRUSCA 1612, “Favola”: “Dal latino *fabula*, trovato non vero, ma talora verisimile, talora nò [...]”. *Mito* and *mitologia* are absent from this dictionary, even though Natale Conti’s *Mythologia, sive Explicationum fabularum libri X* (1581) had by then been published.

⁷ MURATORI 1767-73, VIII, 242: “[...] che si dice, e racconta di qualche cosa; e la stessa cosa raccontata, e detta, tanto vera, come falsa, viene anch’essa nominata presso i Latini *Fabula* dal Verbo *fari*, e *mythos* presso ai Greci. Con parecchi esempj si potrebbe qui dimostrare, se occorresse, come da’ gravi Autori sono state chiamate *mythos*, o *Fabulae*, anche le cose e verità Istoriche.”

And then there is Benjamin Hederich, the author of a *Lexicum mythologicum* (1724), according to whom mythology represented

*eine Art der Historie [...] welche von den Göttern, Göttinnen, Helden und anderen in den mythois, oder Fabeln der ehemahligen Egypter, Griechen und Römer bekannten Personen, wie auch den dahin gehörigen Thieren, Oertern, Flüssen und dergleichen Dingen handelt [...]*⁸

A late-eighteenth-century translation of André de Clauastre's *Dictionnaire de mythologie* (1745), finally, upheld the existence of "historical fables" or

ancient [hi]stories mixed with many fictions [...] Of this kind are those that tell about the principal deities and heroes, of Jupiter, Apollo, Bacchus, Hercules, Jason, Achilles, *the historical background of which is taken from truth* [my emphasis].⁹

Such cumbersome intertwining of *Wahrheit* and *Dichtung* has much to do with the methods applied by eighteenth-century mythography. For the larger part of the period, it would remain common practice to verify and refute myths, not on archeological grounds, though exclusively on the basis of historical, literary and linguistic criteria. In the absence of reliable evidence, the tone was set by studies like Abbé Banier's *Explication historique des fables, où l'on découvre leur origine et leur conformité avec l'histoire ancienne* (1711). While confusion reigned supreme, Homer and Vergil were read as semi-historical narratives.

And yet, the vast legacy of the *dramma per musica* (or *opera seria*) suggests that the Settecento was not too fond of 'myths' in the modern sense. Especially in the era between Apostolo Zeno (active 1695-34) and Metastasio (active 1724-71), history furnished the narrative core of eighty to ninety percent of all plots (*Table 0.1*).¹⁰ While deities kept on appearing in small-scale spectacles of occasional nature, such as the cantata, *componimento drammatico*, *serenata*, *festa* and *azione teatrale*,¹¹ myths only appeared in full-scale (two-, three- or five-act) opere serie in the guise of princes and princesses of (pseudo-)historical allure, think of Achilles, Aeneas, Alcestis, Jason, Iphigenia, Odysseus, and so on.

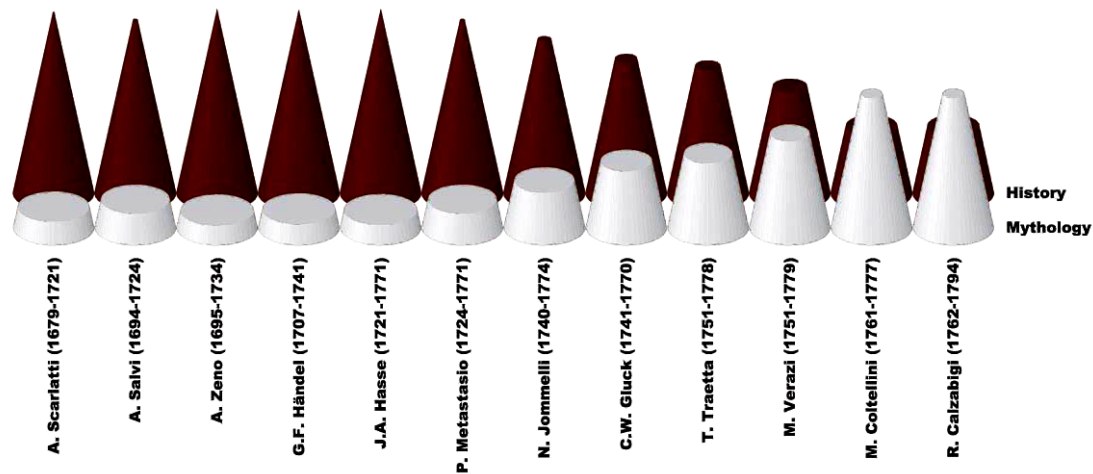
⁸ HEDERICH 1741, [i] (emphasis added).

⁹ DE CLAUSTRE 1793, 174: "FAVOLE Storiche, sono le antiche Storie mescolate con molte finzioni [...] Tali sono quelle, che parlano degli Dei principali, e degli Eroi, di Giove, di Apollo, di Bacco, di Ercole, Giasone, Achille, il fondo della storia de' quali è preso della verità."

¹⁰ The number could be inflated by taking eighteenth-century notions of history into account.

¹¹ A like distinction between "drammi privati, cioè allestiti da privati cittadini" and "drammi reali fatti con macchine per feste di principi" was made on the basis of subject matter by Giuseppe Gaetano Salvadori in his *La poetica toscana all'uso* (1691). In it, Salvadori argued that the former type of opera produced "drammi da spada e cappa" (i.e. heroic dramas), while the latter was concerned with "i dei, gli elementi, nomi astratti" (FABBRI 2003, 284).

Table 0.1. The ratio of myth to history in the works of twelve drama per musica representatives (the years between brackets demarcate their presence in the genre).



For what particular reason was history considered more ‘seriagenic’ than mythology? As will be shown in **Chapter One**, it was a whole gamut of truth-loving, predominantly exclusivist precepts that from 1690 on inspired Italian librettists to try on the historian’s garb. Spurred by the ‘will for truth’ (Foucault) of French classicist poetics and early enlightened philosophy, the Italian stage succumbed to the prerequisites of a modern age that was avowedly ‘rational’ and ‘Christian,’ in search for ‘verisimilitude,’ ‘decorum’ and ‘convenience,’ and thus eschewed ‘pagan fictions.’

For all its rationalism, however, early opera seria would not give up the supernatural altogether. Deities and demons may no longer have been visualized on stage, still, as **Chapter Two** will demonstrate, they continued to be *addressed* in vivid descriptions, prayers, oaths, dreams and visions, which skilled composers turned into ‘numinous’ accompagnati featuring excentric musical gestures.

The supernatural also thrived, be it temporarily, in the asylum of the pastoral, as promoted by the Arcadian Academy. **Chapter Three** will explore a number of ways in which the Arcadia deployed myths to impart ideas about the nature of love. A ‘thing of beauty and a joy forever’ (Keats), the story of Diana and Endymion would become a true paradigm of Arcadianism which not only inspired libretti by the likes of Christina of Sweden, Alessandro Guidi, Francesco de Lemene and – of course – Metastasio, but also found its way to theoretical writings. All of these efforts saw the daylight as antidotes to the ‘decadent’ Seicento. Curiously, though, they appear so diverging in content, style and purpose that it should be wondered to what extent the Arcadia was a splintered society.

Chapter Four centers on another paradigmatic fable, that of Ulysses's son Telemachus, as told in Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699). One of the educational novels of the Enlightenment, *Télémaque* offers an intriguing account of the young prince's landing on the isle of Calypso, where he is seduced to lead an 'effeminate life' amidst charming nymphs. The songs of these siren-like beauties do in effect take hold of Telemachus, until his counselor, Mentor, spurs him to choose the path of masculinity. The first opera seria to draw upon Fénelon's story, Alessandro Scarlatti's *Telemaco* (Rome, 1718), deployed Fénelon's gender ideology to differentiate words and music exclusively performed by male singers.

Chapter Five makes an excursion into the forms and structures inherent to (operatic) myths. According to the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, myths are to be regarded as linguistic structures comprised of permutable and interchangeable sentences. An in-depth reading of Niccolò Jommelli's *L'Ifigenia* (Rome, 1751) will exemplify a number of ways in which 'sentences' were transferred from the one mythological libretto, score and plot into the other.

Chapter Six, finally, elucidates the repercussions of shifting attitudes to myth and opera around 1750. As the *dramma per musica* began to cry out for critical revision, mythology was cast in a role of surprising vitality. As Table 0.1 suggests, myth underwent a spectacular revival in the second half of the century. What is little known about this phenomenon, however, is that it should not be traced back to reformist centers like Stuttgart, Parma or Vienna, though rather to Berlin, where none other than Frederick the Great organized a Voltairian combat against fanaticism and on so doing rehabilitated Ovidian myths. The operatic results of his campaign may have failed to make a lasting impression on the historical retina, still they would create the blueprint for operatic reform elsewhere in Europe.

Conclusion(s)

In his excellent book *The eighteenth century confronts the gods*, Frank E. Manuel observed that in the confrontation with myth, the Enlightenment reveals "many of its deep-felt convictions as well as its harrowing doubts."¹² Re-assessing the past being one of its main activities, as Ernst Cassirer noted long ago, the Enlightenment "fell heir to the heritage" of preceding centuries which it "ordered, sifted, developed, and clarified," rather than giving

¹² MANUEL 1967, viii.

“currency to new and original ideas.”¹³ On filtering the past, eighteenth-century ‘men of letters’ – artistic scholars and scholarly artists alike – drew a multitude of asymptotes around issues of kaleidoscopic interdisciplinarity. In the public sphere of the theater, for instance, they debated the issue whether pagan myths chimed with the ideological horizon of Christian spectators, whether characters from antiquity could address ‘God’ and ‘destiny,’ whether pastoral libretti had to cater for the taste of the literate, whether modern arias instilled effeminacy, whether operas on the Iphigenia at Aulis myth ought to follow Euripides, Racine or Metastasio, or even whether Christianity had brought salvation or indoctrination. Views were adjusted to the demands of the day and supporters could become detractors, or vice versa. Each of the six essays presented in this dissertation will eavesdrop on a circumscribed discussion that was held within the creative, sociable, but also critical communion that cultivated Italian opera. It is up to the reader to applaud my words or to organize a cabal.

¹³ CASSIRER 1951, vi.



CHAPTER ONE

THE WILL FOR TRUTH

Enfin je crois que cette volonté de vérité ainsi appuyée sur un support et une distribution institutionnelle, tend à exercer sur les autres discours [...] une sorte de pression et comme un pouvoir de contrainte. Je pense à la manière dont la littérature occidentale a dû chercher appui depuis des siècles sur le naturel, le vraisemblable, sur la sincérité, sur la science aussi – bref sur le discours vrai. [...] Et pourtant, c'est d'elle sans doute qu'on parle le moins. [...] Ainsi n'apparaît à nos yeux qu'une vérité qui serait richesse, fécondité, force douce et insidieusement universelle. Et nous ignorons en revanche la volonté de vérité, comme prodigieuse machinerie destinée à exclure.

Michel Foucault, *L'Ordre du discours* (1971)¹

Exit the positivist image of 'truth.' Geared with his phenomenal insight into the powers underlying knowledge, Michel Foucault unmasked the historical contingency of truth through the identification of so-called *procedures of exclusion* – mechanisms that curb, rather than widen, the scope of thought. Whenever ideas are labeled 'true' or 'false,' Foucault argued, a 'will for truth' is revealed, no matter how self-evident this practice may seem. Institutional contexts may even be held responsible for the *constraint* of knowledge, rather than for its actual production and dissemination. And new forms of exclusion may have triggered the very 'innovations' which intellectual history is articulated with. That is to say, today's truth might precisely consist in yesterday's error.

What is particularly noteworthy about Foucault's *De l'ordre du discours* is the association drawn in it between the *volonté de vérité* and western literature's dependence on 'true,' 'natural' and 'verisimilar' discourses. Indeed, it hardly needs reminding how often authors and theorists have made claims on the Real in the enduring attempt to distance Good Taste from the unsettling Other. That their acts of self-authentication can be grounded in *negative* attitudes, which seek to cleanse a current 'tradition' from its disturbing constituents, holds particularly true for an era (c. 1690-1800) that engaged truth-loving concepts in the spirit of positivism – the Enlightenment.

¹ FOUCAULT 1971, 20-2.

In eighteenth-century Italy, men of letters sought strategies to reform art and literature through the excision of all organs alien to the modern body of *verità* and *buon gusto*. One such organ was mythology. A monster of irrationality, myth constituted such a paramount problem for the *letterati* that they called in a plethora of – often ambiguous – arguments to remove it from the artistic agenda. Thus, in an intriguing *Dissertazione intorno l'uso della antica mitologia nelle poesie moderne* (1746), the Veronese theorist Luigi Salvi contended that beauty hinged upon three ‘irrefutable’ principles: good sense (*buon senso*), correct imitation (*retta imitazione*) and convenience (*convenienza*).² Myths inevitably upset each of these criteria, being mere “pagans’ follies” derived from a “theology that offends natural reason itself,”³ senseless imitations of heathen beliefs when deployed in the context of Christianity,⁴ and vicious “ideas and images of polytheism” which contradict the “customs, times, and nature of the persons who like to speak,” that is, the poets and performers.⁵ The latter had to face the following dilemma:

We have two books: one of nature, the other of mythology. The first presents a theater of the most marvelous beauties to fall under our eyes, the second contains the history of those errors once born from superstition. A poet caught by nature’s beauty trains himself in regulating his fictions and thoughts under this [nature]; another, out of custom or by virtue of obligation, resorts to the usual ideas of mythology. I ask each enlightened intellectual: whom of the two should be recommended?⁶

Salvi was surely no isolated figure in his age. Analogous statements abound in all sorts of aesthetic tracts, some of which are concerned with opera, one of Italy’s major artistic export products. In Esteban de Arteaga’s *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano* (1782-5), for example, ample space is devoted to the issue whether or not “plots drawn from the truth” suit the operatic libretto better than stories “borrowed from mythology or modern fables.”⁷ According to Arteaga, myths were detrimental to the essence of opera, that is, to depict and arouse *human* passions. Myths consisted in “prodigies” that “disorder” the plot and

² SALVI 1746, 5-6.

³ Ibid., 6: “Ma qual cosa per Dio più strana di questa potevasi escogitare giammai e più discordante dal buon senso, che voler chiamar bellezze le follie de Pagani, e dar il nome di ornamenti poetici alle idee di una Teologia che offende la stessa ragion naturale?”

⁴ Ibid., 7-10.

⁵ Ibid., 10: “[...] se la convenienza richiede che le cose conformar si debbano agli usi, ai tempi, alla natura delle persone che vogliono favellare: certamente recar si dovrà a gran vizio di Poesia il costume di quelli che oggi parlano agli uditori colle idee e colle immagini del Politeismo.”

⁶ Ibid., 21: “Noi abbiamo due libri: uno si è quello della Natura, l’altro quello della Mitologia; il primo ci presenta un teatro di bellezze le più maravigliose che cadano sotto de’ nostri sguardi, contiene il secondo la storia degli errori che un tempo nacquerò dalla superstizione. Un Poeta sorpreso dalla bellezza della Natura si studia di regolare su questa le finzioni e i suoi pensamenti; un altro per uso o per impegno ricorre alle solite idee della Mitologia. Chiedo ad ogni lucido intelletto: Qual di questi due dovrà essere commendato?”

⁷ ARTEAGA 1785, I, 44: “E qui ci si affaccia un dubbio importante, che conviene dilucidare, il sapere cioè, se alla interna costituzione del dramma [per musica] convengano più gli argomenti tratti dal vero, oppure i maravigliosi cavati dalla mitologia, o dalle favole moderne.”

affectations expressed by “fairies, sylphs, genii and other imaginary beings whose characteristics and nature” are “unknown.”⁸ In musical terms, the lack of “unity of expression” inherent to this imaginary world led automatically to “little interest in the melody” and a “modulation” consisting in a “designless aggregate of elaborated motives.”⁹ In terms of performance, finally, nothing was “more unlikely, while at the same time more difficult” to stage than the fantastic creatures present in myth.¹⁰

Like Salvi, Arteaga held dear to the idea that modernity approved the past by superseding its errors. Contrary to Salvi, however, he maintained that Italian poetry *had* corrected the disorders of mythology, for late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century pioneers – Bernardoni, Capeci, Lemene, Maggi, Manfredi, Martello, Salvi, Stampiglia, and above all Zeno – had discovered that “the true, grand, pathetic and simple were the only roads to reach the heart,” and so they purged the libretto from the “apparatus of fables, the jumble of events, and marvels invented for the sole purpose of surprising the imagination for want of nature,” in favor of “noble pictures, strong passions, and great characters drawn from Greek and Roman history.”¹¹

This fairy-tale of Reason slaying the Dragon of Myth captured many an active craftsman. Among them was the Neapolitan composer Niccolò Jommelli (1714-1774). On 17 October 1769, Jommelli juxtaposed two of his recent scores for the Württemberg Court (*Vologeso*, 1766; *Fetonte*, 1768) in a letter to the librettist Gaetano Martinelli.¹² He thereby pitted the two rivaling resources of operatic subject matter, history and mythology, against one another in a way that recalls the persuasive manoeuvres of Salvi and Arteaga. “Do not be surprised,” Jommelli wrote,

⁸ Ibid., I, 47-8: “[...] niun’artificiale orditura si può aspettar dal poeta, quando i prodigj vengono a frastornare l’ordine degli avvenimenti, niun carattere ben sostenuto, quando i personaggi sono chimerici, niuna passione ben maneggiata, quando chi si rallegra, o si rattrista sono le Fate i Silfi, i Genj ed altri Esseri immaginarj, de’ quali ignoro le proprietà e la natura, nè la sorte loro sarà in alcun tempo la mia.”

⁹ Ibid., I, 48: “Se riguardasi la musica, poca unità d’espressione vi può mettere il compositore, perchè essa non si trova nell’argomento, poco interesse nella melodia, perchè poco v’ha nell’azione, e perchè la poesia non è che un tessuto di madrigali interrotti da stravaganze, la modulazione non è che un aggregato di motivi lavorati senza disegno.”

¹⁰ Ibid., I, 48-9: “Se si pone mente alla esecuzione, niuna cosa più inverosimile, e insiem più difficile ad eseguirsi che codesti personaggi fantastici.”

¹¹ Ibid., II, 62: “Appena s’incominciò a capire che il vero, il grande, il patetico, il semplice erano le sole strade per giugnere al cuore, che immantinente sparì tutto quel apparato di favole, e tutto il viluppo di avvenimenti, e di meraviglie inventate unicamente per sorprendere l’immaginazione in mancanza della natura. [...] Le pitture nobili, le forti passioni, i caratteri grandi tratti dalla storia greca, e romana [...] si sostituirono sulle scene all’abbominio del buon gusto, che dominava per tutto.” The merits of Zeno and co are trumpeted in II, 66-9.

¹² Verazi’s libretto of *Vologeso* is adapted from Zeno’s *Lucio Vero* (see below); *Fetonte* drew upon Quinault’s *Phaethon* (see Chapter Six). Both operas were revived in Portugal in 1769, *Il Vologeso* at the Teatro de Salvaterra during Carnival, *Fetonte* at the Teatro de Ajuda on 6 June (see BRITO 1989, 143). Comments on Jommelli’s letter can be found in HEARTZ 2003, 476 and McClymonds 1980, 211-2 and 215-6.

but I also am more partial to the score of Vologeso than to that of Fetonte. The affectations and the passions in the former are better illuminated, of greater force, and more natural and true-seeming than in the latter. A historical tale is always superior to a mythical one for tragedy. Be persuaded, therefore, that every affect that you experience, and that you can experience in listening, the composer, who writes with soul and mind, has experienced first. I do not know how to, nor can I create in myself the illusion that carries me to that grade of passion that I need to reach in order to write expressive music if my soul itself is not touched and does not feel it. A thousand times, I have found myself in similar, very difficult straits. It is my absolute duty not to betray and to express the words well, but it is neither my duty nor within my power to give them that acumen of sensibility and of passion that they, of themselves, by their nature are lacking. In comparison then, Vologeso will always triumph over Fetonte. The latter is a fable, the former historical. The former must touch and the latter can surprise. In the former, the heart of the listener is all passion, in the latter all admiration. Which of these two has the greater force in us? You, better than I, must know the answer.¹³

Here, another axiom of enlightened aesthetics is encountered: namely, that artistic effectiveness hinges upon ‘verisimilitude,’ that is, the correct representation of ‘truth.’ Yet, what does this concept imply, considering that opera seria’s stilted archetypes seldom rendered *real* people? Which aspects of myth did Jommelli feel uncomfortable with, and for what reason did he presume them to be incompatible with *tragedy*, rather than *opera*?

Answers for these questions will be formulated in the following paragraphs. As will be seen, diverse perspectives, ranging from the aesthetic to the religious, collided and intersected within the arguments of Salvi, Arteaga and Jommelli. On peeling off the layers of these pluri-discursive thoughts, we will therefore need to adjust our present-day disciplinary boundaries to those of ‘men of letters’ whose interests were bewilderingly eclectic, while at the same time kept together by the axiom that Truth constituted the engine of all cultural production, whether that be poetry, music or science. But let us first plunge into the earliest history of Italian opera, if only to learn what the enlightened will for truth actually endeavored to exclude.

Celestial verisimilitude

The birth of opera in late Renaissance Florence was, quite ironically, built upon the crystal palace of mythology – or Latin mythology, to be precise. For although Athenian tragedy provided its founders with a historical point of reference, it was neither Medea nor Oedipus

¹³ Cited from Eadem, 474-5. Jommelli’s thoughts were anticipated in Ranieri de’ Calzabigi’s *Dissertazione su le poesie drammatiche del Signore Abate Pietro Metastasio* (1755): “Non basta al musico, per dipinger coll’armonia paura o amore, che il poeta abbia fatto parlare Plutone o Cupido e che l’azione sia stata da lui collocata nell’inferno o nella reggia di Venere: se egli prima nell’anima non ha sentito le diverse impressioni di questi due affetti diversi, se egli il primo non è stato impaurito o intenerito, se non ha fatto passare nelle sue parole questi movimenti del suo core, se i suoi stili non sono in conseguenza di diverso colore [...] il musico non troverà armonia corrispondente al soggetto e, non sentendosi egli niente agitare mentre compone, perché niente lo fu il poeta quando scrisse, non produrrà che accozzamenti di suoni scomposti ed inefficaci [...]” (CALZABIGI 1994, I, 136-7).

who took the lead in the earliest operatic productions.¹⁴ Seen as an equivalent of Orphic song, the newly-invented – or ‘rediscovered’ – *recitar cantando* was believed to “mimic invisible spiritual and psychological motions,” and as such almost exclusively deployed to make profound reverences to Ovid.¹⁵ And given that the magical and healing powers ascribed to Orphic song were not connoted to ordinary men, early opera staged “ancient deities like Apollo, Thetis, Neptune, and other respected gods,” but also “demigods and ancient heroes,” and in particular those “perfect musicians” like Orpheus himself, Amphion, or David.¹⁶

The predilection for Ovidian subjects had also much to do with the idea of *musica rappresentativa*, of conveying specific characters and atmospheres through orchestral indices. Already in the pre-operatic *intermedi*, celestial and infernal scenes were accompanied by well-chosen instrumental colors.¹⁷ This practice persisted well into the Baroque. Claudio Monteverdi, for instance, associated trombones and cornetts – “rather than citherns, harpsichords and harps” – with Tritons and sea-gods, and trebles and winds with Cupids, little Zephyrs and Sirens.¹⁸

Third, there was the locus of Arcadia, that otherworldly Golden Age in which dozens of Renaissance *favole pastorali* and *favole per musica* unfolded. Besides being great musicians, the shepherds and nymphs of Arcadia were believed to have been in continuous touch with the divine.¹⁹ Not by chance, then, early opera had these bucolic characters eulogize the amorous and heroic exploits of (demi)gods.²⁰

¹⁴ See KATZ 1986, 156-70; BIANCONI 1987, 174; KETTERER 2002.

¹⁵ TOMLINSON 1999, 17.

¹⁶ ANONYMOUS 1983, 63: “Per cominciare da personaggi o interlocutori che la rappresentazione armonica pare che più convenevolmente abbracci, sembrano molto a proposito per le azioni profane le deità antiche come Apollo, Teti, Nettuno et altri stimati numi, come anche i semidei et eroi vetusti [...] e sopra tutti quei personaggi che stimiamo essere stati perfetti musici, come Orfeo, Anfione e simili.” (*Il Corago*, c. 1628-37). Ottavio Rinuccini’s son Pierfrancesco was presumably the author of this text.

¹⁷ A typical example is the *a5* madrigal “Misero abitator del cieco Averno” in the fourth *intermedio* to *La Pellegrina* (Florence, 1589), which conveys the horror of Pluto’s subterranean habitat through trombones. On the ‘naturalistic’ use of these sonorities, see BIANCONI 1987, 173; KIMBELL 1991, 28-30.

¹⁸ Letter to Alessandro Striggio (9 December 1616), occasioned by Scipione Agnelli’s libretto *Le nozze di Tetide*, which he had declined to set. The full translation is in WEISS 2002, 25.

¹⁹ JUNG 1980, 15-27. The association of Arcadian shepherds with (operatic) singers became commonplace in seventeenth-century writings, see for instance Dryden’s preface to *Albion and Albanus* (London, 1685), [ii]: “[...] meaner Persons, may sometimes gracefully be introduc’d [in opera], especially if they have relation to those first times, which Poets call the *Golden Age*: wherein by reason of their Innocence, those happy Mortals, were suppos’d to have had a more familiar intercourse with Superior Beings: and therefore Shepherds might reasonably be admitted, as of all Callings, the most innocent, the most happy, and who by reason of the spare time they had, in their almost idle Employment, had most leisure to make Verses, and to be in Love: without somewhat of which Passion, no *Opera* can possibly subsist.”

²⁰ This is precisely what the Pastore does in Act I scene 1 of Monteverdi’s *La favola d’Orfeo* (1607) when singing “In questo lieto e fortunato giorno / C’hà posto fine à gli amorosi affanni / Del nostro Semideo cantiam Pastori / Con sì soavi accenti / Che sien degni d’Orfeo nostri concenti.”

All the same, we must refrain from the common theory that the presence of myth in early opera was a matter of verisimilitude, that is, of ‘justifying’ throughout-sung drama.²¹ Several elements undermine this theory. First of all, Ovidian characters had already long before made appearances in various forms of courtly revels that were not necessarily sung, think of banquets and joyous entries.²² Latin mythology was furthermore successful in its own right, Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* being vulgarized in numerous editions in the vernacular.²³ Third and most important, the theories of representation adopted by the societies that established and propagated opera, Ficino’s *Accademia Fiorentina* and Bardi’s *Camerata*, were actually little concerned with the correspondences between art and the everyday. What they advocated instead was a visualization of the “profoundest mysteries of the universe” through symbols that were accessible to the savant only.²⁴ The latter aspect requires further explanation.

Renaissance Neoplatonism furthered dualism in that it too perceived reality as two distinct orders of being: one of sensible, deceptive *appearances*, the other of supersensible, but true *ideas*. The epistemological cleavage separating these two realms implied that the truth could only be discovered by decoding the visible, chaotic mass of signs that had emanated from God’s eternal wisdom in the shape of allegories.²⁵ Myths were equally regarded as fictionalized shapes of divine truths – of principles from cosmology, physics, ethics, etcetera. Vice versa, “divine matters, when written at all,” Pico della Mirandola argued, were to be “covered” by the scholar and artist “beneath enigmatic veils and poetical dissimulations” so as to show “only the crust of the mysteries to the ordinary people, while reserving the marrow of the true sense for higher and more developed spirits.”²⁶

²¹ This theory was introduced in PIRROTTA 1982, 263 (“There can be no doubt that all authors deliberately sought to justify singing of songs – *cantar recitando* – by choosing for protagonists such musical figures around whom other singers gather quite naturally.”) and 268 (“The pastoral aura that made *recitar cantando* plausible [...]”), and furthered in WEISS 1982; BIANCONI 1987, 173-6; FABBRI 2003, 134; GODWIN 2005, 227. TOMLINSON 1999, 24, has taken issue with this hypothesis, writing that “The representation of supernatural beings in late Renaissance opera was not [...] an expedient to justify the unnaturalness of sung theater. [...] The deities of early opera, far from an apology for singing, confirmed its supersensible naturalness and truth.”

²² ROBINSON 1966, 22; KIMBELL 1991, 22; GODWIN 2005, 181-229.

²³ E.g. Dolce’s *Le trasformazioni* (1553) and Dell’Anguillara’s *Le Metamorfosi di Ovidio ridotte in ottava rima* (1561).

²⁴ Cited from KIMBELL 1991, 22. The relationship between Ficino’s Academy and the Camerata is addressed in KATZ 1986, 79-95.

²⁵ See FOUCAULT 1966, 32-59.

²⁶ Cited from DONINGTON 1981, 31. Books worthy of mention here are Boccaccio’s *De genealogiis deorum gentilium* (1350-60), Giraldi’s *Historia de deis gentium* (1548), Conti’s *Mythologiae sive explicationum fabularum libri decem* (1551) and Cartari’s *Delle Immagini de gli Dei de gli Antichi* (1556), all of which are dealt with in HIGHET 1967, chaps. 4 and 5; ALLEN 1970, 201-47; SEZNEC 1972.

Similar ‘divine matters’ were represented by the Florentine *favole in musica* in symbolized forms.²⁷ Apollo, for instance, was made the protagonist of Rinuccini’s *La Dafne* (Florence, 1597-8) on account of Boccaccio’s idea that this deity had been donned a lyre by Mercury to perform pastoral songs and to restore the harmony of the spheres through the unification of the discordant Muses – a magnificent prediction of opera.²⁸ Apollo’s pursuit of Daphne was displayed as a practical lesson in Ovidian *ars amandi*, as Rinuccini had Ovid declare in the prologue.²⁹ And Apollo’s voice and lyre symbolized the pretensions of the Medici, a predestined class of rulers which occupied a central place in cosmic hierarchy.³⁰

Thus, rather than providing excuses for musical drama, the Olympian deities chimed with the interests of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Within the allegorical playgrounds of the Renaissance and its aftermath, these figures made sense, for they helped to explain and connect worlds that were separated by Neoplatonic thought – the material and spiritual, the physical and metaphysical, the sensible and supersensible. Ovid’s tales were taught, deciphered, memorized and performed both at court and in college, thus engendering a time-honored, humanistic tradition that did not require apology.

The derision of the gods

Did the establishment of opera in the public sphere of Venice create a breach in the mythological pattern laid out by Florence? Not immediately, it seems. A survey of the repertoire produced during the first nine carnival seasons (1637-45) at Venice learns that about half (52.94%) of the plots presented in this period was drawn from mythology, the remainder being culled from fantasy (35.29%), chivalric romance (5.88%), pastoral (2.94%), and history (2.94%). Greco-Roman deities also intervened in the latter four categories, even when their presence contradicted with the narrative context.

²⁷ GODWIN 2005, 225-6 has criticized Neoplatonic readings of early opera, arguing that “these all take modern man as their starting point, as they assume that his problems are the same as those of the ancients and of the Renaissance; that previous eras, unable to articulate these problems as Carl Jung or Joseph Campbell could, put them into their myths and dramas.”

²⁸ HANNING 1979, 487. BOCCACCIO 1627, 79v: “Vollero appresso, che essendogli stato da Mercurio donato la Cithara, egli divenisse capo delle Muse d’Elicon, cioè che sonando la Lira, le Muse cantassero.”; 80r: “Vollero già, ch’egli cantasse in Lira, & fosse capo delle Muse, percioche tennero lui principe, & governatore dell’armonia celeste alquale con la cognitione, & dimostrazione tra i novi diversi circuiti delle Sfere, si come tra le nuove Muse prestasse a quelli le loro concordanze.” On the same page, it is told that “Si chiama anco Nomio, che Latinamente suona Pastore, pigliato dall’essere stato detto, che fu Pastore d’Admeto [of Thessaly]; però siccome a Pastori gli è stato dedicato il verso Buccolico; perche è verso Pastorale.” Giraldis’s *De Musis* (1507, publ. 1548) may have provided Rinuccini with an additional source of inspiration.

²⁹ Ovidio: “Seguendo di giovar l’antico stile / *Con chiaro esempio* à dimostrarvi piglia / *Quanto sia donne e cavalier periglio / La potenza d’Amor recarsi à vile.*” (My italics).

³⁰ On Apollo in Medici iconography, see HANNING 1979, 490f.; GODWIN 2005, chaps. 9 and 10.

Table 1.1. Subject matter in Venetian opera, 1637-45.³¹

Season	Titles, in alphabetical order (venue)	Composer	Librettist	Subject matter
1637	<i>L'Andromeda</i> (SC)	Manelli	Ferrari	myth
1638	<i>La Delia o sia La sera sposa del Sole</i> (SSGP)	Manelli	Strozzi	myth
1639	<i>La maga fulminata</i> (SC)	Manelli	Ferrari	romance + deities
	<i>L'Armida</i> (SSGP)	Ferrari	Ferrari	romance + deities
	<i>Le nozze di Teti, e di Peleo</i> (SC)	Cavalli	Persiani	myth
1639-40	<i>L'Adone</i> (SSGP)	Manelli	Vendramin	myth
	<i>Gli amori d'Apollo, e di Dafne</i> (SC)	Cavalli	Busenello	myth
	<i>L'Arianna</i> (SM)	Monteverdi	Rinuccini	myth
	<i>Il pastor regio</i> (SM)	Ferrari	Ferrari	fantasy + deities
	<i>Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria</i> (SSGP) ³²	Monteverdi	unknown	myth
1640-1	<i>La Didone</i> (SC)	Cavalli	Busenello	myth
	<i>La finta pazza</i> (NOV)	Sacрати	Strozzi	myth
	<i>La ninfa avara</i> (SM)	Ferrari	Ferrari	pastoral + deities
	<i>Le nozze d'Enea con Lavinia</i> (SSGP)	Monteverdi	Badoaro	myth
1641-2	<i>L'Alcate</i> (NOV)	Manelli	Tirabosco	fantasy + deities
	<i>Amore innamorato</i> (SM)	Cavalli	Loredano a.o.	myth
	<i>Gli amori di Giasone e d'Isifile</i> (SSGP)	Marazzoli	Persiani	myth
	<i>Il Bellerofonte</i> (NOV)	Sacрати	Nolfi	fantasy + deities
	<i>Narciso et Eco immortalati</i> (SSGP)	Vitali, Marazzoli	Persiani	myth
	<i>Sidonio, e Dorisbe</i> (SM)	Fontei	Melosia	fantasy + deities
	<i>La virtù de' strali d'amore</i> (SC)	Cavalli	Faustini	fantasy + deities
	<i>L'Egisto</i> (SC)	Cavalli	Faustini	pastoral + myth
1642-3	<i>La finta savia</i> (SSGP)	Laurenzi a.o.	Strozzi	fantasy + deities
	<i>L'Incoronazione di Poppea</i> (SSGP)	Monteverdi	Busenello	history + deities
	<i>Venere gelosa</i> (NOV)	Sacрати	Bartolini	myth
	<i>La Deidamia</i> (NOV)	? Cavalli	Errico	fantasy + myth
1643-4	<i>L'Ormino</i> (SC)	Cavalli	Faustini	fantasy + deities
	<i>Il prencipe giardiniero</i> (SSGP)	Ferrari	Ferrari	fantasy + deities
	<i>Proserpina rapita</i> (SM)	Sacрати	Strozzi	myth
	<i>L'Ulisse errante</i> (SSGP)	Sacрати	Badoaro	myth
	<i>La Doriclea</i> (SC)	Cavalli	Faustini	fantasy + deities
1644-5	<i>Ercole in Lidia</i> (NOV)	Rovetta	Bisaccioni	fantasy + myth
	<i>Il Romolo, e'l Remo</i> (SSGP)	? Cavalli	Strozzi	myth
	<i>Il Titone</i> (SC)	Cavalli	Faustini	myth
NOV = Novissimo; SC = San Cassiano; SM = San Moisè; SSGP = SS. Giovanni e Paolo				

Nonetheless, within the carnivalesque atmosphere of the Serenissima there was presumably little concern for Neoplatonic philosophy. Instead, an increasing demand for 'wonder' and 'delight' urged librettists to come up with subjects that were ever more imaginative and spectacular. In 1744, Gasparo Gozzi observed that

Since in the beginnings [of Venetian opera], next to the music, the increasing grandiosity and beauty of such representations was focused on the variety of the scenes and the material artifices of the theater, those subjects were chosen by the poets that seemed to fit such constructions, from whence fables or things that could introduce incantations were selected, as well as those that easily gave cause to the

³¹ Sources: BONLINI 1979, 35-47; GROPPPO 1985, 15-23; ROSAND 1991, 66ff.; CHIARELLI & POMPILIO 2004, 195-8. Not mentioned in the table are reprises (e.g. the 1639 revival of *La Delia*) and reprints of libretti unrelated to a staging (e.g. the 1639 publication of *L'Arianna*).

³² Possibly premiered or revived in 1640-1 at the same theater.

sudden divisions, assemblies, descents from above, or ascensions, and other movements of the scenes which dazzled the eyes of the surrounding persons, arousing wonder and delight.³³

Apart from this, fables proved less fortunate in the promotion of another myth – that of Venice as a “free, secular, and tolerant republic stoutly resistant to absolutism.”³⁴ Venetian patriots, most notably the members of the *Accademia degli Incogniti*, discovered history as a vehicle for resurrecting the grandeur of the Roman Republic on the Venetian stage.³⁵ A decisive move was made in 1641 when Giacomo Badoaro based his *Le nozze d'Enea in Lavinia* on Vergil, and *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* on Homer. His course was pursued by Giovan Francesco Busenello who, after having refashioned Ovid in his *Gli amori d'Apollo e di Dafne* (1640), riveted his attention on the Trojan-Roman saga for *La Didone* (1641) and *Il viaggio d'Enea nel Inferno* (undated), and subsequently on episodes from Roman history for *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* (1642-3) and *La prosperità infelice di Giulio Cesare dittatore* (1646). The quantitative results of their endeavors are illustrated by Table 1.2. Half of the operatic plots mounted between 1650 and 1655 were in fact related to historical antefacts, while 37.5% was romanced or freely-invented, and as little as 12.5% based on mythology. The fact that pagan deities appeared in no more than 43.75% of these operas testifies to the idea that mythology was undergoing a steady decline.

Table 1.2. Subject matter in Venetian opera, 1650-5.³⁶

Season	Titles, in alphabetical order (venue)	Composer	Librettist	Subject matter
1650-1	<i>Gl'amori di Alessandro magno, e di Rossane</i> (SSA)	Lucio	Cicognini	history + deities
	<i>L'Armidoro</i> (SC)	G. Sartorio	Castoreo	fantasy + deities
	<i>Alessandro vincitor di se stesso</i> (SSGP)	Cesti	Sbarra	history
	<i>L'Oristeo</i> (SA)	Cavalli	Faustini	fantasy + deities
1651-2	<i>La Calisto</i> (SA)	Cavalli	Faustini	myth
	<i>Il Cesare amante</i> (SSGP)	Cesti	Varotari	history + deities
	<i>L'Eritrea</i> (SA)	Cavalli	Faustini	fantasy
	<i>L'Erginda</i> (SSA)	G. Sartorio	Aureli	fantasy
1652-3	<i>Helena rapita da Theseo</i> (SSGP) ³⁷	Cavalli	?	myth
	<i>Pericle effeminato</i> (SA)	Lucio	Castoreo	history
	<i>Veremonda l'Amazzone di Aragona</i> (SSGP)	Cavalli	Strozzi	romance

³³ GOZZI 1785, 5-6: “Ma perciò che la maggior grandezza, e bellezza di tali rappresentazioni, oltre alla musica, era posta nella varietà delle Scene, e negli artifizj materiali del teatro: così in que' principj, vennero da' Poeti scelti quegli argomenti, che più a somiglianti manufatture parvero convenevoli: onde favole, o cose, dove incantesimi potessero introdursi, erano elette, come quelle, che facilmente davano cagione all'improvviso dividersi, congiungersi, scendere dall'alto, o ascendere, e gli altri movimenti delle Scene; le quali con quel subito spettacolo ferivano gli occhi de' circostanti, e destavano maraviglia, e diletto.”

³⁴ GRUBB 1986, 49.

³⁵ I allude to Ivanovich's statement in the *Memorie teatrali di Venezia* (1688): “La Republica di Venezia imitando la Grandezza della Romana, rinovò la magnificenza de' Teatri [...]” (IVANOVICH 1993, 369).

³⁶ After GLIXON & GLIXON 2006, 325-8.

³⁷ Doubtful.

1653-4	<i>Ciro</i> (SSGP)	Provenzale, Cavalli	Sorrentino	history
	<i>L'Euridamante</i> (SM)	Lucio	Dall'Angelo	fantasy
	<i>La guerriera spartana</i> (SA)	P.A. Ziani	Castoreo	history
1654-5	<i>L'Eupatra</i> (SA)	P.A. Ziani	Faustini	history + deities
	<i>Xerse</i> (SSGP)	Cavalli	Minato	history
SA = Sant' Aponal (Apollinare); SC = San Cassiano; SSA = SS. Apostoli; SSGP = SS. Giovanni e Paolo				

The shift to untapped fields of subject matter, and in particular to history, had catalytic effects for the *dramma* – rather than *favola* – per musica. It pushed the genre, as Wendy Heller has observed, “into the realm of politics,” introducing themes like the “fear of tyranny, the claims of republicanism, the ambitions of imperialism, and the glory of absolutism”.³⁸ The Incogniti for instance trumpeted the vanities and vicissitudes of monarchs, staging emperors indulging in forbidden pleasures like adultery and sodomy.³⁹ They also emulated the witty tone of mock-epic as exemplified by Francesco Bracciolini’s *Lo scherno degli dei* (1617), Giovan Battista Lalli’s *L'Eneide travestita* (1634) and Giovanni Francesco Loredano’s *L'Iliade giocosa* (1653).⁴⁰ Their forewords made no secret about their attitudes and intentions. “In the end,” Giulio Strozzi stated in that to *La Delia o sia La Sera sposa del Sole* (Venice, 1639), myths are “myths and the deities of pagans all follies, so one may happily deride them.”⁴¹ Which Strozzi effectively did in *La finta pazza* (1641), giving a carnivalesque twist to the legend of Achilles on the isle of Scyros by depicting the hero and his lover, Deidamia, into a transvestite and a feigned madwoman respectively.

Mythological derision could be as easily transposed to the ill-famous episodes from Roman history which Strozzi and his colleagues were so fond of. The title-character of *Caligula delirante* (anonymous, 1672), for instance, imagines himself to be Hercules and Endymion, while that of Noris’s *Domiziano* (1673) is presented in the garbs of Mars, Neptune and Jupiter.⁴² In similar fashion, the barbarian protagonist of Noris’s *Totila* (1677) derides the gods – “Di voi rido ò Numi insani” (Act II scene 8) – while the Goths and Romans alike loot the mythological lexicon, whether relevant or not:

³⁸ HELLER 1999, 39. The contrast with Florentine court opera has been amplified in BOKINA 1997, 13-40.

³⁹ WORSTHORNE 1968, 8, observed that historical subjects were only “thinly disguised to provide the intrigues and interests of contemporary life [...]”. Recent attempts at uncovering these ‘interests’ include HELLER 2003 and GORDON 2004, 47-85.

⁴⁰ WOLFF 1975, 94; LATTARICO 2004, 3; SCHULZE 2004, 21-5.

⁴¹ *La Delia, o sia La sera sposa del sole* (Venice, 1639), ‘Lettori,’ 8: “Le Favole finalmente sono Favole, e le divinità de’ Gentili tutte sciocchezze, onde ci si può scherzar sopra allegramente; ma l’allegorie, che nascono da loro, non sono senza profitto.” See also Francesco Sbarra’s *Le disgrazie d’Amore* (Venice, 1667), where it is remarked that “nell’introdurre in questo dramma giocoso alcune delle false deità de’ Gentili, io non ebbi altr’oggetto che il deridere la loro sciocchezza.” (FABBRI 2003, 114).

⁴² *Ibid.*, 216-7 and 371.

TOTILA
 il Giove Roman fatto è Fetonte (I,3)
 L'Atlante io son di novo Ciel cadente (I,5)
 il Gotico Vulcano / Arda i fasci latini (I,7)
 Lascio Marte, e seguo Amor (I,8)
 Congiurato Nettuno (II,8)

CLELIA
 Hò d'Amazone l'ardire (II,2)
 empia Circe crudele (II,3)

PUBLICOLA (to DESBO)
 Stolto non vedi, / Che di Teseo ladrone / Preda è la bella? (II,10)

No less liberal use was made of mythological *similes* for the evocation of madness and phantasmagoria.⁴³ Strozzi's *La finta pazza*, which may have set the trend, contains the following *tirata* (Act II scene 11):

DEIDAMIA
 Elena bella io sono,
 Tù Paride Troiano,
 Sù rapiscimi, su, Ladro melenso,
 Stendi, stendi la mano.
 Ti picchi? ti rannicchi? t'incrocicchi?
 Giacer io volea teco,
 E lasciar il mio Giove,
 Ch'ogni notte stà meco:
 Ma stanco dal lunghissimo camino,
 Ch'ei fà del cielo in terra,
 Mi riesce sovente il gran tonante
 Un sonnacchioso Amante.

DIOMEDE
 Ah donne, donne,
 Dove vi vò la mente?

Mythological derision furthermore encompassed musico-dramatic *topoi* associated with the dark forces. Thus a delicious parody of the invocation appears in Legrenzi's *Totila* (1677). In Act I scene 11, the Roman patrician Publicola reacts to the news of his son's kidnapping and his wife's (alleged) suicide with a rapid succession of emotional eruptions – a concise but tender arioso (“mio tesoro, e dove sei”), a recitativic utterance of self-pity (“Ed anco io vivo”), and a curse over Prometheus (“Dunque Prometeo indegno rendimi la mia face ò qui sbranato”). Publicola's ensuing aria, “Arpie de l'Erebo,” sums up the basic ingredients of the Cavallian invocation – the ternary meter, chthonic vocabulary (‘Harpies,’ ‘Erebus,’ ‘Tartarus’...), *sdrucchioli* verses (i.e. accent on the penultimate syllable), saraband rhythm,

⁴³ See ROSAND 1991, 359, and FABBRI 2003, 341-81, in particular 345 and 362.

occasional hemiolas (mm. 10-12), minor key with flats, and five-part strings.⁴⁴ Adding to the hilarity of the scene, Desbo's *a parte* comments interject each of Publicola's phrases.⁴⁵

Example 1.1. Legrenzi and Noris *Totila* (Venice, 1677) – I,11: “Arpie de l'Erebo”, mm. 1-12.

Publicola

Desbo

[Strings]

Ar-pie de l'E-re-bo Me-ge-re squal-li-de a-pri-te i car-di-ni del bas-so Tar-ta-ro

Pia-no Ahi-mè Non più

In seicento Venice, myths fell under the spell of a rationale that canceled their hermeneutic validity, be it in ambiguous fashion. While scepticism and irony held sway over the plots and prefaces, the inexhaustible storehouse of Ovidian mythology remained in use, evolving into a pretext for *bizzarria*, *capriccio* and *opera all'uso di Venezia*, that is, tragicomedy spiced with a counterpoint of intrigues, quiproquos, masks, disguises, visual tricks, arias, and verbal conceits.⁴⁶ Ovidian tales kept the crowds until the end of the century and beyond, be it in the guise of fanciful travesties that did not necessarily vent demands for historicism. For no matter the increasing appearance, from the 1660s on, of historical antefacts in synopses, plots basically retained the status of “fantasy around a kernel of *historia*,” that is, a ‘story’ derived from any possible literary tradition.⁴⁷ Most librettists did thereby not expend their efforts into acknowledging borrowings from classics that were known to most. Instead, they assured the spectator of their ingenuity by listing newly-

⁴⁴ For discussions of the invocation, see GLIXON 1985, 53-4; ROSAND 1991, 343. Absent from their analyses, however, are discussions of the saraband rhythm inherent to *sdrucchioli* settings. Such references seem particularly relevant in the light of seventeenth-century notions of the saraband as vulgar and pagan (see GSTREIN 1997, 23-6).

⁴⁵ Publicola's delirium culminates in the aria “Bel Narciso lungi dal fonte” (Act III scene 15), in which the madman holds the bewildered Desbo (“In novo laberinto ora son io”) for his lover, Narciss – another unmistakable pun on Ovidian mythology.

⁴⁶ On *bizzarria* and *capriccio*, see CHAVANNES 2004, 23-30.

⁴⁷ ROSAND 1991, 388.

invented incidents under the *che si finge* section of the argument. After all, “good doctrines,” Busenello stated in the preface to *La Didone* (1641), allowed talented poets (like himself) “to alter not only myths, but also histories”.⁴⁸ Giacomo Castoreo further obviated all grounds for historical puritanism, warning the reader of his *Pericle effeminato* (1653) that

If you find something in it [libretto] connected with history, then know that the rest is pure invention. You will be therefore wasting your time if you go and sift through Plutarch and Thucydides to find out whether I have strayed from the truth. My intention is not to report a history to you but to present a tale that has nothing historical in it besides its name.⁴⁹

The ironical pose toward mythology seems to symptomize a manifest indifference towards narrative faithfulness as a whole, for the sake of an aesthetic that sought “for the means to arouse wonder and delight” and to “delude the eyes,” as Giovanni Faustini commented in the preface to *L’Egisto* (Venice, 1643).⁵⁰ Advertizing their libretti as “pure romance,” Venetian poets *removed* their inventions “from the natural and the verisimilar,”⁵¹ manipulating poetic codes at will and fusing such opposite stylistic registers as tragedy and *commedia dell’arte*.⁵² Their art satirized, rather than flattered, the taste of literary critics, for in the end, the audience would believe what it saw fit to believe.

And yet, vague indications point toward the idea that myth was equally abandoned on the premise that Neoplatonism had lost most, if not all of its intellectual value. In his tract *Del bene* (1644), for instance, Sforza Pallavicino suggested that “the sole goal of poetic plots” was “to adorn our intellect with images, or shall we rather say, sumptuous, new, wonderful, splendid apprehensions [...] *even though they are not carriers of science nor manifestations of truth* [my emphasis].”⁵³ Perhaps the Neoplatonic truth lurking behind myth’s deceptive ‘apprehensions’ had vanished so that myths were downgraded from figures rich in allegorical connotations to mere *concetti*, equal to any other kind of story and open to rhetorical manipulation, disrespect and humor.⁵⁴ Whatever the case, Ovid had relinquished most of his glory.

⁴⁸ BUSENELLO 1656, ‘La Didone,’ 3: “E perche secondo le buone Dottrine è lecito ai Poeti non solo alterare le Favole, ma le Istorie ancora, Didone prende per marito Iarba.”

⁴⁹ FABBRI 2003, 156: “Se vi ritroverai qualche cosa che tiene del Historico, sappi che il resto è mera Invenzione, onde perderai la fatica, se anderai a ventilar Plutarco, e Tucidide per conoscer se mi son allontanato dal vero; Perche non intendo di riferirti un historia, ma di rappresentarti una favola, che non ha d’historico che il nome.”

⁵⁰ Cited from WORSTHORNE 1968, 15.

⁵¹ Faustini *La Rosinda* (Venice, 1651), 3: “La Rosinda è un puro Romanzo. Le sue Peripetie, e le sue attioni; lontani dal naturale, e del verisimile sono figlie di due verghe, e di due Fonti.”

⁵² Details on the intermingling of genres in MEHLTRETTER 1994, 13-9.

⁵³ ACCORSI 1999, 160-1: “l’unico scopo delle poetiche favole si è l’adornar l’intelletto nostro d’immagini o vogliam dire d’apprensioni sontuose, nuove, mirabili, splendide. [...] Vedete in qual pregio abbia il mondo l’esser arricchito di prime apprensioni belle, ancorché non apportatrici di scienza né manifestatrici di verità.”

⁵⁴ BELLINA 1984, 25.

The classicist filter

At the other edge of the seventeenth-century literary spectrum, straightly opposed to Venetian opera, stood French classicism, a feverish network of intellectuals who capitalized on recent scientific achievements to claim that poetry had got bogged down in a state of decay due to the fancies of those “esprits qui veulent que cette Science [poetry] n’ait pour objet que le plaisir.”⁵⁵ Classicists thought of poetry as a perfect balance of edifying and entertaining components, as exemplified by the ancients. Opera from their perspective constituted a corrupt shape of tragedy and an excuse for sensory gratification that was largely dominated by the composer’s – rather than poet’s – interests.⁵⁶ No surprise, then, the *drammi per musica* they witnessed during Grands Tours shocked their taste. In 1683, for instance, Pierre d’Ortigue de Vaumorière reported about Venetian opera that

Pour ce qui regarde la maniere dont on traite les sujets, je vous dirai que l’on ne cherche ici que ce qui peut servir à plaire et à surprendre. On se moque de la régularité; on ne s’attache ni à l’histoire, ni à la chronologie, bien loin de s’assujettir aux trois unités que les maîtres de l’art observent si exactement dans les pieces de theatre.⁵⁷

The tone of Vaumorière’s criticism echoed that of *La Ville et la république de Venise* (Paris, 1680), a tourist guidebook compiled in the 1670s by Alexandre-Toussaint Limojon, Sieur de Saint-Didier. In it, Limojon had remarked that the action of Italian opera was

le plus souvent désagréable, les pièces sont longues, et ne laisseraient pas néanmoins de divertir pendant les quatre heures qu’elles durent, si elles étaient composées par de meilleurs poètes qui sussent mieux les règles du théâtre que leur composition ne le témoigne, laquelle ne mérite pas souvent la dépense qu’on fait pour les représenter.⁵⁸

Libretti and wax candles, he added, had become so obligatory to nights at the Italian opera that “sans cela ceux mêmes du pays auraient de la peine à comprendre quelque chose à l’histoire et à la suite de la pièce.”⁵⁹ That, ironically, *arguments* had been introduced in French tragedy for exactly the same reason was something Limojon wisely forgot to mention.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ LA MESNARDIERE 1639, ‘Discours,’ [v].

⁵⁶ E.g. RAPIN 1674, 202 (“[...] la fantaisie des Opera de Musique, dont le peuple & mesme la plupart des honnestes gens se sont laissé entester, sera peut estre capable dans la suite de decourager les esprits pour la Tragedie, si l’on ne pense à les exciter par la gloire & par la recompense.”); SAINT EVREMOND 1670-84, XI, 82 (“La langueur ordinaire, où je tombe aux Opera, vient de ce que je n’en ay jamais vû qui ne m’aye paru méprisable dans la disposition du sujet, & dans les Vers.” – *Sur les opéra, à Monsieur de Bouquiquant*), 83-4 (“[...] une sottise chargée de Musique, de Danses, de machines, de décorations, est une sottise magnifique, mais toujours sottise [...]”); DACIER 1692, 82 (“Car les Opera sont, si je l’oze dire, *les grotesques* de la Poësie, & Grotesques d’autant plus insupportables, qu’on prétend les faire passer pour des ouvrages reguliers.”)

⁵⁷ FABBRI 2003, 143.

⁵⁸ LIMOJON DE SAINT-DIDIER 1891, 246.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 249.

⁶⁰ TRUCHET 1975, 50.

Such acid indigestions heralded a view that was irreconcilable with the ‘poetics of the marvelous’ as cultivated in opera. Claiming that the latter aesthetic had resulted in whims and errors, classicists demanded that ‘good taste’ and ‘nature’ be returned from the chaos through a rigorous disciplining of poetic invention.⁶¹ To do so, the very ‘rules’ which the Italians had unearthed in the Renaissance but buried again in the Seicento had to be excavated – the *Poetics* (c. 335-23 B.C.) of Aristotle. For without precepts, there could be no question of art.

From the 1670s on, classicist cries came to be heard on Italian soil. At Venice, the theologian Fulvio Francesco Frugoni in 1675 tried his hand at a libretto, *L’Epulone*, supplemented with a lengthy *Discorso critico intorno alla poesia drammatica*. In the latter text, Frugoni struck out at those “versifiers” who outnumbered the “dandies” and whose “fabulous” entertainments contained “dreamed rather than verisimilar” plots which catered for the taste of the “foolish crowd”.⁶² Given that real tragedy was a ‘more noble’ art form than opera, Frugoni cast *L’Epulone* into five acts and brought it to a tragic conclusion. Unfortunately for him, though, his experiment had little immediate impact, most of his contemporaries being unwilling to hand in their *capriccio* for a tightly-fitting corset imposed by French theorists.

It was only in the 1690s that Aristotle made his Venetian comeback in the guise of a Paduan architect and poet, Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti (1653-1732). Frigimelica’s first libretto for the prestigious, Grimani-owned Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo,⁶³ *Ottone* (1694), was cast in the five-act mold of *L’Epulone*, designated *Tragedia* on the frontispiece and concluded on a *funesto fine*. Its preface sought to convince the Venetians of the necessity to elevate opera to tragic heights:

If it would appear to you that this [tragic] manner of taste would be either too sad for the carnival, or too cruel for the most tender heart of the country, [then] guard yourself from doing wrong to Venice by judging its taste different from that of the most savant republics of Greece, Rome, Paris, and of all the more cultivated populations which discovered in their greater festivities, and [still] discover in tragedies the greatest pastime. [...] Tragedy should not please less to Venice.⁶⁴

⁶¹ E.g. RAPIN 1674, 23-4: “Dans quelles énormitez de fautes ne sont pas tombez, Petrarque dans son Poëme sur l’Afrique [*Africa*, 1338-9], Arioste dans son Roland le Furieux [*Orlando furioso*, 1516], le Chevalier Marin dans son Adonis [*Adone*, 1623], & tous les autres Italiens, qui n’ont pas connu les regles de la Poëtique d’Aristote: parce qu’ils n’ont suivy d’autre guide, que leur genie & leur caprice.”

⁶² FRUGONI 1675, 162 (“I Dramisti moderni, ch’Io chiamerò più ristrettamente Verseggiatori smodati, agguagliano, se pur non gli eccedono, e nel tratto, e nel numero, i Damerini di Hoggidi [...]”) and 171 (“[...] que’ Componimenti, che non son’altro, che rappresentazioni di una favola più sognata, che verisimile, sono scomposti, e perciò ridicoli, ne conseguiscono altro vanto, che l’essere un trattenimento favoloso del Volgo idiota.”).

⁶³ On the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo, see SAUNDERS 1985. Frigimelica’s libretti are dealt with in LEICH 1972.

⁶⁴ *Ottone* (Venice, 1694), ‘L’Autore à chi legge,’ 10: “Se à voi paresse questa maniera di gusto, ò troppo mesta nel Carnovale, ò troppo cruda al tenerissimo cuor del Paese, guardate bene di non fare una grand’Ingiuria à Venezia, nel giudicarla di gusto diverso dalle savissime Repubbliche della Grecia, e di Roma; da quel di Parigi, e

Frigimelica's audience at the San Giovanni Grisostomo appears to have endorsed his ideals, for the poet was re-invited the following season to create two additional tragedies – the oriental *Irene* (1694) and the mythological *Il pastore d'Anfriso* (1695). In the preface to *Irene*, Frigimelica made a renewed bow to French classicism, asserting that

The rules are on a level with the careful observation of nature. It is therefore as valuable to follow good art as [it is to follow] perfect nature. From whence it comes that anyone who in a certain country [i.e. Italy] believes it opportune not to observe art, must consequently take it for granted that in this country there will be none of the perfection of nature of the more cultivated countries [i.e. France] to which it [perfection] has served and [still] serves to form and recognize the truth of the rules.⁶⁵

Italy did eventually succumb to the rules of France, be it on account of the triumphs of Corneille and Racine in translations and adaptations, both spoken and sung.⁶⁶ The tragedies of the illustrious duo helped classicist poetics to be introduced on the peninsula, thereby sparking a long series of manifestos – Lodovico Antonio Muratori's *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (1706), Gian Vincenzo Gravina's *Della ragion poetica* (1708) and *Della tragedia* (1715), Pier Jacopo Martello's *Dialogo sopra la tragedia antica e moderna* (also *L'Impostore*, 1714), up to Metastasio's *Estratto dell'arte poetica d'Aristotile e considerazioni su la medesima* (1772, first published 1782). Whether librettists liked it or not, opera came to be revisited from the classicist vantage point and dramatic codes came to be promoted from matters of relative unimportance – things which had formerly been called upon in a slightly indifferent or satirical way – to issues of prime interest.⁶⁷ An art that had once served as a multi-medial expression of imagination was rapidly transformed into a handmaiden of rational discourse.

Perfectly catching the spirit of the epoch, Lodovico Antonio Muratori claimed that

Today [1706], the laws of serious poetry consist in wanting that the marvelous, new, sumptuous, and noble images the poet presents to the first apprehension, are accompanied by another essential quality, namely that they appear to be *true* and contain the *necessary, happened, and real truth*, or the *possible, probable, and credible truth*. [emphasis added]⁶⁸

di tutte le genti più colte, che nelle loro maggior feste trovarono, e trovano nelle Tragedie il miglior passatempo. [...] La Tragedia non può di meno di non piacere à Venezia.”

⁶⁵ *Irene* (Venice, 1695), 'L'Auttoe à chi legge,' 8: “Le Regole sono livellate sù l'attenta osservazione della Natura; Onde tanto vale il seguire la buon Arte, quanto la perfetta Natura. Quindi ne viene, che chiunque crede opportuno il non osservare l'Arte in alcun Paese, creda per conseguenza, che in quel Paese non vi sia la perfezion di Natura de' Paesi più colti, la quale servi, e serve à formare, ed à riconoscere la verità delle Regole.”

⁶⁶ Details in MAREGAZZI 1906; DE ANGELIS 1913; DE ANGELIS 1914; MAUGAIN 1918; DE CARLI 1920; FERRARI 1925; DE CARLI 1926; MANGINI 1962; INGEGNO GUIDI 1974.

⁶⁷ Essential studies on the phenomenon are GIAZOTTO 1952; BURT 1955; FREEMAN 1967; BURT 1968; GALLARATI 1984, 7-51; SAUNDERS 1985, 64-126; WEISS 1988, 9-16; STROHM 1997, 119-236; BUCCIARELLI 2000, 1-31; SMITH 2001.

⁶⁸ MURATORI 1711, 116-7: “Ora le leggi della Poesia seria consistono in volere, che le Immagini maravigliose, nuove, sontuose, e nobili, che il Poeta rappresenta alla prima Apprensione, sieno accompagnate da un'altra qualità essenziale, cioè che ci appaiono Vere, e contengono il Vero necessario, avvenuto, e reale, o il Vero possibile, probabile, e credibile.”

if it be true that poetry, by way of its story, would have no other goal than to communicate marvelous images to the first apprehension [...] it would leave free reign to the poets and allow them an excessive liberty which could soon begin to annoy. No dream, chimera, delirium or falsity could not be versified in the hope of bringing delight.⁶⁹

Aristotle on mythology

implanted in man from childhood, one difference between him and other animals being that he is the most imitative of living creatures, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons; and no less universal is the pleasure felt in things imitated.⁷⁰

an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions.⁷¹

70	ARISTOTLE	1972,	1148b5:
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71 Ibid., 1449b24:

23

to relate what has happened, but what may happen – what is possible according to the law of probability or necessity. The poet and the historian differ not by writing in verse or in prose. [...] The true difference is that the latter relates what has happened, the former what may happen. Poetry, therefore, is a more philosophical and a higher thing than history: for poetry tends to express the universal, history the particular. By the universal, I mean how a person of a certain type will on occasion speak or act, according to the law of probability or necessity; and it is this universality at which poetry aims in the names she attaches to the characters. The particular is – for example – what Alcibiades [Athenian politician and warlord, c. 450-404] did or suffered.⁷³

tragedians still keep to real [i.e. historical] names, the reason being that what is possible is credible: what has not happened we do not at once feel sure to be possible: but what has happened is manifestly possible: otherwise it would not have happened. Still there are even some tragedies in which there are

[illegible]

24

The major interpretational difficulty here lies in concepts like “real names,” “received legends,” and “events that have actually happened,” all of which blur matters to such extent that it can only be concluded that Aristotle’s tragic object of imitation encompassed recorded tradition in its entirety, including myth and legend.⁷⁶ It is possible that Aristotle did not even distinguish myth from history,⁷⁷ or that he, as D.W. Lucas pointed out,

As a whole, Aristotle's fragmentary string of lecture notes 'on the art of poetry' offers more questions than ready-made solutions. While devoting attention to the imitational nature of tragedy, most of the precepts advanced in it rely on assumptions that require further clarification and interpretation. What, for example, is 'real' or 'possible' from the perspective of an ancient Greek, and by which type of subject matter might it be represented?⁷⁹ The

[illegible]

⁷⁷ See also SOMMERSTEIN 2005, 163, where he has argued that “the distinction between ‘myth’ and ‘history’ was, for an ancient Greek, far from clear-cut.”

⁷⁹ The *Rhetorics* and the *Metaphysics* have been deliberately omitted from our discussion since seventeenth- and eighteenth-century classicists seldom read the *Poetics* in the light of these essays. In the *Rhetorics* Aristotle accorded preference to real stories over invented ones for oratorical purposes, while in the *Metaphysics* he rationalized mythological explanations of natural phenomena.

relativist stance adopted by the *Poetics* entrusts final decisions to future users of the tract, but at the same time disables them from settling on a single position.

Neo-Aristotelian musings

Aristote ne s'est pas expliqué si clairement dans sa Poétique, que nous n'en puissions faire ainsi que les philosophes, qui le tirent chacun à leur parti dans leurs opinions contraires.

Pierre Corneille, *Avertissement to Le Cid* (1648)⁸⁰

Generations of French academics would profit from the hiatuses in the *Poetics*, proving eager to compile a more 'definitive' text. None of them, however, was genuinely concerned with

the resurrection of classical tragedy, as Aristotle had known it. What 'neo-Aristotelians' wished to establish, by contrast, was "a modern French theater [...] in a Christian kingdom – a theater freed from the uncouth, inconsistent, callous, and dangerously democratic dramatic models left by the ancient Greeks."⁸¹ They scanned the ancient theatrical legacy through a matrix of modern, predominantly rationalist paradigms, in order to conceive a "model world for the stage and a model audience for the theater."⁸² This two-fold model glorified the Ancien Régime through the representation of *vraisemblance* – the naked, objective truth adjusted to elitary standards.

On transferring Aristotle's vocabulary and precepts to the Grand Siècle, a number of subtle but effective changes was made to the original text. Next to the well-known three unities, one of the amendments consisted in redefining the concept of *mythos*, *fabula* or *fable*. In his *La Poétique* (1639), Hippolyte-Jules Pilet de La Mesnardière split the term into two semantic compounds – a structural denotation (*plot*) and an object of reference (*invented, fictitious tale*).⁸³ Since in his day words like *fiction* and *fable* had come to be seen in negative light, as words carrying the "odor of lies" (see also below),⁸⁴ La Mesnardière eschewed the 'mythological' connotations of *fable* and thus narrowed the term to

la Composition du Sujet, où [sic] la constitution des choses & non pas comme s'imaginent quelques Poètes ignorans, l'une de ces actions ridicules & incroyables des Dieux de la Metamorphose, & de ceux

⁸⁰ CORNEILLE 1963, 217.

⁸¹ LYONS 1999, x.

⁸² Ibid., 84.

⁸³ LA MESNARDIERE 1639, 14: "La structure du Sujet a été appelée Fable, pource que les premiers Tragiques tiroient toutes les Avantures qu'ils exposoient sur la Scène, des Ouvrages des anciens Poètes, dont on sçait que les écrits sont tous remplis de fictions."

⁸⁴ HARTH 1983, 129.

de l'Iliade, exprimées chez les Latins par le nom de Fabulæ, & que nous appellons des Fables, puis que bien loin de servir de matière à la Tragédie, elles sont beaucoup plus propres à exciter la risée, qu'à provoquer la pitié.⁸⁵

History, on the other hand, rose to prominence under La Mesnardière's deliberation. Whereas Aristotle had refused to regard tragedy as an imitation of history, he univocally promoted history as the ideal resource for theatrical exploitation.

Il faut encore s'il est possible, que ce soient des Actions fort remarquables dans l'Histoire, & qui soient connues de plusieurs; afin que le Spectateur ne soit pas si empesché à en comprendre le fonds, qui vient de l'Historien, qu'il ne lui reste de l'esprit pour en considerer l'ordre, l'agencement & la conduite, d'où dépend la gloire du Poëte.⁸⁶

Put theoretically, La Mesnardière projected the meta-historical universality aimed at by Aristotle onto the particular facts of history. 'What ought to happen' on stage had or should from now on have happened in history.

Not every *ancien* shared this view, though. Abbé d'Aubignac, the author of the quintessential treatise *De la pratique du théâtre* (1657), deemed it "une pensée bien ridicule d'aller au Theatre pour apprendre l'Histoire," simply because the scene "ne donne point les choses comme elles ont esté, mais comme elles devoient estre."⁸⁷ In his *Reflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote, et sur les ouvrages des poëtes anciens & modernes* (1674), René Rapin kept even more close to Aristotle's ideas, maintaining that "les portraits de l'histoire sont moins parfaits que les portraits de la Poësie."⁸⁸

All the same, French classicism enshrined a principle that in the long run would ensure history to become *the* reservoir of tragedy – *bienséance*. *Bienséance*, decorum or ethos implied that the customs (*mœurs*) and opinions (*sentiments*) of the audience be inscribed in the acts and utterances of the character. On the premise that the spectator was a Christian nobleman who held words like *vertu* and *noblesse* for synonyms, and who required *convenience*, that is, a certain degree of conformity between the action on stage and his ideological horizon, ambiguous personalities no longer had a place in tragedy.⁸⁹ Neither was *catharsis* – therapeutic awe and pity for horrific acts – regarded as the proper effect of tragedy. D'Aubignac:

⁸⁵ LA MESNARDIERE 1639, 14.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 17.

⁸⁷ D'AUBIGNAC 1657, 81-2.

⁸⁸ RAPIN 1674, 57. In keeping with this, Rapin preferred the tragedies of Sophocles over those by Euripides, arguing that the former represented men "comme ils doivent estre," the latter "comme ils sont" (Ibid., 57).

⁸⁹ D'AUBIGNAC 1657, 87: "Il ne faut pas oublier [...] que si le Sujet n'est conforme aux mœurs & aux sentimens des Spectateurs, il ne réussira jamais, quelque soin que le Poëte y employe & de quelques ornemens qu'il le soustienne; car les Poëmes Dramatiques doivent estre differens selon les Peuples devant lesquels on les doit représenter; & de là vient que le succez n'en est pas tousjours pareil, bien qu'ils soient tousjours semblables à eux mesmes."

puis que nous epreuvons que la Commiseration est infiniment plus douce, plus humaine & plus agréable que la terreur & l'effroy, je conseille à nôtre Poëte d'introduire rarement de ces criminels détestables, & de ne se point servir d'une dommageable licence, dont l'usage est plus nuisible qu'il ne peut estre avantageux.⁹⁰

Instead, the playwright had to ensure that

les vertus y [in tragedy] soient toujours recompensées, ou pour le moins toujours louées, mal-gré les outrages de la Fortune, & que les vices y soient toujours punis, ou pour le moins toujours en horreur, quand mesme ils y triomphent.⁹¹

The ideal plot hence omitted violations, assassinations and suicides, and depicted “les plus nobles Incidents d'une Histoire [...] les Personnages dans le plus agreable estat qu'ils peuvent souffrir” without concealing “ce qu'on doit sçavoir, & qui peut contenter” nor showing “ce qu'on doit ignorer, & qui peut choquer.”⁹²

No surprise, many myths were found shocking. The incidents around Oedipus, Orestes, Alcmeon, Medea and Thyestes had already fallen victim to criticism in antiquity. Horace had deemed it better not to

bring upon the stage what should be performed behind the scenes, and you [poet] will keep much from our eyes, which an actor's ready tongue will narrate anon in our presence; so that Medea is not to butcher her boys before the people, nor impious Atreus cook human flesh upon the stage, nor Procne be turned into a bird, Cadmus into a snake. Whatever you thus show me, I discredit and abhor.⁹³

D'Aubignac largely confirmed Horace's ideas and pointed to the ethical-political cleavage between spectators in contemporary Paris and ancient Athens:

Ainsi les Athéniens se plaisoient à voir sur leur Theatre, les cruautés & les malheurs des Roys, les desastres des familles illustres, & la rebellion des Peuples pour une mauvaise action d'un Souverain; par ce que l'Estat dans lequel ils vivoient, estant un gouvernement Populaire [democracy], ils se vouloient entretenir dans cette croyance, que la Monarchie est tousjours tyrannique, dans le dessein de faire perdre à tous les Grands de leur Republique le desir de s'en rendre Maistres, par la crainte d'estre exposez à la fureur de tout un Peuple, ce que l'on estimoit juste: Au lieu que parmy nous le respect & l'amour que nous avons pour nos Princes, ne peut permettre que l'on donne au Public ces Spectacles pleins d'horreur [...]⁹⁴

Yet, Pierre Corneille disagreed with this stance. In the first of his three *Discours sur le poëme dramatique* (1660), he precisely praised the “grands sujets qui remuent fortement les passions,

⁹⁰ Ibid., 19.

⁹¹ Ibid., 6.

⁹² Ibid., 43.

⁹³ HORACE 1955, ll. 182-8: “[...] non tamen intus / digna geri promes in scaenam, multaque tolles / ex oculis, quae mox narret facundia praesens; / ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet, / aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus, / aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem. / quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.” Medea, Atreus, and Procne committed infanticide as acts of revenge: Medea killed Jason's sons, Atreus served Thyestes two of his own sons, and Procne was transformed into a bird after slaughtering Tereus's son. Cadmus, the founder of Thebes, was turned into a serpent as the oracle of Delphi had foretold.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 87-8. For a variation on the theme, see RAPIN 1674, 182, where he wonders whether “nostre nation [France], qui est naturellement galante, a esté obligée par la nécessité de son caractere à se faire un Systeme nouveau de Tragedie pour s'accommoder à son humeur. Les Grecs estoient des Estats populaires, & qui haissoient la Monarchie, prenoient plaisir, dans leurs spectacles, à voir les Rois humiliés, & les grandes fortunes renversées: par que l'élévation les choquoit.”

et en opposent l'impétuosité aux lois du devoir ou aux tendresses du sang.”⁹⁵ For all their overt transgressions of applying norms of conduct and standards of verisimilitude, he argued, these tales had to be taken for granted since written tradition had reported them as such:

Il n'est pas vraisemblable que Médée tue ses enfants, que Clytemnestre assassine son mari, qu'Oreste poignarde sa mère, mais l'histoire le dit, et la représentation de ces grands crimes ne trouve point d'incrédules. Il n'est ni vrai ni vraisemblable qu'Andromède [the subject of his *Andromède*, 1650], exposée à un monstre marin, aya été garantie de ce péril par un cavalier volant [Perseus], qui avait des ailes aux pieds, mais c'est une fiction que l'Antiquité a reçue, et comme elle l'a transmise jusqu'à nous, personne ne s'en offense quand on la voit sur le théâtre.⁹⁶

Corneille furthermore contended that the acceptability of mythology as theatrical subject matter rested, not on theoretical a priori, though rather on the poet's ability to make something improbable seem probable. As a matter of fact, even supernatural incidents could be acceptable, if only the spectator was adequately prepared to them:

Tout ce que la fable nous dit de ses Dieux et de ses métamorphoses est encore impossible, et ne laisse pas d'être croyable par l'opinion commune et par cette vieille tradition qui nous a accoutumés à en ouïr parler. Nous avons droit d'inventer même sur ce modèle et de joindre des incidents également impossibles à ceux que ces anciennes erreurs nous prêtent. L'auditeur n'est point trompé de son attente, quand le titre du poème le prépare à n'y voir rien que d'impossible en effet: il y trouve tout croyable, et cette première supposition faite qu'il est des Dieux et qu'ils prennent intérêt et font commerce avec les hommes, à quoi il vient tout résolu, il n'a aucune difficulté à se persuader du reste.⁹⁷

Even so, Corneille could but forsake this liberal attitude when facing the receptive horizon of his audience, and the ladies in particular. In *Œdipe* (1659), he consciously subordinated the title-character's incest and self-mutilation to his *raison d'état* as King of Thebes for, as Corneille admitted in the *Examen* (1660), horrors gave way to inconveniences:

J'ai reconnu que ce qui avait passé pour merveilleux en leurs [ancien] siècles pourrait sembler horrible au nôtre, que cette éloquente et curieuse description de la manière dont ce malheureux prince [Oedipus] se crève les yeux, qui occupe tout leur [Sophocles's and Seneca's] cinquième acte, ferait soulever la délicatesse de nos dames, dont le dégoût attire aisément celui du reste de l'auditoire [...]⁹⁸

In a comparable case, *Médée* (1635), Corneille warned the spectators for his portrayal of the sorceress, “toute méchante qu'elle est,”⁹⁹ while at the same time concealing her infanticide, the one problematic action of the plot, under a “récit qui frappe moins que le spectacle, et nous impose plus aisément” – a mere four verses in all.¹⁰⁰

The stark contrasts between Corneille's theoretical demands and his practical solutions may testify to the continuous negotiation of *vraisemblance* and *bienséance* on and outside the

⁹⁵ CORNEILLE 1963, 822.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 822.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 840.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 567.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 173 (*A Monsieur P.T.N.G.*, 1639). Jean Racine would take Corneille's advice at heart and turn Hippolyte's gruesome death in *Phèdre* (1677) into a similar narration (Act V scene 6).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 836.

French stages and pages, under the vigilant eye of royal authority and public ethos. French classicism made Aristotle's views befit practice, and vice versa. The past was made convenient for contemporary purposes and needs. Thus dramatists and theorists alike manipulated *mimesis*, a fairly neutral notion that made little or no claims to the actual truth, let alone to historical fact, into *vraisemblance*, a term charged with *bienséance* or claims to what is "lawful, not only in terms of what the playwright is permitted to compose but in terms of what the characters are permitted to do."¹⁰¹ It was this vital transformation that drove myths into the corner. For although some myths could be adjusted to modern precepts, many others were discarded for the sake of modern axioms.

¹⁰¹ LYONS 1999, 103.

The nature of the gods

Penses-tu m'éblouir des fables de la Grèce?
Peux-tu croire un mensonge? Ah! ces illusions
Sont d'un peuple grossier les vaines visions.

Pradon, *Phèdre et Hippolyte* (Paris, 1677) – II,7

In addition to being submerged by the predicates of classicism, mythology came into the range of not one, but several quarrels centering on the question whether or not modernity excelled antiquity.¹⁰² The controversy would, all in spite of its apparent futility and unsolubility, feed an influential corpus of essays dealing with the defects of mythology.¹⁰³

In the 1630s, Catholic zealots began to cast doubt on the use of pagan imagery in literature. In the field of epic poetry, for instance, one Antoine Godeau sought to establish the senselessness of heathen fictions in a *Discours sur la poésie chrestienne* (1633):

Nos pères ont renversé les autels des démons qui n'estoient que de pierre, et nous leur en élèverons d'or et de diamans dans nos ouvrages? Nous aurons tous les jours dans la bouche des faussetez que nostre cœur désavouë? Nous invoquerons pour dieu ceux à qui nous ne voudrions pas ressembler? Nous trouverons le nom de Jupiter plus auguste que celui de Jésus; et les adultères de l'un nous fourniront de plus belles pensées que la sainteté et les miracles de l'autre? Nous admirerons les exploits fabuleux des Héros, et nous négligerons les actions merveilleuses de nos Martyrs!¹⁰⁴

In drama, it was Pierre Corneille's *Polyeucte martyr* (1643) which created a scornful atmosphere around myth. Polyeucte, a dauntless Christian, continuously lashes out at the heathens in such *harangues* as the following one (Act V scene 4):

POLYEUCTE
Voyez l'aveugle erreur que vous osez défendre:
Des crimes les plus noirs vous souillez tous vos dieux;
Vous n'en punissez point qui n'ait son maître aux cieux:
La prostitution, l'adultère, l'inceste,
Le vol, l'assassinat, et tout ce qu'on déteste,
C'est l'exemple qu'à suivre offrent vos immortels.
J'ai profané leur temple, et brisé leurs autels;
Je le ferois encor, si j'avois à le faire.

The hero eventually overturns the idols of the Romans (*see Plate 1.1*) and dies a martyr for his rebellion.

¹⁰² On the 'Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns,' see DEJEAN 1997 and LEVINE 1991.

¹⁰³ A brief overview is offered in MAGNE 1981.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted from DELAPORTE 1891, 280. Of equal relevance here is Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin's *Discours pour prouver que les sujets Chrétiens sont seuls propres à la poésie héroïque* (1673).

Plate 1.1. Pierre Corneille *Polyeucte martyr* (1643), anonymous engraving from the original edition printed by Sommaville and Courbé, Paris.



Yet, several neo-Aristotelians sought to apologize for the presence of pagan rituals in classical tragedy. D'Aubignac underscored the fact that the culture which had produced these pieces allowed poets to put “en la bouche de leurs Acteurs plusieurs discours de pieté, & qu'en toute occasion on parlast de ces Dieux imaginaires qui s'estoient faits par la corruption de la Theologie naturelle [...]”.¹⁰⁵ La Mesnardière, by contrast, repudiated the religious licentiousness of Athenian tragedy, demanding that unfailing respect be paid to Divine Providence, whether that be of the pagan or Christian kind:

Qu'on s'abstienne non seulement d'introduire sur le Théâtre un homme dont la fureur s'attache au Thrône de Dieu mesme, dont l'exemple est tousjours horrible, bien qu'il soit assez commun dans l'ancienne Tragédie; mais qu'on oblige le Héros de parler avec respect des Puissances souveraines, quand mesmes ses infortunes partiroient de ce principe.¹⁰⁶

The same critic also showed concern over the nature of mythology itself, and more particularly over its status vis-à-vis history. He felt little comfortable with the idea that classical tragedy teemed with fictions:

nous sçavons que la plupart des Tragédies dont les Grecs & les Latins ont enrichi leurs Théâtres, sont tirées de l'Iliade, où bien de la Thebaïde, meres du Poëme tragique; bien que nous n'ignorions pas que Troye ne fut qu'une bicoque qui ne merita jamais qu'on s'arrestât à l'assiéger, que ses deux Flauves célèbres, Xanthe & Simois, ne sont que deux petits ruisseaux. D'ailleurs l'Histoire de Thèbes est si manifestement fausse en la plupart des Aventures qu'elle nous fait passer pour vrayes, qu'il est fort

¹⁰⁵ D'AUBIGNAC 1657, 425.

¹⁰⁶ LA MESNARDIERE 1639, 102.

aisé de juger que les plus belles Tragédies que les Anciens ayent admirées, ont des fondemens fabuleux, inventez, & mesme incroyables [...]¹⁰⁷

However, all attempts to sort the grains of fact from fabulous embellishments were fraught with difficulty, especially in a context in which *histoire fabuleuse* was taught as a time-honored discipline and historiography was contaminated by legend and speculation. The problems surrounding this issue are illustrated by one of *the* textbooks on late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century college shelves – Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet’s *Discours sur l’histoire universelle* (1681).

Part one of Bossuet’s *Discours* offers a chronicle of ‘ancient history’ from *Adam, ou la Création* up to *Charlemagne, ou l’établissement du nouvel Empire*. Although his narrative of the ‘people of God’ is driven by Divine Providence, it is larded with heathen legend, especially when “les temps appelez fabuleux, ou heroïques” are dealt with.¹⁰⁸ Thus the fifth epoch, *La prise de Troye*, is squeezed inbetween those on *Moïse, ou la Loy écrite* and *Salomon, ou le Temple achevé*. Christian heroes receive equal credit as pagan ones, Moses being “le plus ancien des Historiens, le plus sublime des Philosophes, & le plus sage des Legislateurs,” Hercules the founder of the Olympic Games.¹⁰⁹ But the main lesson to be drawn was that pagan mythology resulted from a failure to recognize the Holy Truth:

Dieu avoit introduit l’homme dans le monde, où de quelque costé qu’il tournast les yeux, la sagesse du Créateur reluisoit dans la grandeur, dans la richesse & dans la disposition d’un si bel ouvrage. L’homme cependant l’a méconnu: les créatures qui se presentoient pour élever nostre esprit plus haut, l’ont arrêté: l’homme aveugle & abruti les a servies; & non content d’adorer l’œuvre des mains de Dieu, il a adoré l’œuvre de ses propres mains. Des fables plus ridicules que celles que l’on conte aux enfans, ont fait sa religion: il a oublié la raison [...] C’est par là que la Divinité estoit devenuë visible, & grossiere. Les hommes luy ont donné leur figure, & ce qui estoit plus honteux encore, leurs vices & leurs passions. Le raisonnement n’avoit point de part à une erreur si brutale. C’estoit un renversement du bon sens, un délire, une phrénésie.¹¹⁰

Luckily, the Messiah’s martyrdom had cured the world from idolatry:

C’est ainsi que Dieu a fait voir par experience, que la ruine de l’Idolatrie ne pouvoit pas estre l’ouvrage du seul raisonnement humain. Loin de luy commettre la guerison d’une telle maladie, Dieu a achevé de le confondre par le mystere de la Croix, & tout ensemble il a porté le remede jusqu’à la source du mal.¹¹¹

Allegorical interpretations of myth did not make any sense in Bossuet’s view. On propagating the triumph of Catholicism, he made no secret of his aversion to Neoplatonism. According to him, this school of thought was worthless simply because its founder, Plato, had

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 42.

¹⁰⁸ BOSSUET 1681, 21-2.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 7, 29.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 362-4.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 365.

been a heathen.¹¹² The *faux merveilleux* of myth, Bossuet added, opposed “ce qu’on voit dans l’Histoire Sainte,” which was “en toutes façons plus remarquable.”¹¹³ Jason, Hercules, Orpheus, Achilles and all those characters “que les Poètes ont appelé les enfans des Dieux” were no allegorical shapes of truth – they were the emblems of irrationality.¹¹⁴

Bossuet’s *Discours* enjoyed astounding popularity. An Italian review, printed in 1711, praised it as “one of the most excellent works to have appeared in France during the glorious reign of the most Christian King Louis XIV.”¹¹⁵ This ‘glorious reign’ had not forgotten about the fervent religious disputes of the recent past, above all the Thirty Years’ War. Feeling real anxiety for resurgences of heresy and impiety, clergymen and monarchs alike witnessed – and approved – the persecution of Huguenots, Jews, witches, Quietists and protestants. This development reached a dramatic climax in 1685, as the Edict of Nantes (1598) was revoked and protestantism declared illegal.

Enlightened philosophy, however, added a sense of pragmatism to the debate on mythology by highlighting its pedagogical aspects. The essay preparing the ground for such inquiry was Bernard Le Bouyer de Fontenelle’s *De l’origine des fables*, a text allegedly written between 1689 and 1699 but only published in 1724.¹¹⁶ A nephew of the Corneilles and a man of various interests, Fontenelle was a staunch defender of modernity in all its aspects, from Copernican cosmology and pastoral poetry to the cause of the *modernes* itself. His modernist viewpoint already trickles down from the opening sentence of *De l’origine des fables*:

On nous a si fort accoutumés pendant notre enfance aux Fables des Grecs, que quand nous sommes en état de raisonner, nous ne nous avisons plus de les trouver aussi étonnantes qu’elles le sont. Mais si l’on vient à se défaire des yeux de l’habitude, il ne se peut qu’on ne soit épouvanté de voir toute l’ancienne Histoire d’un Peuple qui n’est qu’un amas de chimères, de rêveries, & d’absurdités. Seroit-il possible qu’on nous eût donné tout cela pour vrai?¹¹⁷

Fontenelle was particularly intrigued by the *sauvages* of the New World. Although he had never witnessed them with his own eyes, he had access to missionary reports in which their rituals were juxtaposed to those of ancient civilizations. According to him, there was a

¹¹² Ibid., 364: “Platon avec son éloquence qu’on a crû divine, a-t-il renversé un seul Autel où ces monstreuses Divinités estoient adorées? Au contraire, luy & ses Disciples, & tous les Sages du siecle ont sacrifié au mensonge [...]”./

¹¹³ Ibid., 22.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 22.

¹¹⁵ GIORNALE 1710-40, VIII, 440: “*Il Discorso sopra la Storia Universale* di Monsignor Jacopo-Benigno Bossuet [...] a gran ragione viene stimato una delle più eccellenti Opere, che sieno uscite nella Francia nel tempo del glorioso regno del Re Cristianissimo Lodovico XIV.”

¹¹⁶ Valuable discussions of the tract are GAY 1966, 317-8; MANUEL 1967, 41-53; FELDMAN 1973-4, 301.

¹¹⁷ FONTENELLE 1724, 353.

“conformité étonnante entre les Fables des Américains, & celles des Grecs,”¹¹⁸ the key to which could be discovered through the identification of a common divisor for the mythopoeic activities of all ‘primitive’ cultures. Fontenelle assumed that this was the custom, inherent to oral tradition, to add fictitious elements to extant stories for the sake of pleasure. Each recounting of a particular story, he observed, added a new layer of *faux merveilleux* to the narrative, and so entire myths were created.¹¹⁹

The next step for Fontenelle consisted in stretching this finding into a narrative of mankind that cast myth as a symptom of irrationality, and Catholicism and philosophy as its healing forces. In what follows, his teleological scope is greatly reminiscent of Bossuet’s:

Nous sçavons aussi bien qu’eux [ancient Greeks] étendre & conserver nos erreurs, mais heureusement elles ne sont pas si grandes, parce que nous sommes éclairées des lumières de la vraie Religion, & à ce que je croi, de quelques rayons de la vraie Philosophie. [...] L’ignorance diminue peu à peu, & par conséquent on vit moins de prodiges; on fit moins de faux Systèmes de Philosophies; les Histoires furent moins fabuleuses; car tout cela s’enchaîne.¹²⁰

Paragraph after paragraph, Fontenelle unfolded a standard procedure for each civilization to follow, no matter its geographic, social or historical background. Like Bossuet, he simply took it for granted that myth, paganism and idolatry had been (or would be) conquered by Reason and Christianity. The only task remaining to be done was to clear away the rubble of allegorical exegesis:

On va s’imaginer que sous ces Fables sont cachez les secrets de la Physique & de la Morale. Eût-il été possible que les Anciens eussent produit de telles rêveries sans y entendre quelque finesse? Le nom des Anciens impose toujours, mais assurément ceux qui ont fait les Fables n’étoient pas gens à sçavoir de la Morale ou de la Physique, ni à trouver l’art de les déguiser sous des images empruntées. Ne cherchons donc autre chose dans les Fables, que l’Histoire des erreurs de l’esprit humain.¹²¹

Like ideas would furnish a *fil rouge* to a whole gamut of enlightened *histoires universelles*, all of which, as Roy Porter justly observed,

claimed to be replacing error with truth, but [...] were in reality trading new myths for old – their own mentalities were mythopoeic too. Yet, however blind to their own myth-making, the enlightened were energetic anatomists of myth, going beyond accounts of individual fables to shape grand anthropologies – or pathologies – of the myth-making imagination itself.¹²²

Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697), for instance, scathingly dismissed Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* as a collection of absurd tales about anthropomorphic fetishes indulging in acts of parricide, rape, cannibalism, sodomy and incest.¹²³ The literal – rather

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 375.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 356-7: “[...] chacun en [story] ôtera quelque petit trait de vrai, & y en mettra quelqu’un de faux, & principalement du faux Merveilleux qui est le plus agréable.”

¹²⁰ Ibid., 373-4, 383.

¹²¹ Ibid., 384-5.

¹²² PORTER 2000, 233.

¹²³ MANUEL 1967, 24-40.

than allegorical – sense of these stories had according to him been imposed on superstitious savages through sermons, intimidations and drug-induced hallucinations. Charles de Brosses in his turn contended in *Du culte des dieux fétiches, ou Parallèle de l'ancienne Religion de l'Égypte avec la Religion actuelle de Nigritie* (1760) that allegory constituted

un instrument universel qui se prête à tout. Le système du sens figuré une fois admis, on y voit facilement tout ce que l'on veut comme dans les nuages: la matière n'est jamais embarrassante; il ne faut plus que de l'esprit & de l'imagination: c'est un vaste champ, fertile en explications, quelles que soient celles dont on peut avoir besoin.¹²⁴

Whether mythology was combatted on religious or rationalist grounds matters less than the actual results of these attacks. Myths lost their innocence, self-evidence, rhetorical suitability and exclusivity as narrative reservoir.¹²⁵ Nowhere would these effects be felt more clearly than in Italy.

Muratori's understanding

As the seventeenth century drew near its close and French academicism assumed control over Italian intellectual life, one tract shook the peninsula to its bones – Dominique Bouhours's *De la manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit* (1687). The book offered a lofty discussion between two imaginary noblemen, Eudoxe, who trumpets the naturalness and verisimilitude of the French *belles lettres*, and Philanthe, who defends the poetic artifices of Italy. Inevitably, Eudoxe gets the upper hand in the conversation and is allowed to draw a bead on the 'bizarre' conceits of Tasso and Marino. Perhaps his virulent assaults should be read as an umpteenth symptom of chauvinism;¹²⁶ yet, they would prove poignant enough to stimulate the offended party to defend itself.

In 1703, the Bolognese Marquis Giovan Gioseffo Orsi launched a defensive campaign, publishing a volume of *Considerazioni sopra un libro francese intitolato 'La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit.'* Bouhours gained the immediate support from upcoming poets like Bernardoni, Martello and Zeno, all of whom countered Bouhours's critique with

¹²⁴ DE BROSSES 1760, 6-7.

¹²⁵ See MOREL 1981, 170, where it is asserted that "les œuvres tragiques présentées au public entre 1640 et les débuts de Racine par les deux Corneille, Mairat, Rotrou, et tout particulièrement par Tristan, empruntent leurs sujets à la Bible et à la vie des saints, à l'histoire romaine, aux chroniques orientales, très rarement à la mythologie."

¹²⁶ Comparable anti-Italian campaigns include the rejection of Cavalli's *Ercole amante* (1662) and of Bernini's plans for the Louvre (1666), see ANTHONY 1973, 45-51; ISHERWOOD 1973, 125-34.

patriotic sentiments.¹²⁷ Their endeavors did not culminate in a revival of Italian classics, however, but ironically enough helped French literature conquer Italian soil.¹²⁸

Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750) was one of the authors who teamed up with Orsi's league. A foremost librarian and historiographer, Muratori may not have been the most sensitive aesthetician of his time, still he exerted a phenomenal influence on the Orsi-Bouhours quarrel and on the Enlightenment as a whole.¹²⁹ In his *Primi disegni della repubblica letteraria d'Italia* (1703), for instance, he suggested that the establishment of a pan-Italian republic of letters would overcome the provincialism of Italian academic life which had made it so vulnerable to the French. In *Delle riflessioni sopra il buon gusto nelle scienze e nelle arti* (1708), he sketched the practical outlines for large-scale cultural reform, thereby leaving no tricky issue – among which the 'effeminacy' of contemporary culture (see Chapter Four) – untouched. In the long run, it was his plea for classicism, *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (1706), that gained most approval among the *letterati*.

Like the French neo-Aristotelians, Muratori understood good taste in exclusivist sense, namely as "the understanding and power to judge that which is defective, imperfect or mediocre in the sciences and the arts."¹³⁰ On identifying the malicious Other, Muratori combined insights from various doctrines. Cartesian method first of all helped him to deduce the "principles" and "fundamental causes" underlying the "internal Beauty of the Art of Poetry."¹³¹ On searching for these principles, he arrived at "what Aristotle, his commentators and other talented masters of the poetics have diffusely written."¹³² Catholicism had furthermore taught him that art and science were to be made subservient to matters of religion, simply because God was "more beautiful than anything else" and the "source of all beauty."¹³³ Ethical considerations, finally, carried him to the idea that the theater offered, in

¹²⁷ Their letters of support were assembled in the *Lettere di diversi autori in proposito delle considerazioni del Marchese Giovan Gioseffo Orsi...* (1707). Details in CORRADO 2001.

¹²⁸ Essential studies on this aspect are MAUGAIN 1909; BEDARIDA & HAZARD 1934; TOFFANIN 1960.

¹²⁹ The Mozarts were among Muratori's readers, see TILL 1992, 9-10. For biographical details on Muratori, see DIAZ 1968, 105-22.

¹³⁰ After MINOR 2006, 40: "Noi per buon Gusto intendiamo il conoscere ed il poter giudicare ciò, che sia difettoso, o imperfetto, or mediocre nelle Scienze e nelle Arti."

¹³¹ MURATORI 1971, 16: "Utile dunque, anzi necessaria cosa egli sarebbe il ben discernere i primi principî, le ragioni fondamentali, e il Bello interno dell'Arte Poetica [...]"

¹³² Ibid., 708: "[...] egli è necessario d'aver sempre avanti a gli occhi ciò, che Aristotele, i suoi Sponitori, ed altri valentuomini Maestri della Poetica in questo proposito hanno diffusamente scritto."

¹³³ Ibid., 79: "Bellissimo sopra ogni cosa è Dio, ed egli è il fonte d'ogni Bellezza [...]". See also Ibid., 82 ("Dalla cognizione del Vero egli sente piacere; fugge per lo contrario, ed abborisco il Falso; perché il primo è conforme alla natura, che fatta ad immagine di Dio ha inclinazione alla Sapienza, e a questa affatto s'opponne il Falso.") and 83 ("E dico, che il Bello diletta, e movente con soavità l'umano Intelletto, altro non è, se non un Lume, e un'aspetto risplendente del Vero. Questo Lume, ed Aspetta, qualor perviene ad illuminar l'Anima nostra, e a scacciarne con dolcezza l'Ignoranza (cioè una delle pene più gravi, che per eredità ci lasciò il primo nostro padre [Adam]) cagiona dentro di noi un dolcissimo piacere, un movimento gratissimo.").

an ideal world, a “pleasant school of good manners” and an “agreeable cathedra of moral colleges” of “benefit to the ‘Christian Republic’.”¹³⁴

Of all disciplines, it was moral philosophy that made up the core of Muratori’s theoretical framework. Yet, this ‘noble science’ was so abstract that Muratori advocated the assistance of two disciplinary sisters: rhetorics and history. Rhetorics could serve as an amplifier on seducing the reader (or spectator) towards a more virtuous life, while history could provide the moral philosopher with practical illustrations in the guise of historical deeds.¹³⁵ Still, rhetorics and history were of themselves equally too dry to be enjoyed as such, and thus a third science was needed so that the qualities of history and rhetorics could be merged into an entertaining, but edifying shape. Of course, that ‘science’ was poetry.

Muratori’s perception of poetry as handmaiden of history may seem to pervert Aristotelian tradition, yet it constituted a logical outcome of Muratori’s own contributions to the revival of historiography. In fact, he was the author of such titanic projects as the twenty-five-volume bibliography of Italian historiographers (*Rerum italicarum scriptores*; 1723-51), seventy-five dissertations about the institutions and customs of medieval Italy (*Antiquitates italicæ mediæ ævi*, 1738-42), an account of the d’Este dynasty (*Delle antichità estensi*, 1717-40), and a six-volume chronicle of Italian history (*Gli annali d’Italia*, 1744-9). Not content with compiling facts, he furthermore left no chance to apply his immense erudition to issues of momentaneous interest, *in casu* literature. As regards the nature of fiction, for instance, Muratori agreed with baroque aestheticians like Pallavicino that fantastic images could instill wonder and delight, especially among those illiterate louts who discovered

no less verisimilitude in the dreamed incidents of the Round Table, of Amadis and Orlando, than in the true undertakings of a Julius Caesar, an August or Charlemagne, even though the former seem so strange in comparison to the latter. [This is so] because the eyes of the ignorant [are] not guided by the study of true historical accounts, nor by other vigorous eyeglasses. [As such, they] cannot manage to distinguish the black from the white in times so remote.¹³⁶

Aware that such tales had provided the French classicists with a weapon to combat Italian poetry,¹³⁷ Muratori proposed an alternative type of poetry, a *poesia seria e nobile* that would

¹³⁴ Ibid., 704-5: “Può divenire, in una parola, il Teatro una dilettevole Scuola de’ buoni costumi, e una soave Cattedra di lezioni Morali. Sicché non solamente non gitterebbe il tempo, ma farebbe un singolar beneficio alla Cristiana Repubblica [...]”.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 55-6.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 143-4: “Né minor verisimiglianza truova il rozzo popolo ne’ sognati avvenimenti della Tavola Ritonda, d’Amadigi, e d’Orlando, che nelle vere imprese d’un Giulio Cesare, d’un Augusto, d’un Carlo Magno, avvegnaché i primi sieno sì strani in paragon de’ secondi: poichè le pupille de gl’ignoranti non aiutete dallo studio delle veraci Storie, o da altri vigorosi occhiali, non possono giungere a distinguere in tanta lontananza di tempi il nero dal bianco.”

¹³⁷ E.g. RAPIN 1674, 55: “[...] cet Hippogriffe ou ce cheval aisé de Roger, ces Geans, ces monstres, cet Anneau merveilleux d’Angelique qui la rend invisible, ces combats de Marsite, de Bradamante, d’Olympe, & toute cette

appeal to intellectuals who – like himself – preferred historical facts above imaginary stories.¹³⁸ The ‘noble and serious poet,’ he argued, favored incidents that had either “happened,” were “certain and existent,” or “truly can or could, must or should exist and occur.”¹³⁹ Through the use of these ‘intellectual images,’ the serious poet could attain a ‘noble,’ rather than ‘popular’ verisimilitude, bringing aesthetic pleasure to those who had been sufficiently educated to discriminate fiction from fact.

As regards mythology, Muratori agreed that fables had functioned in antiquity as allegorical representations of historical facts and moral lessons.¹⁴⁰ Yet, when deployed in modernity, these tales became “despicable,” “dishonest,” “sordid,” “inconvenient,” and “even capable of harming good customs or offending religion.”¹⁴¹ Homer’s gods, for instance, were “far removed” from the “decorum” required by modernity, and “not a few figments of the ancient poets’ fantasy should be more aptly called dreams of truly delirious persons, rather than beautiful images of the poetic fantasy.”¹⁴² “The intellect of wise poets,” by contrast, “must prohibit to the fantasy that which is not convenient and, more than that, what is contrary to the opinions of the religion which one professes.”¹⁴³ In tragedy and comedy, both of which stood even closer to reality than lyrical and epic poetry, mythology could simply not function.¹⁴⁴ But did it function in opera?

It requires a subtle trick to demonstrate that Muratori’s ideas did at all contribute to operatic history. As a whole, his attitude to musical drama was doubtful, not to say pejorative. *Della perfetta poesia italiana*, for instance, has often been named (and scorned) for its outright disapproval of opera.¹⁴⁵ Even so, when considering the very operas Muratori

bravoure du sexe [of the Amazons], qu’il [Tasso] fait guerrier contre sa timidité naturelle, ces visions, ces enchantemens, & ces événemens prodigieux sont semblables aux imaginations creuses d’un malade, & ils font pitié à tous ceux qui ont du sens: parce qu’ils n’ont aucune couleur de vray-semblance.”

¹³⁸ MURATORI 1971, 124-5: “Confessiamo nulladimeno, che più dilettevoli, stimabili, e belle saran l’Epopoeie, e le Tragedie fondate sulla Storia, che le interamente immaginate dalla Fantasia Poetica [...]”.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 114: “Il Poeta adunque nobile, e serio sempre ci rappresenta cose veramente avvenute, certe, ed esistenti; o pur ne finge colla sua Fantasia di quelle, che veramente possono, o potevano, debbono, o dovevano essere, e accadere, generando nella Mente nostra, o Scienza, ovvero Opinione.”

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 316: “[...] in molte di queste Favole avessero gli antichi per fine il coprir qualche Storia, o moral consiglio [...]”

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 317: “Dato ancora, che col Velo dell’Allegoria rappresentassero essi una qualche Verità, questo Vero però non doveva essere ignobile, disonesto, sordido, disdicevole, e capace o di nuocere a’ buoni costumi, o d’offendere la Religione.”

¹⁴² Ibid., 317: “Ora gli Dei d’Omero sono ben lungi da tal Decoro. Il perché non pochi trovati della Fantasia de’ vecchi Poeti più tosto s’hanno da nominar sogni di persone veramente deliranti, che Immagini belle della Fantasia Poetica. [...]”

¹⁴³ Ibid., 317: “[...] l’Intelletto de’ saggi Poeti dee proibire alla Fantasia ciò, che non è convenevole, anzi è contrario alle opinioni della Religione, che si professa.”

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 312: “[...] alla Poesia Drammatica, o sia alle Tragedie, e Commedie non si convengono in guisa alcuna questi continuati deliri.”

¹⁴⁵ See LUCCHI 1982; MARRI 1988; COTTIGNOLI 1994.

attended, read or heard about in Milan, Modena and Reggia Emilia on conceiving this tract (c. 1695-1700), it becomes apparent that this attitude was largely informed by the *drammi* of Noris, Giannini, Beregan, Minato, d'Averara and Trecchi, all of whom deployed liberal amounts of 'popular verisimilitude.'¹⁴⁶ Muratori's correspondence on the other hand bears out enough evidence to assume that he was well aware of, and even positively supportive towards, the implementation of classicist precepts in the *dramma per musica*. In fact, he had become friends with the Venetian librettist Apostolo Zeno, who for his part considered Muratori his advisor and sent him copies of his libretti often prior to their publication.¹⁴⁷ In one of the letters accompanying these parcels (*Aminta*, 12 March 1701), Zeno confessed that he actually reformed his "weakness under the guidance" of Muratori's "most purged understanding."¹⁴⁸ The poet learnt about the details of this 'understanding' in the Summer of 1701, when he was furnished with a manuscript entitled *La riforma della poesia italiana* – nothing but an early draft of *Della perfetta poesia italiana*.¹⁴⁹ Zeno's fondness for the tract speaks from his appraisal in several letters and an enthusiastic review in the *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia*.¹⁵⁰ Of all documents, however, it is Zeno's operatic production that testifies to Muratori's impact on early opera seria.

¹⁴⁶ The operas discussed in Muratori's correspondence are identified in MARRI 1988, 107-17.

¹⁴⁷ Muratori's relationship with Zeno has been dealt with in GIAZOTTO 1952, 13-21, and FREEMAN 1967, 36-46.

¹⁴⁸ ZENO 1752, I, 144: "Io desidero di ridurla [*Aminta*] a quell'ultimo compimento che posso; ma prima mi sarebbe caro e profittevole l'averne il maturo parere di V.S. Illma, pregandola ad avvisarmi senza veruno scrupolo ciò che le sembri difettoso e manchevole, sì nel viluppo, sì nello stile; affinché *rimodando quella mia debolezza con la guida del suo purgatissimo intendimento* [italics added], io possa con men di rossore farla un dì comparire sotto l'occhia di sua Altezza Serenissima, pel cui comando l'ho concepita e formata."

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., I, 48: "L'idea che vi siete compiacuto di comunicarmi delle cose vostre, è una finezza della vostra amicizia; ed io non tanto mi vi confesso tenuto per un atto di sì cortese dimostrazione, che per la soddisfazione che avete fatta provarmi in parteciparmela *La Riforma della Poesia Italiana* (titolo che non dee parervi superbo, poichè ai grandi abusi non abbisognano modesti rimedj) sovra cui vi affaticate, sarà opera degna di voi, ed utilissima a tutti. Ella riesce di tutto mio gusto, ma in particolare dove riguarda la critica, ch'è lo studio più familiare d'oggi, e forse il più fruttuoso."

¹⁵⁰ See Ibid., I, 175-6 ("Ho letto i giorni passati, benchè ancor non sia pubblicato, il primo volume della *Perfetta Poesia* spiegata dal Dr. Muratori, che in esso sferza assai bene gli scrittori Francesi, che vogliono fare i pedanti adosso a' nostri migliori Italiani. A mio giudizio l'autore si è portato assai bene; e se in qualche luogo non fosse alquanto prolisso, mi avrebbe ottimamente soddisfatto." – to del Torre, 4 December 1706); I, 178 ("I di passati ho veduto il libro del Sig. Muratori intorno la *Perfetta Poesia Italiana*, e mi è sommamente piaciuto." – to Marmi, 12 March 1707); and III, 538 ("Il libro della *Perfetta Poesia* del Sig. Muratori contiene veramente ottimi precetti, e sarà sempre utilissimo per chi attentamente lo legge." – to Gravisi, 3 November 1730). The review of *Della perfetta poesia* can be found in GIORNALE 1710-40, II, 162-91.

History triumphant: Zeno

Nicht eingeführt hat Zeno die historischen Stoffe, sondern nur denselben grössere historische Wahrheit und Ernst verliehen.

Max Fehr, *Apostolo Zeno und seine Reform des Operntextes* (1912)¹⁵¹

Apostolo Zeno would have led an aristocrat's life if the War over Crete (1645-69) had not dispossessed his parents of their status and property, a magnificent palace in Candia. As a *cittadino originario*, however, Zeno could restrict his sociosphere to Venetian patricians like the Marcellos, Gozzis and Grimanis. Not by chance, it was Count Giovanni Carlo Grimani, co-owner of the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo and protector of Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti (see above), who in 1691 pushed Zeno's career by inviting him to establish a learned society, the *Accademia degli Animosi*. This academy picked up the role of the former Incogniti, welcoming first-rank librettists like Domenico David, Benedetto Pasqualigo, Agostino Piovene and Francesco Silvani under its ranks. No later than April 1698, the Animosi Academy was adopted by the Arcadia as one of its 'colonies.'¹⁵²

Like Muratori, Zeno was gifted with an encyclopedic spirit, a precocious interest in historiography and a passion for books.¹⁵³ His earliest scholarly contributions appeared in a Venetian periodical called *La Galleria di Minerva* (1697) and Father Foresti's *Mappamondo Storico* (1699-1705), a historical compendium covering the various regions of Europe.¹⁵⁴ In 1710, Zeno co-founded the *Giornale de' letterati d'Italia*, a periodical with reviews of new books and scientific findings.¹⁵⁵ Of course, Zeno's chief contribution to cultural history lies in the forty-four *drammi* with which he came to be regarded – deservedly or not – as one of the principal reformers of Italian opera.¹⁵⁶

Paradoxically, though, little elements in Zeno's earliest dramatic output reveal an ambition to reform opera, let alone one to introduce historicism in this art form. Apparently, he even remained deaf to the cries of classicism, rejecting Frigimelica's demands for tragic gravity as "disturbed and little reasonable, like his libretti,"¹⁵⁷ and maintaining, as late as

¹⁵¹ FEHR 1912, 55.

¹⁵² MAYLENDER 1926, I, 205-8; SAUNDERS 1985, 30-1.

¹⁵³ Zeno's personal library counted thousands of books, among which a complete run of Venetian libretti (1637-1700) that is still preserved at the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (see LAINI 1995).

¹⁵⁴ Zeno also planned a volume on the Low Countries, but it never saw the daylight due to an argument with the publisher, Girolamo Albrizzi.

¹⁵⁵ See DOOLEY 1991 for a broad discussion of the *Giornale*.

¹⁵⁶ This idea has been extensively re-assessed in FREEMAN 1967 and FREEMAN 1968.

¹⁵⁷ ZENO 1752, I, 192: "Mi è stato detto, che anche il Frigimelica in Padova voglia dar fuori qualche cosa contro di voi: non l'ho nondimeno per nuova sicura; ma quando fosse, avremo campo di ridere, essendo egli pieno d'idee stravolte, e così poco ragionevoli, come i suoi Drammi." (to Muratori, 26 May 1708).

1720, that the libretto and tragedy were worlds apart: “In tragedy, it is possible to comply religiously with rules that are made for the purpose,” whereas “in a libretto, it is necessary to give something to the abuse of the century, to the decoration, and to the music.”¹⁵⁸ Zeno’s debut composition, *Gl’inganni felici* (1695), gives a tangible idea of what this ‘abuse’ implied. The story plots a fusion of ‘historical’ (taken from Herodotus) and imaginary incidents against the background of the Greek Olympic Games.¹⁵⁹ Homeric similes are deployed in it in pure seicento fashion. In Act I scene 16, the Thracian prince Orgonte appears in the garb of Sifalce alias the ‘Amphion of Greece’ to court princess Agarista in her apartment (see Appendix 1.2). The action is suddenly transposed from antiquity to contemporary times as both characters accompany their hymns on the fortunes of Achilles and Deidamia on a spinetta, rather than a lyre.¹⁶⁰ Zeno’s following two efforts, the pastorals *Il Tirsi* (Venice, 1696) and *Narciso* (Ansbach, 1697), equally teem with seicento traits. While the former serves no other purpose than the “bizzarria del Capriccio,”¹⁶¹ the latter presents a Guarinesque amplification of Ovidian *conceitti*.

It is only with Zeno’s *I rivali generosi* (1697) that a first, discreet rupture with past practice can be sensed. First of all, this plot unfolds in a circumscribed historical context: the sixth-century conquest of Ravenna by Flavius Belisarius (Belisarios), commander to the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I. Although a complicated love interest partly obfuscates the heroic event,¹⁶² patriotic undertones emerge from Zeno’s selection of a glorious, rather than decadent, episode from Italian history – the defeat of the Ostrogoths and the ensuing restauration of the Eastern Roman Empire. But the libretto reveals even more historicist ambitions in that it discards the supernatural atmosphere inherent to its source, Gian Giorgio Trissino’s chivalric poem *L’Italia liberata dai Goti* (1527).¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., II, 97: “In una Tragedia si possono osservar religiosamente si fatte regole [...] In un Dramma bisogna dar qualche cosa all’abuso del secolo, alla decorazione, e alla Musica.” (to Pier Caterino Zeno, 6 January 1720).

¹⁵⁹ See ZENO 1785, I, 9: “Su questi fondamenti parte Istorici, appresso Erodoto, parte favolosi s’intreccia il Dramma.”

¹⁶⁰ As if further minimalizing the distance between the masquerade on scene and contemporaneity, Carlo Francesco Pollarolo had the arias accompanied with a harpsichord only. The resulting ‘Musikunterrichtsstunde’ (dixit Reinhard Strohm) is reproduced in facsimile in IOB, XVI, fols. 36r-39v., and discussed in PISTORELLI 1894, 59; BURT 1968; STROHM 1979, 37-8.

¹⁶¹ *Il Tirsi* (Venice, 1696), ‘Cortese Lettore’, [vii]: “Il Sogetto di questa Favola non hà altro fondamento, che la bizzarria del Capriccio [...]”. Given its absence from Zeno’s *Poesie drammatiche* (1744), his authorized *Gesamtausgabe*, KIRKENDALE 1966, 28, could not believe that *Il Tirsi* was authored by Zeno. WEISS 1984, 125, on the other hand, has described *Il Tirsi* as a ‘typically Arcadian’ (?) libretto.

¹⁶² The Greek princes Ormonte and Olindo duel for the love of Elpidia, who loves the latter but is desired by Vitige, King of the Goths. Ormonte is loved by Rosmilda, Vitige’s daughter, who for her part is desired by Vitige’s captain, Alarico.

¹⁶³ Trissino’s poetry was cherished by the circle around Zeno. Zeno himself authored a biography of Trissino for the *Galleria di Minerva* (1697), while Scipione Maffei, the co-editor of the *Giornale de’ letterati d’Italia*, published Trissino’s complete works (1729).

Historicism increasingly prevails in Zeno's following works. *Eumene* (1697), his first libretto for the San Giovanni Grisostomo, is built upon "partly historical, partly verisimilar foundations."¹⁶⁴ The subject of *Odoardo* (1698), furthermore, is culled from English medieval history, representing the succession of the vicious Edwy the Fair (955-9) by "one of the most illustrious rulers of England," Edgar the Peaceable (959-75).¹⁶⁵ The heroic theme provided the upcoming poet with a welcome opportunity to display his knowledge about Anglosaxon history, as fully demonstrated in the *Mappamondo storico*. More importantly, it allowed him to create a complimentary portrait of the dedicatee, Charles of Manchester, ambassador to King William III.¹⁶⁶

Of all Zeno's early libretti, however, it is *Faramondo* (1698) which flags the triumph of historicism in Venetian dramma per musica. The preface alone reads like an apology for historical subject matter. "These rare incidents which constitute the most beautiful part of history," Zeno observed,

still provide the theaters with the most illustrious heroes, ensuring the present ones [heroes] to have a good time, even though the course of many centuries has held them far away from our memory. Wherever they let themselves be seen in public, even when they would be useless to the remaining part of the people, they are deserving of reception by princes, who from the actions of the past infer the plan for the future, as well as consolidate their own security on the knowledge of the other's merit. I, however, Most Serene Highness [Ferdinand III of Tuscany], have chosen for my drama one of the most celebrated princes of ancient times [Pharamond, the first Merovingian king], and whatever idea may succeed from it, I have wished to dedicate it to you, one of the most respected men of our time.¹⁶⁷

The plot radiates nothing but gravitude and splendor, dealing with the triumph of the pious Pharamond (c. 370-428), the first King of the Franks, over the villains Gernando, Gustavo and Teobaldo. Zeno deliberately amplified the moral dimension of the incident through a sharpening of the conflict between Good and Evil. By doing so, he would reap fame both on

¹⁶⁴ ZENO 1785, I, 237: "fondamenti parte Storici, parte verisimili".

¹⁶⁵ *Odoardo* (Venice, 1698), 'Illustris:', ed Eccellentiss: Sig. Sig [sic] Patron Col.: n.n.: "Gli Storici che ne riferiscono la vita, parlan di lui [Edward] come d'uno de' più illustri Regnanti dell'Inghilterra; ed io vorrei che le lodi dell'Esemplare si conformassero alla Pittura: non per trarne motivo di vanità; mà solo per offerirle qualche cosa meno indegna d'esserle offerta."

¹⁶⁶ See the letter of dedication, *Ibid.*, n.n.: "Consacro l'Odoardo a V.E. cioè uno de' più illustri Monarchi dell'Inghilterra [William III] ad uno de' suoi più gloriosi Ministri [Charles of Manchester]. [...] E' ben vero che il Ritratto ch'io feci di sì gran Principe gli si rassomiglia sì poco, che il chiaro intelletto di V.E. avrà pena a riconoscerlo ne' miei scitti; ed è ancor vero che nella chiara cognizione che tengo del suo gran merito, non doveva azardarmi ad un'offerta sì poco proporzionata alla grandezza dell'Argomento che tratto, e del Mecenate cui dedico."

¹⁶⁷ *Faramondo* (Venice, 1698), 'Serenissima Altezza,' n.n.: "Que' rari avvenimenti, che formano la più bella parte alle Storie, somministrano ancora gli Eroi più illustri a' Teatri, e ce li fanno goder presenti, benchè il corso di molti secoli abbia procurato di tenerli lontani dalla nostra memoria. Ovunque eglino si lascin vedere in pubblico, quando ancora fossero inutili al rimanente degli uomini, son meritevoli dell'accoglienza de' Principi, che dalle azioni passate prendono il disegno dell'avvenire, e sulla cognizione dell'altrui merito stabiliscono la sicurezza del loro. Io pertanto, Serenissima Altezza, hò scielto nel mio Drama uno de' più celebri Principi dell'antica età, e qualunque possa riuscirne l'Idea che ne hò fatta, hò voluto dedicarlo a Voi, come ad uno de' più ragguardevoli della nostra."

the stage as in the reading-rooms of savants.¹⁶⁸ Muratori would, all his aversion to opera notwithstanding, call *Faramondo* “an exquisite drama”.¹⁶⁹

Zeno’s definitive breakthrough took place in 1700 with *Lucio Vero*, a play about an Armenian queen’s faithfulness to her husband, Vologesus, whom she (falsely) presumes dead. The stoic Berenice resists the lustful advances of the Roman conqueror Lucius Antoninus Verus, who himself is unfaithful to his betrothed Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius. Lucilla for her part does her best to ward off the advances of Lucius Verus’s confidant, Anicetus, and thus sides with the virtuous Berenice against the unfaithful *innamorati*. An immensely successful libretto, *Lucio Vero* would hold the stage for the remainder of the century, appearing in a variety of remakes and setting the example for further representations of stoic women, think of *La Griselda* (1701). Not coincidentally, *Lucio Vero* (revamped as *Vologeso*) was the ‘truthful’ and ‘touching’ libretto Jommelli alluded to on trumpeting the merits of historical subject matter in his letter to Martinelli (see above).

Years of consecutive success paved the road to Zeno’s appointment at the Habsburg court. Hired both as *poeta* and *storico cesareo* in 1718, Zeno performed such diverse tasks in Vienna as compiling imperial genealogies and numismatic catalogs, next to composing the annual dramma for the name-day of Emperor Charles VI. In these pieces, Zeno had historicism intersect poetry to unprecedented extents.¹⁷⁰ *Sirita* (1719), for example, features motives “drawn from the narrative of the historian, not from the idea of the poet,” while *Meride e Selinunte* (1721) contains “historical truths”.¹⁷¹ *Ifigenia in Aulide* (1718) offers a Racinian reading of the Iphigenia legend (see Chapter Five), stripped from its last mythological vestiges and supplemented with elements that are “not without historical foundations.”¹⁷² *Andromaca* (1724), another Greek-Trojan episode drawn from Racine, ‘interweaves’ the “verisimilar with the truth in such a way that the latter can only be discerned

¹⁶⁸ ZENO 1752, I, 23: “Qui è stato accolto con qualche applauso, e vien giudicato il men cattivo di quanti sin ora mi son caduti dalla penna.” (To Antonio Magliabechi, 27 December 1698)

¹⁶⁹ After MARRI 1988, 43: “Il *Faramondo* è un Drama esquisito [...]” (20 May 1699).

¹⁷⁰ I disagree with Elena Sala Di Felice when she argues that “Zeno kept his work for the theatre and his scholarly activities separate” (“Zeno, Apostolo” in GROVE). My opinion instead chimes with that of FEHR 1912, 56 (“Besitzer einer reichen Bibliothek, und bewandert in der alten Geschichte, sah sich Zeno, was die Auffindung solcher grossen Persönlichkeiten betrifft, im Vorteil vor den zahllosen Dichterlingen seiner Zeit. Wir konstatieren hier den *unverkennbaren Einfluss des Gelehrten auf den Dichter*.” – my emphasis) and CARUSO 1995, 31 (“[...] in Zeno’s case, direct quotations were surely justified by his actual reading of the sources (which probably cannot be said of many other contemporary librettists).”)

¹⁷¹ ZENO 1785, V,89 (“[...] tutte son tratte dalla narrazione dell’Istorico, non dall’idea del Poeta.”); V,259 (“[...] son tutte verità storiche, opportunamente accennate per entro il Dramma [...]).

¹⁷² Ibid., IV, 187: “[...] gli amori d’Achille, e d’Ifigenia, l’andata di quello a Lesbo, donde ne condusse Elisena prigioniera, ed altre circostanze della favola, non sono senza istorico fondamento.” Zeno even managed to mislead one of his later biographers, Luigi Pistorelli, who believed the plot to be based on a “historical argument” (PISTORELLI 1894, 71).

from the other with great difficulty.”¹⁷³ *Imeneo* (1727), finally, offers a thoroughly demythologized rendering of Hymen, the god of marriage, who no longer has anything divine about him.¹⁷⁴

A survey of Zeno’s entire output (*see Appendix 1.3*) learns that history delivered the narrative core of 84.19% of his works, or even 90.91% (forty out of forty-four) when more weight is lent to the historical aspects in *Gl’inganni felici* (1695), *Aminta* (1703) and *Merope* (1711).¹⁷⁵ And yet, there is no reason to turn Zeno into a pioneer of ‘historical realism.’ What he accomplished instead was the substitution of ambivalent figures from Roman imperial history (e.g. Nero, Caligula, Domitian or Heliogabal) by unambiguous heroes from lesser-known epochs such as medieval Britain, Asia or Scandinavia. Zeno transformed the realities imparted by these antiquarian accounts “into a grave, heroic, instructive verisimilitude”¹⁷⁶ that magnified moral lessons, neatly polarized the virtuous and the vicious, and spotlighted the deeds of ‘good rulers.’ As a result, his characters and stories were, as he argued in the preface to *Alessandro Severo* (1717), more “verisimilar” than “true.”¹⁷⁷ His morally enhanced shape of history met Muratori’s standards of *poesia seria e nobile*, and created a new form of opera that paid tribute to the elite and avoided the popular. His example inspired countless librettists. On 9 October 1723, for instance, Zeno complimented the Venetian poet Luisa Bergalli on her libretto *Agide Rè di Sparta*, which forsook “fabulous and ordinary subjects” in favor of “heroic ones that more than the others inspire the fantasy to say great and sublime things, and in which the amorous blends better with the noble.”¹⁷⁸

In Zeno’s wake, the Olympian deities further vanished from the Italian stage. Between Autumn 1709 and 1711, for instance, a respectable 57.14% of the operas given at Venice was

¹⁷³ ZENO 1785, VI, 3: “[...] ho intrecciato in tal guisa il verisimile col vero, che a grande stento possono discernersi l’uno dall’altro.”

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., VII, 84: “Molte sono le opinioni intorno al vero essere d’Imeneo. Io, tralasciate le favolose, mi sono appigliato a quella, che ho creduta, o più certa, o più verisimile.”

¹⁷⁵ *Gl’inganni felici* is drawn from Herodotus, *Aminta* has “fondamenti parte di Storia, tratti da Giustino [Marcus Iunianus Iustinus] compilatore di Trogo, parte d’invenzione” (ZENO 1785, II, 307; see also ZENO 1752, I, 48, where he denotes it as a “Dramma misto di Pastorale e di Eroico”), while *Merope* was seen in its day as a historical tale (see the review of Maffei’s homonymous tragedy in *GIORNALE* 1710-40, XVIII, 318: “Quindi egli passa a toccare nella suddetta Dedicatoria i *fonti principali storici* [my emphasis], da’ quali ha tratti i motivi da andar lavorando la sua Tragedia.”).

¹⁷⁶ Gianrinaldo Carlo, quoted from NEGRI 1816, 393: “[...] il primo ad intimar la fuga agl’impossibili dalla scena, riducendo l’azione ad un verisimile grave, eroico, istruttivo.”

¹⁷⁷ ZENO 1785, IV, 355: “Nella favola [i.e. plot] si è seguito il verisimile più che il vero.” Still, a number of Zeno’s readers must have checked his antefacts. One Raulin D’Essars, for instance, whose copy of the *Poesie drammatiche* (1744) is preserved at the Royal Library ‘Albert I’ (shelf no. Fétis 4491 A), noted in the margin of *Temistocle*: “Romanesca, contraddice l’historia.” (ZENO 1744, I, 452).

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., II, 288: “Lodovi poi sommamente, che lasciati i soggetti favolosi e comuni, vi siate appigliati agli eroici, i quali più degli altri portano la fantasia a dir cose grandi e sublimi, e dove meglio s’intreccia col nobile l’amoroso.” *Agide Rè di Sparta* was premiered in 1725 at the Teatro San Moisè in Venice with music by Giovanni Porta.

historical. Another 25% was pastoral, while no more than 14.29% and 10.71% elaborated on romance and mythology, respectively.

Table 1.3. Overview of Venetian operas produced between Autumn 1709 and Autumn 1711.¹⁷⁹

Season	Titles, in alphabetical order (venue)	Composer	Librettist	Subject matter
Autumn 1709	<i>Ama più chi men si crede</i> (SGG)	Lotti	Silvani	pastoral
	<i>L'Aretusa</i> (SF)	Monari	d'Averara	pastoral
	<i>L'Endimione</i> (SA)	Boniventi	Mazzari	myth + pastoral
	<i>Il tradimento premiato</i> (SA)	Polani	Candi	pastoral
	<i>La principessa fedele</i> (SC) ¹⁸⁰	Gasparini	Piovene	romance (Orient)
Carn. 1709-10	<i>L'Agrippina</i> (SGG)	Händel	Grimani	history
	<i>Arato in Sparta</i> (SA)	Ruggieri	uncertain ¹⁸¹	history
	<i>Ciro</i> (SC)	Albinoni	Pariati	history (Orient)
	<i>Il comando non inteso, et ubbidito</i> (SGG)	Lotti	Silvani	history
	<i>La ninfa Apollo</i> (SC)	Gasparini, Lotti	Lemene	myth + pastoral
Autumn 1710	<i>Sesostri Rè d'Egitto</i> (SC)	Gasparini	Zeno, Pariati	history (Orient)
	<i>Le vicende d'Amor, e di Fortuna</i> (SF)	Gasparini	Noris	history
	<i>L'Amor tirannico</i> (SC)	Gasparini	Lalli	history (Orient)
	<i>L'Erginia imascherata</i> (SF)	various	Marchi	history + pastoral
	<i>La Fillirosa</i> (SF)	various	Bergonzini	pastoral
Carn. 1710-1	<i>L'ingannator ingannato</i> (SS)	Ruggieri	Marchi	history
	<i>Isacio tiranno</i> (SGG)	Lotti	Noris, Briani	history
	<i>Non son quella, è la difesa</i> (SA)	Ruggieri	Falier	romance (Orient)
	<i>Circe delusa</i> (SA)	Boniventi	Falier	myth
	<i>La costanza fortunata in amore</i> (SF)	anonymous	Piccioli	romance
Autumn 1711	<i>Le gare di Politica, e d'Amore</i> (SS)	Ruggieri	Salvi	history
	<i>Tamerlano</i> (SC)	Gasparini	Piovene	history (Orient)
	<i>Il tiranno eroe</i> (SC)	Albinoni	Cassani	history
	<i>Il tradimento traditor di se stesso</i> (SGG)	Lotti	Silvani	history (Orient)
	<i>Armida in Damasco</i> (SA)	Rampini	Braccioli	romance (Orient)
Autumn 1711	<i>Costantino</i> (SC)	Gasparini	Pariati	history
	<i>Elisa</i> (SA)	Ruggieri	Lalli	comedy
	<i>La forza del sangue</i> (SGG)	Lotti	Silvani	history

SA = Sant'Angelo; SC = San Cassiano; SF = San Fantin; SGG = San Giovanni Grisostomo; SS = San Samuele

More telling than these numbers is the fact that librettists who once stood favorable toward myth and fantasy now began to give their libretti a more historical hue. Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti offers a case in point. In 1707, Frigimelica undertook a final experiment with myth in his *Mitridate Eupatore*, adapting a plot from the Electra tragedies of Sophocles, Euripides and Aeschylus, but cleansing it from its mythological constituents and pouring it into a historical mold – Orestes was transformed into King Mitridates of Pontus, Clytemnestra into Stratonica, Egistheus into Farnace, and Electra into Laodice.

¹⁷⁹ Sources: BONLINI 1730, 157-61; GROPPPO 1745, 99-101; CHIARELLI & POMPILIO 2004, 226-8.

¹⁸⁰ Comic intermezzi (such as, in this case, Gasparini's *Zamberluccho*) have been omitted.

¹⁸¹ GROPPPO 1745, 98, attributes this libretto to Benedetto Marcello, CHIARELLI & POMPILIO 2004, 226 (no. 590), to Francesco Minato.

Artefacts of myth

And yet, the spectacle, humor and theatrical conventions inherent to mythology could not be abandoned so easily. In Venice, *scudi* kept on being spent on fantastic follies. Thus, as late as 1727, in Act III scene 4 of Vivaldi's *Orlando furioso* (libretto by Grazio Braccioli), the insanity of the medieval knight Roland was evoked through similes of the Iphigenia and Daphne tales:

ORLANDO
Cortese Ifigenia
Il furibondo Oreste
Sen viene a te, che della Grecia è in bando.

BRADAMANTE *trà se*
Misero!

RUGGIERO *in disparte*
Che mai vedo?

ALCINA
E' stolto Orlando.

ORLANDO *a Bradamante*
Ah, ah! Che vedo mai!
Questa spada è rubata: ella è di Marte
Eccolo là, nel centro della Luna
Contro le donne a rivoltar le carte.
[...]
Vola vola vola vola vola:
Che vola? Amor che fugge. Apollo
Vedete dietro a lui, montato in furia,
Per l'altissima ingiuria
Fatta all'onesta sua Dafne pudica,
Mettendo nel bordello il casto alloro,
Quando Angelica fu sposa a Medoro.

At the Teatro San Cassiano, Urbano Rizzi had his *Achille placato* (1707) culminate in a celestial appearance. Seeing no problem in such a *dénouement*, he acknowledged in his preface that it had been his “first intention” to introduce “the machine, in order to delight the eye of the spectator with the beauty of the apparatus” – not exactly what classicists envisaged.¹⁸² At the San Fantino, classical myths were given a delightful, if somewhat childish treatment. In Andrea Minelli's *Orfeo* (1702), for example, Arcadian amiability was blended with imaginative feats, such as Euridice's infatuation through Cupid's darts:

EURIDICE
O dardo onnipotente?
Ch'hai virtù di ferir con tal dolcezza,
Che le tue piaghe ogn'un gradisce, e apprezza.

¹⁸² *Achille placato* (Venice, 1707), ‘Fondamenti della favola,’ 5: “La primiera intenzione ch’hebbi nel tesser questa Tragedia, fù l’introducimento della Machina, & affine d’allettar l’occhio de’ spettatori con la vaghezza dell’apparato [...]”.

Guarda la freccia, e poi la baccia
Ti baccio, e ti ribaccio.

CUPIDO
Deh non trattar quest'armi,
Che fan piagar, chi non le teme,
E sanno...

EURIDICE
Euridice si punge à caso, e getta il Dardo.
Ah Cupido Cupido Io son ferita.

None of these poets, however, would prove as successful as Zeno or Metastasio. Worse for them, intellectuals would ruthlessly satirize their gimmicks. In 1720, the Venetian patrician Benedetto Marcello published his “most gentle satire” (*dixit* Zeno) of operatic bedlam,¹⁸³ *Il teatro alla moda*, in which he told the poet that

It is not essential that the subject of the opera be historical. Rather, since all the Greek and Latin stories have been treated by the ancient Greeks and Romans and by the most select Italians of the good age, the task of the modern poet is to invent a fiction, contriving in it answers of oracles, royal shipwrecks, evil auguries from roast oxen, etc.; it being enough that among the *dramatis personae* some historic name should be offered to the public. All the rest may then be invented at the author's pleasure, taking care, above everything, that the text be not over 1200 lines long, more or less, including the ariettas.¹⁸⁴

Six years before, Orsi's friend Pier Jacopo Martello published a Bouhours-like *Dialogo sopra la tragedia antica e moderna* which anticipated Marcello's ironical stance. Martello had the malicious Other, a ‘pseudo-Aristotelian impostor,’ declare that “happy dramatists” – read: librettists like Braccioli, Rizzi and Minelli – could

derive their plots not from history but from fable, mindful that it would be (and in fact is) excessively cruel blatantly to distort the truth of events described by Livy, Justin, Sallust, and other ancient and revered Authors; which would inevitably result from introducing into those histories all the things demanded by the composer, the Male Singers, the Female Singers, the Architect, the Machinist, the Painter, and the very Impresario. It will anyway be difficult but not impossible to satisfy them in a plot based on fable, since the versifier will have the same freedom as did our ancestors to palm off absurdities and to pile Italian fibs upon Greek; and he may abandon the old for the new. Fables, too, are more capable of machines and spectacle. The French favor them, and so will the Italian.¹⁸⁵

To be sure, Martello had made himself guilty of three mythological libretti in the 1690s;¹⁸⁶ yet, having been appointed professor at the University of Bologna and honorary member of the prestigious *Accademia dei Gelati*, he now cast himself as the propagator of the French

¹⁸³ ZENO 1752, I, 201-2: “Quel Teatro alla moda del Sig. Benedetto Marcello [...] è una satira gentilissima [...]” (to Marmi, 2 April 1721).

¹⁸⁴ Cited from STRUNK 1950, 521.

¹⁸⁵ Cited from WEISS 1980, 387.

¹⁸⁶ *Il Perseo* (1697, with Eustachio Manfredi, after Pierre Corneille's *Andromède*), *La Tisbe* (1697) and *Apollo geloso* (1698, with Manfredi).

Alexandrine, openly promising himself “never to meddle” again with “this type of composition” called opera.¹⁸⁷

Operatic juxtapositions

The past could also be renounced contrarywise. Reality, for instance, drove Bernard de Fontenelle to the troubling admission that

La Religion & le bon sens nous ont désabusés des Fables des Grecs, mais elles se maintiennent encore parmi nous par le moyen de la Poésie & de la Peinture, auxquelles il semble qu’elles aient trouvé le secret de se rendre nécessaires.¹⁸⁸

Curiously, he himself turned to pastoral fable for his libretto *Endymion* (1731). This seemingly contra-intuitive move has everything to do with the persistence of myth *parmi nous*, that is, in France. In fact, whereas Zeno and his clique sought ways of measuring their libretti to the spoken, historical dramas of Corneille and Racine, the followers of Philippe Quinault, Lully’s principal librettist, continued to arouse the *merveilleux* through myth, chivalric romance and epic fantasy. While the Parisians kept on witnessing operas crowded with gods, magicians, phantoms, furies and demons, the Venetians were put on an ‘earthly’ diet devoid of divinities and magic. Contemporary observers explained this dichotomy in various ways. Barthold Feind, for example, argued in his *Gedancken von der Opera* (1708) that patriotism had laid at the basis of Italy’s predilection for historical subjects, while royalism had inspired the French to hold dear to Ovidian myth:

Die Italiäner halten sich mehrentheils aus Liebe zu ihrem Vaterlande mit Römischen und Griechischen *Sujets* auff welcher *Genie* sie auch fürtrefflich auszuführen wissen wie der unvergleichliche *Noris* [Matteo, Venetian librettist] erwiesen; Die Frantzosen aber mit fast lauter *Ovidianischen* Fabeln und von selbst zur Ehre ihres grossen Ludwigs *inventirten* Sachen [...]¹⁸⁹

Jean-Jacques Rousseau espoused a different view, noting in the entry on opera in his *Dictionnaire de Musique* (1764) that music – rather than patriotism – had spurred the trend toward historical subject matter. According to him, progress in vocal composition had led to a shift in emphasis from the skills of the scenographer to the dramatic qualities of the libretto:

dès que la musique eut appris à peindre et à parler, les charmes du sentiment firent-ils bientôt négliger ceux de la baguette [i.e. the ‘magic wand’ of scenography]; le théâtre fut purgé du jargon de la mythologie, l’intérêt fut substitué au merveilleux; les machines des poètes et des charpentiers furent détruites, et le drame lyrique prit une forme plus noble et moins gigantesque [...] et les dieux furent chassés de la scène quand on y sut représenter des hommes.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ WEISS 1980, 403. Martello even went as far as to prohibit the above-mentioned libretti from appearing in his *Teatro italiano* (1723), see MAGNANI CAMPANACCI 1994, 5.

¹⁸⁸ FONTENELLE 1724, 380.

¹⁸⁹ FEIND 1708, 84.

¹⁹⁰ ROUSSEAU 1826, XIII, 124-5.

At the same time, Rousseau made Zeno and Metastasio personally responsible for the change in subject matter. He even put the two poets on a par with the masters of French tragedy, praising their libretti with appreciative keywords like *noblesse* and *dignité*:

Apostolo Zéno, le Corneille de l'Italie, son tendre élève [Metastasio], qui en est le Racine, ont [...] osé mettre les héros de l'histoire sur un théâtre qui sembloit ne convenir qu'aux fantômes de la fable. Cyrus [title-character of Metastasio's *Ciro riconosciuto*, 1736], César, Caton même [principal characters in *Catone in Utica*, 1728], ont paru sur la scène avec succès; et les spectateurs les plus révoltés d'entendre chanter de tels hommes ont bientôt oublié qu'ils chantoient, subjugués et ravis par l'éclat d'une musique aussi pleine de noblesse et de dignité que d'enthousiasme et de feu.¹⁹¹

Carlo Goldoni too contributed to the glorification of Zeno, contending in his *Mémoires* (1787) that before him, the Venetians had only seen “des dieux, et des diables, et des machines, et du merveilleux,” while afterwards they witnessed “les héros tels qu'ils étaient, du moins tels que les historiens nous les représentent [...]”.¹⁹²

Whatever the inaccuracies of such *a posteriori* observations, Italian opera underwent a shift from fiction to historicism, fantasy to verisimilitude, that was theoretically driven. While Ovid's legacy was kept alive in popular spectacles and courtly revels, fables were exempted from the three-act drama per musica through procedures of exclusion that today can be recovered on the basis of indices like ‘verisimilitude,’ ‘truth,’ ‘weaknesses,’ ‘irregularities,’ ‘abuses,’ ‘evils,’ and ‘improbabilities.’ Mythology was perhaps but one of the elements deleted in the course of reform, yet its very deletion must be regarded as one of the most vital symptoms of Enlightenment in Italy. No tract better illustrates the whole issue better than Esteban de Arteaga's *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano* (1782-5). The extent to which Arteaga advanced exclusivist axioms to establish the superiority of history over mythology has inspired us to excerpt large portions of his text, as speaking evidence of the ‘will for truth’ (see *Appendix 1.4*).

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 126.

¹⁹² GOLDONI 1822, II, 176. Goldoni's “simplified picture” is addressed in FREEMAN 1968, 333.



CHAPTER TWO

ADDRESSING THE DIVINE: THE ‘NUMINOUS’ ACCOMPAGNATO

Bei der Frage über die Zukunft der Oper ist es nötig, über diese andere Klarheit zu gewinnen: “An welchen Momenten ist die Musik auf der Bühne unerlässlich?” Die präzise Antwort gibt diese Auskunft: “Bei Tänzen, bei Märschen, bei Liedern und – beim Eintreten des Übernatürlichen in die Handlung.”

Ferruccio Busoni, *Entwurf einer neuen Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (1916)¹

Music has the deep-seated capability to evoke an aura of myth. As late as 1916, Ferruccio Busoni asserted that music was indispensable on stage whenever the supernatural was introduced. And so it had been in the earliest days of opera, when deities were clothed in specific instrumental garbs, divine descents accompanied by *sinfonias* to arouse wonder and delight (as well as to cover up the noise of the machinery), and orchestral accompaniments added to the gloomy incantations of abandoned sorceresses.² The Venetian ‘cradle of operatic convention’³ furthermore applied an intermediate form of recitative and *arioso* to those particular moments on which heaven was invoked. Against all odds, this ‘numinous’ *accompagnato* would give way to a full-fledged *topos* in *opera seria*.

“Un nume io sento”

Let us begin our inquiry with an excerpt from *L’Andromaca*, a *pasticcio* that was mounted at the Florentine Teatro della Pergola during the 1728 carnival.⁴ One of the pivotal scenes of the opera shows the Trojan heroine Andromache rush into a temple to prevent her little son Astyanax from being immolated by the Greek aggressor Pyrrhus (Neoptolemus). The thrilling action reverses the relationship between the main characters, transforming Hector’s widow from an unrelenting *virago* who challenges Pyrrhus “to slay her only son in the face of the

¹ BUSONI 1973, 20.

² See Chapter One.

³ I here allude to ROSAND 2006.

⁴ The libretto is an adaptation of Antonio Salvi’s *Astianatte* (Florence, 1701); the score contains larger stretches from Leonardo Vinci’s *Astianatte* (Naples, 1725) supplemented with tunes by Gasparini, Sarro, Porpora. Attributions in STROHM 1976, II, 267; contextual details in WEAVER & WEAVER 1978, 253-4.

gods,” into a humble mother who – quite literally – bends to Pyrrhus’s will (*see Appendix 2.1*). The latter for his part undergoes a transformation from a scorned ‘lover and king’ into a merciless executioner. In true *seria* fashion, the catastrophe naturally leads towards a happy ending that exhibits no trace of divine intervention. Still, when Pyrrhus summons the ‘guardian gods of Greece’ to accept the victim, he sings an eerie vocal line that is accompanied by a halo of arpeggiated strings in awkward harmonic constellations (e.g. modal cadence in mm. 28-29). Heard in a context of simple recitative, these brief flashes of string sound punctuate the flow of human drama with evocations of the divine.

Example 2.1. Leonardo Vinci a.o. *L’Andromaca* (Florence, 1728) – II,11⁵: recitative, mm. 24-38.

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves: Andromaca (soprano), Pirro (tenor), and Strings (piano). The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C).

System 1 (Measures 24-27):

- Andromaca:** Measure 24 begins with a vocal line: (Ah mi si ge-la il co-re!).
- Pirro:** Measures 25-27 contain the vocal line: O voi del Gre-co Im-pe-ro De-i - tà Tu-te-la-ri, al di cui.
- Strings:** Measures 25-27 feature arpeggiated figures. A dashed line labeled "Arpeggiato" spans measures 25 and 26.

System 2 (Measures 28-30):

- Andromaca:** Measures 28-30 contain the vocal line: (Se più re-sis-to, hò d'a-da-man-te il se-no.)
- Pirro:** Measures 28-30 contain the vocal line: Nu-me ques-ta Vit-ti-ma io sve-no...
- Strings:** Measures 28-30 continue with arpeggiated figures.

System 3 (Measures 31-34):

- Andromaca:** Measures 31-34 contain the vocal line: (Sal-vi-si il Fi-glio, e poi si ca-da e-san-gue.)
- Pirro:** Measures 31-34 contain the vocal line: Gra-di-te l'o-lo-caus-to, il di cui san-gue... Ren-da e-ter-no, e te-
- Strings:** Measures 31-34 continue with arpeggiated figures.

⁵ The scene is numbered fourteen in the manuscript score.

Example 2.1 (continued).

35

Fer - ma, Pir - ro,

na - ce fra la Gre - cia, e l'E - pi - ro il sa - cro no - do d'a - mi - stà, e di pa - ce. vuol ferire

The idea to distinguish Pyrrhus's invocation from Andromache's asides through accompanied versus simple recitative was far from unique. Leonardo Leo would deploy exactly the same procedure for his version of *Andromaca* (Naples, 1742). Not content to give the strings sustained chords, however, Leo provided the orchestra with a genuinely *obbligato* function, unifying each of Pyrrhus's phrases through a chordal motif in semiquavers above a drum bass (mm. 1, 7, 11) and adding more interaction between the recitant and the orchestra (e.g. mm. 12-15).

Example 2.2. Leonardo Leo *Andromaca* (Naples, 1742) – II,9: recitative, mm. 1-15.

Non presto

Andromaca

Pirro

O Voi del Gre-co Im-pe-ro De-i - tà tu-te-la-ri a cui di - vo-to ques-ta vit - ti - ma io

[Violini]

[Basso]

5

Se più re-sis-to io non ho cor nel se-no Sal-va - si,

sve-no Gra-di te l'o-lo-caus-to e ques-to san-gue

Example 2.2 (continued).

9

sal - va - si il fi - glio e poi si ca - da e - san - gue

Ren - da e - ter - na e te -

12

Fer - ma Pir - ro

na - ce fra la Gre - cia e l'E - pi - ro il sa - cro no - do d'a - mi - ci - zia, e pa - ce

Of all early ‘Neapolitans,’ probably no one sensed the theatrical potential of the accompagnato better than Alessandro Scarlatti. In Act I scene 11 of his *Telemaco* (Rome, 1718; see also Chapter Four), Scarlatti had the sorceress Calypso address the demons of the underworld through an ingenious sequence of orchestral ideas. First (mm. 1-5), he resorted to the majestic rhythms and fickle modulations typical for the French overture, then (mm. 6-9) to the kind of thumping, interactive motives encountered in Leo’s score, and finally (mm. 10-13) to the homophonic strings both Vinci and Leo used to mark off Pyrrhus’s contact with the guardian gods.

Example 2.3a. Alessandro Scarlatti *Telemaco* (Rome, 1718) – I,11: recitative, mm. 1-14.

Grave, e staccato

Calipso

[Violini]

[Viola]

[Basso]

4

O Voi del Cie-co A-bis - so Tre-

7

men de De - i - tà, pos-sen-ti Dei, av-ves-si ad as-col - tar i vo-ci miei, Ques-te mie vo-ci u-di-te, La-

11

scia-te, la-scia-te di Co - ci-to i ne - ri Clau - stri, e ad ob - be - dir - mi, e ad ob - be - dir - mi u-sci - te.

But Scarlatti would not have been Scarlatti if there was no hint of buffoonry added as a footnote.⁶ Here, two servants, Tersino and Silvina, respond to Calypso's incantation by echoing her accompaniment (compare with mm. 6-9) in a musical idiom less usual for recitative – Andante and ternary meter.⁷

Example 2.3b. Ibid., mm. 15-20.

Throughout the eighteenth century, homophonic string textures would remain in use for the evocation of the supernatural. When, for instance, the protagonist of Sebastiano Nasolini's *La morte di Semiramide* (Venice, 1798)⁸ gets lost in a dark subterranean labyrinth and prays the gods to help her find the urn of her husband, sustained strings enhanced with tremoli and subtle dynamic shadings evoke horror, while at the same time *underscore* the sublime nature of Semiramis's helpless call.

Example 2.4. Sebastiano Nasolini *La morte di Semiramide* (Venice, 1798) – II, 11: recitative, mm. 47-53.

⁶ Another example worth mentioning is Act I scene 18 of *Il Tigrane, o vero L'egual impegno d'amore e di fede* (Naples, 1715), in which the buffoons Orcone and Dorilla try their hand at the incantation, stuttering themselves through *versi sdrucchioli* ("Da' cu- cu- cu-, da' cupi vortici.").

⁷ Scarlatti's Andantes approach the pace of an Allegro; if not, he used to give an *Andante ma non presto*.

⁸ Libretto by Antonio Simone Sografi after Pietro Giovannini's *La vendetta di Nino ossia la morte di Semiramide* (Venice, 1786).

Example 2.4 (continued).

50
las - so... Io più non sò do - ve ri - vol - ga il pas - so

fp *p* *[f]*

Decades before, mid-century reformers too recognized the numinous effect of the *accompagnato*, but stretched its formal limits through the introduction of lyrical accompaniments. A magnificent illustration is offered by the finale of Tommaso Traetta’s *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Vienna, 1763),⁹ one of the most influential operas of the period. A suspenseful moment arrives when the goddess Diana – who remains absent from the stage – yields Iphigenia the courage to stab the tyrant, Thoas. At that point, Iphigenia embarks upon a ‘transcendental’ chant the words of which (“I feel a divinity that drives and fills me”) correspond with a melody that climbs from e’ to e” (mm. 6-9). Her vocal line is furthermore superposed on a nearly weightless string texture that combines three heterogeneous rhythmic strata – triplets in the violins, syncopations in the violas, and sustained notes in the bassline. Chromatic inflexions steer the harmony in unexpected directions (e.g. mm. 12 and 15). Iphigenia’s flash of divine inspiration, finally, is conveyed through a ‘lightning’ *Allegro* with falling triads (mm. 16-17), her stabbing of the tyrant through a simple, authentic cadence (m. 19).

Example 2.5. Tommaso Traetta *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Vienna, 1763) – III,5: recitative, mm. 1-19.

Largo moderato

Ifigenia

Violini *f dolce*

Viola *f dolce*

[Basso]

⁹ Libretto by Marco Coltellini.

Example 2.5 (continued).

6

Un Nu-me jo sen - to, che m'a - gi-ta, che m'em - pie, e che mi

sotto voce

divisi

10

ren-de di me stes - sa mag-gior. Tre - mi-no i re-i dell'e - ter - na ven-det-ta al grand'e-

sf *dolce* *sf* *dolce*

15 **Allegro** (Ferisce Toante.)

sem-pio: As-sis - ti-mi, gran De - a, ven-di- co il Tem-pio.

cresc: *f*

In each of the above-mentioned examples, and perhaps most explicitly in Traetta's, the character's *numinous experience*, that is, his or her feeling of being allied with the supernatural, corresponds with musico-dramatic structures that stand midway between the recitative and the aria, and feature strings. Where did this technique originate from?

Ecclesiastical origins?

Unfortunately, the origins of the numinous accompagnato, and of accompanied recitative in general, are difficult to retrace in the absence of many seventeenth-century scores and clear-cut definitions for such ambiguous, but vital terms as *recitativo arioso* and *recitativo*

stromentato.¹⁰ The invention of *accompagnato* used to be ascribed Alessandro Scarlatti.¹¹ This hypothesis, however, is no longer tenable and has in the meantime made room for the idea that the *accompagnato* perpetuated “an infrequent usage of the 17th century,”¹² artefacts of which can be found in the operatic scores of Monteverdi, Cavalli, Cesti, Steffani and Stradella.

All the same, it is far from certain that the practice of enriching ‘numinous’ fragments of recitative with string accompaniments emerged from operatic practice alone. As a matter of fact, the same kind of hymnic vocal lines, organ-like accompaniments and intricate harmonies were deployed in religious genres such as the *sacra rappresentazione* and the *historia* to highlight holy characters and their speeches. Also noteworthy from this respect are the references in eighteenth-century singing manuals to a brand of recitative that was, as Pierfrancesco Tosi wrote in his *Opinioni de’ cantori antichi, e moderni* (1723), “used in Churches” and “sung as becomes the Sanctity of the Place, which does not admit those wanton Graces of a lighter Stile.”¹³ This ‘ecclesiastical’ type of recitative, Tosi argued, was ideally performed with “some *Messa di Voce*, many *Appoggiatura*’s, and a noble Majesty throughout”; yet, “the Art of expressing it” was “not to be learned, but from the affecting Manner of those who devoutly dedicate their Voices to the Service of God.”¹⁴ Johann Adam Hiller confirmed Tosi’s observations in his *Anweisung zum musikalisch-richtigen Gesange* (1774), remarking that

Ernstlicher und feyerlicher als mit Menschen, muß man mit Gott reden: das Recitativ der Kirche, besonders wenn es die nächste Beziehung auf dieses allerhöchste Wesen selbst hat, erfordert daher den meisten Nachdruck, die meiste Würde, und eine langsamere Bewegung.¹⁵

¹⁰ Discussions of the *accompagnato* include ZELLER 1911; MONELLE 1978, see in particular 262-3, where Semira’s invocation in Hasse’s *Artaserse* (1730) is examined; MGG, Sachteil VIII, 224-42, see 235, where it is observed that “In der Opera seria des 18. Jh. war das recitativo *accompagnato* besonders für emotionsgeladene Monologe beliebt, aber auch für spannungsreiche Dialoge, feierliche Ansprachen und Gebete,” and mention is made of the “‘numinosen’ Streicherbegleitung in ausgehaltenen Akkorden”; GIANTURCO 2001; GROVE, “Recitative”.

¹¹ LORENZ 1927, I, 144; DENT 1960, 45.

¹² GROVE, “Recitative”. See also WORSTHORNE 1954, 67-8 (“The type of accompanied recitative that is in free time, that is, really simple recitative but with the strings replacing the continuo, did not become a common feature of Italian opera till towards the end of the century; and this author has seen several operatic scores of that time still without trace of it.”) and ROBINSON 1972, 77 (“The further we go before c. 1720, the more confusing the situation becomes so far as *arioso* is concerned. In the mid-seventeenth century style and function of aria and recitative were far from rigidly divided, and many musical sections came into a very ambivalent classification zone.”).

¹³ Translation cited from TOSI 1742, 66. In the original: “Il primo [type of recitative] essendo Ecclesiastico è di ragione, che si canti adattato alla Santità del luogo, che non ammette scherzi vaghi di stile indecente, ma richiede qualche messa di voce, molte *Appoggiature*, e una continua nobiltà sostenuta. L’arte poi colla quale esprimersi non s’impara, che dallo studio mellifluido di chi pensa di parlare a Dio.” (TOSI 1723, 41).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

¹⁵ HILLER 1774, 203.

Interestingly, Hiller assumed the *accompagnato* more effective for the purpose of addressing God than simple (*secco*) recitative:

Ueberhaupt sollte diese Art von Recitativ [accompagnati] in der Kirche fleißiger gebraucht werden [...] Es gehört viel mehr Affect, oder wenigstens ein höherer Grad desselben, und eine weit erhabnere Declamation dazu, als zu dem gemeinen oder unbegleiteten Recitative, welches in der Kirche von sehr geringer Wirkung ist, zumal wenn es ohne Verstand, ohne Nachdruck und Würde gesungen wird.¹⁶

Supposing that operatic and ecclesiastical applications of the *accompagnato* did indeed have multiple points in common, it should be noted that several composers first tested the technique in their oratorios before applying it to operatic scenes. Carlo Francesco Pollaro (1653-1723), one of the prime transitional figures between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,¹⁷ offers a case in point. Pollaro's first experiment with the *accompagnato* can be dated back to 1685,¹⁸ more particularly to the B section of the aria "Un'onda che fugge" in his oratorio *La Rosinda*. In it, a hermit (holy man) warns the young virgin Rosinda not to fall into the traps of love and vanity. Pollaro distinguished the sermon from the remainder of the aria by resorting to a syllabic setting with sophisticated keys, as proper for recitative, though at the same time providing verbal repetitions and a more agile string accompaniment, as usual for *arioso*.

Example 2.6. Carlo Francesco Pollaro *La Rosinda* (Vienna, 1685) – "Un'onda che fugge," B section.

The musical score for Example 2.6 is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for Violini (Violins), Eremito (Soprano), and Basso (Bass). The Violini part features a melodic line with sustained notes and some movement. The Eremito part is a syllabic setting of the lyrics: "Mor-tal te-co te-co fa-vel-lo e[à] po-cha pol-ve le ma-chi-na-te I-dee' l'e-". The Basso part provides a harmonic foundation with sustained notes. The second system continues the musical and vocal parts, with the lyrics: "tà dis-sol-ve à po-ca pol-ve le ma-chi-na-te I-dee' l'e- tà dis-sol-ve". The key signature remains D major, and the time signature is common time.

¹⁶ Ibid., 201.

¹⁷ For an overview of Pollaro's position in operatic history, see TERMINI 1979.

¹⁸ Dating based on TERMINI 1970, 388-9, 453-4, and GROVE, "Pollaro, Carlo Francesco". In both sources, however, the libretto to *La Rosinda* is falsely attributed to Giovanni Faustini – with whose secular libretto *Rosinda* (Venice, 1651) it has nothing to do.

In a later oratorio, *Jefte* (Vienna, 1692),¹⁹ Pollaro highlighted Jephte's solemn oath to wage war upon the Ammonites using similar ingredients: sustained strings and intriguing harmonies.

Example 2.7. Carlo Francesco Pollaro *Jefte* (Vienna, 1692) – I,1: recitative.

Another six years later, the composer inserted a numinous accompagnato in a secular, ‘pagan’ context – Act I scene 7 of *Faramondo* (Venice, 1698).²⁰ When King Gustav of Bohemia pledges to engage Pharamond of France in battle, homophonic strings modulating from c to f minor and A flat Major accompany the following words:

GUSTAVO
 Ascolta, o da gli Elisj, ove passeggi,
 Ombra ancor sanguinosa, ancora inulta,
 Ciò che a quest’Ara, a questo Nume io giuro,
 E tu, Dea, che d’Averno
 L’ombre flagelli, e se’ di pianto e d’ira
 Severa, inesorabile ministra;
 La face irrita, il ferro scuoti, e attento
 Porgi l’alto tuo Nume al giuramento.
 Al crudel Faramondo, a chi m’uccise
 Ne la vita d’un figlio,
 Perpetua guerra, orrida morte io giuro.

Paganism and censorship

It may come as a surprise that, in an age obsessed with religious, moral and intellectual betterment (see Chapter One), the God of Christianity was addressed with similar solemnity (and music) as the heathen pantheon. In Italy, the Inquisition was continuously on the alert for manifestations of heresy. Detailed instructions were issued to dissuade poets from deploying illicit phrases and actions. One of these guidebooks, Pietro Francesco Bottazzoni’s *Lettere discorsive intorno ad alcuni poetici abusi pregiudizievoli al decoro della religion cattolica come alla buona morale cristiana* (posthumous, 1733), forbade the invocation of “the true

¹⁹ Libretto by Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti.

²⁰ Libretto by Apostolo Zeno, see also Chapter One.

God in profane poems,” as well as that of “false deities in sacred poems.”²¹ Such directions no doubt had their effect, opera libretti being submitted to word-by-word examinations prior to publication. In some cases revisors had even the most dubious expressions erased. In the libretto to Vivaldi’s *Ercole su’l Termodonte* (Rome, 1723), one does for instance find the words *Cielo*, *Dei*, *Dio di Delo*, and *Numi*, as well as a chorus of Amazons addressing Diana as the “Great goddess of the woods,”²² all of which made sense within a mythological plot – Hercules’s conquest of the Amazons. The Almighty’s name, by contrast, as in the neutral exclamation *O Dio*, could apparently not be argued for and was not printed in full (*see Plate 2.1*).

Equally considered undesirable, especially when being related to pagan religion, were words like *destino* and *fato*. On the premise that only God could foretell the future, astrologers, fortune-tellers and oracles were regarded as harmful to the well-being of the Christian spectator. Thus, whenever pagans alluded to destiny in operatic scenes, disclaimers were added to the libretto to inform the reader that like expressions were to be understood as ‘jests of poetry’ or factual representations of a heathen, decidedly ‘barbaric’ past (*see Appendix 2.2*). To be sure, these *proteste* became formulaic towards the middle of the eighteenth century, as enlightened thought relaxed most religious tensions;²³ yet, even then, impresarios maintained religious discipline so as to let God’s sleeping dogs lie.²⁴

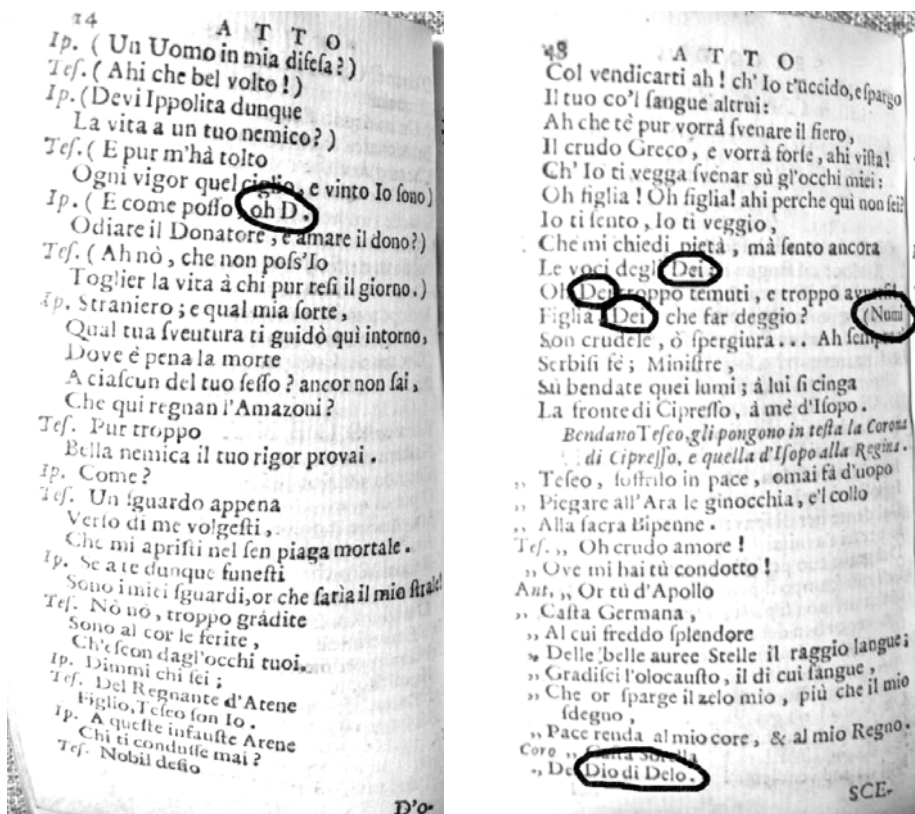
²¹ BOTTAZZONI 1733, 105ff.: “Siccome nelle Poesie profane non è lecito l’invocare il vero Dio ec., così nelle Poesie sacre non è lecito l’invocare Numi falsi.”

²² *Ercole su’l Termodonte* (Rome, 1723), 7 (Coro “Oh Figlia di Giove / *Gran Dea delle Selve*”), 15 (Ippolita “Oh *Ciel*’ che intendo?”), and 48 (Antiope “Le voci degli *Dei*; / Oh *Dei* troppo temuti, e troppo avversi! / Figlio, *Dei*, che far deggio? / Son crudele, ò spergiura... Ah sempre a’ *Numi* [...]”) – emphasis added.

²³ See ANONYMOUS 1756, 85-6, where it is remarked that “un Italien de beaucoup d’esprit semble pousser le scrupule un peu loin sur cette matiere; il parle le langage de son pays, où une Tragédie ne peut passer à l’impression si l’Auteur ne prélude par protester que ces paroles, *Destin, Idoles, Adorer, Jupiter, & autres Divinités du Paganisme*, sont des termes purement Poëtiques, contraires à la saine Morale, qu’il les déteste dans le cœur, comme soumis au Saint Siège. C’est une espece d’excuse de ce qu’il n’ose mettre dans la bouche du pieux Enée les sentiments d’un Catholique Romain.”

²⁴ See PLANELLI 1772, 249-50, where it is advised that the impresario “Procurerà in esso [libretto], che i personaggi non parlino troppo della Divinità, nè (ove sieno pagani) secondo la grossolana Religione del volgo de’ gentili, la quale trasferiva a’ suoi Dei le più umilianti debolezze degli uomini: ma che dieno a conoscere ne’ loro ragionamenti qual idea aver si debba dell’Essere Supremo. Il qual linguaggio non sarà punto inverisimile in bocca loro: ben si sapendo, che dalla Teologia del volgo pagano era tutt’altra quella delle colte persone; le quali rigettando la molteplicità degli Dei, e le ingiuriose favole, che si spacciavano di essi, un solo Dio, e perfettissimo ammetteano.”

Plate 2.1. Two pages from the libretto to Vivaldi's *Ercole su'l Termodonte* (Rome, 1723) revealing censorial discrepancies.



The oblique perspective

Au lieu de placer uniformément comme nous les pièces de la décoration sur les deux files de coulisses, ils les répandent tout au travers du théâtre; si ce sont des colonnades ou des galeries, ils les disposent obliquement sur plusieurs lignes ce qui augmente l'effet de perspective [...]

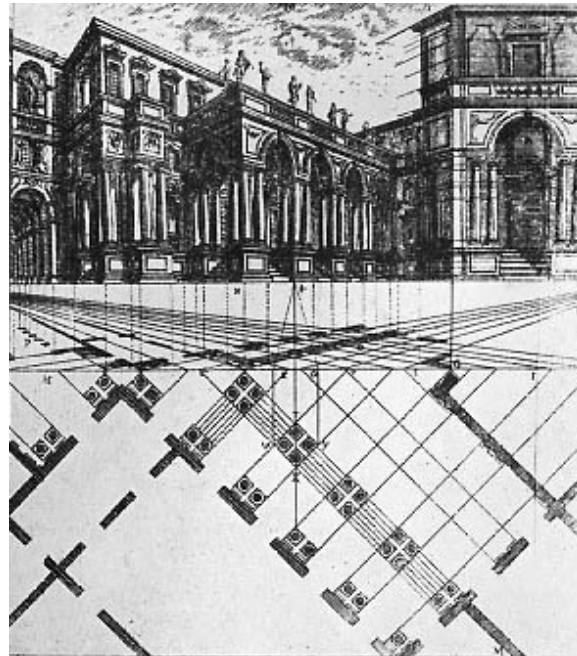
Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières de l'Italie* (1739-40)²⁵

Support for the expulsion of the pagan deities came from a surprising corner – modern scenography. In 1687, Ferdinando Galli Bibiena (1657-1743) revolutionized the art of stage design by experimenting with a *maniera di veder le scene per angolo*. Incorporating the latest techniques from stereometry and *quadratura* painting, the Bolognese artist substituted the traditional central perspective with colliding vanishing-points and worm's-eye views that made architectures appear more monumental than ever before. Bibiena passed on the

²⁵ DE BROSSES 1958, II, 390.

principles of his invention to generations of scenographers through various tracts.²⁶ On so doing, he set the standard for centuries to come.

Plate 2.2. Ferdinando Galli Bibiena. Example from *Direzioni a' giovani studenti nel disegno dell'architettura civile* (1725) explaining the rendering of architecture in diagonal perspective.



The central perspective used throughout the seventeenth century aimed at what Mercedes Viale Ferrero has described as “an ideal fusion and continuity between the real space and the imaginary space.”²⁷ By extending the rhythm of the boxes and proscenium arch onto the symmetrical wings, the illusionary space constituted a logical continuation of the auditorium (see Plate 2.3). Its unique vanishing-point furthermore tied the *trompe l'œil* to the dedicatee, seated centrally in front of the *parterre* (the *place du prince*) and as such privileged to behold the illusion in all its perfection. As such, the seventeenth-century scenic scheme was ‘dedicated’ and “never presented,” as Paul Henry Lang observed,

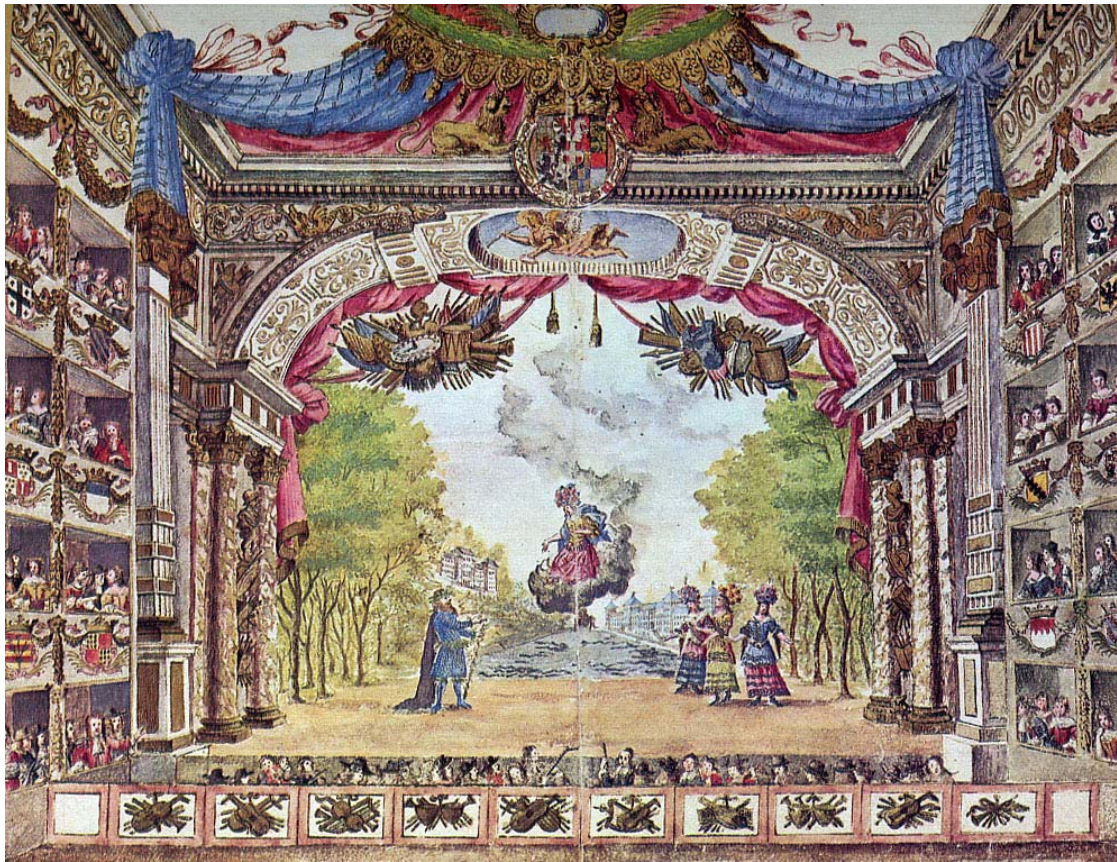
a purely optical picture (that was the contribution of the eighteenth century), because the baroque stage was not independent from the stage from which the spectator viewed it. The spectator was a partner, whose role in the show was to look and listen.²⁸

²⁶ *L'Architettura civile preparata su la geometria e ridotta alle prospettive* (1711), *Direzioni a' giovani studenti nel disegno dell'architettura civile* (1725) and *Direzioni della prospettiva teorica corrispondenti a quelle dell'architettura* (1732). See MUELLER 1986; SURGERS 1999.

²⁷ VIALE FERRERO 1963, 1.

²⁸ LANG 1942, 329.

Plate 2.3. Scene from *Il Lisimaco* (Turin, 1681; design by Mauro and Castellamonte) exemplifying the architectonic continuity achieved by central perspective. Note how all vanishing-lines converge into one point, right below the *deus ex machina*, and how the rhythm of the boxes is extended onto the proscenium arch and the painted trees.²⁹



Bibiena's *scena per angolo*, on the other hand, engaged upon an entirely new relationship with the viewer. Seeking to optimize the effect of the painted scenery for *all* of the spectators, it 'reframed' the theatrical scene, creating self-contained spaces that were largely emancipated from the auditorium. In its heavy reliance on backdrops and irregularly – rather than symmetrically – implanted wings, the compass (and efficiency) of optical illusion was furthermore restricted from infinite vistas to closed spaces such as courtyards, apartments and gardens. Bibiena's invention thus altered the phenomenal outlook of operatic representation. No longer aiming at completeness or universality, it ceased to exhibit both the human and superhuman aspects of the plot, and as such 'horizontalized' the scene – "aus der Vertikale, die sich 'vom Himmels durch die Welt zur Hölle' erstreckt," Erika Fischer-Lichte argued, "kehrt das Theater wieder zur Horizontale der irdischen Welt als der Achse der Vernunft zurück."³⁰

²⁹ Colored engraving by Tommaso Borgonio, reproduced from BOUQUET 1976, Tav. XIV.

³⁰ FISCHER-LICHE 1995, II, 96.

Plate 2.4. Oblique perspective as brought to perfection in this asymmetrical *Cortile Reggio* (Turin, c. 1722-8) by Filippo Juvarra.



Strikingly overlooked is the fact that vertical descents, most notably of deities, could only be implemented in Bibiena's scheme at the cost of upsetting all proportions (*compare Plates 2.5a and 2.5b*). Possibly on account of this, the French held on to central perspective so that Apollos and Venuses could keep on descending.³¹ Even as late as 1739-40, de Brosses reported that the older tradition remained in fashion in his country (see above).

Plate 2.5a. Central perspective, as illustrated here by Giacomo Torelli's designs for the Parisian revival of *La finta pazza* (Paris, 1645), allowed deities to descend without sacrificing optical illusion.

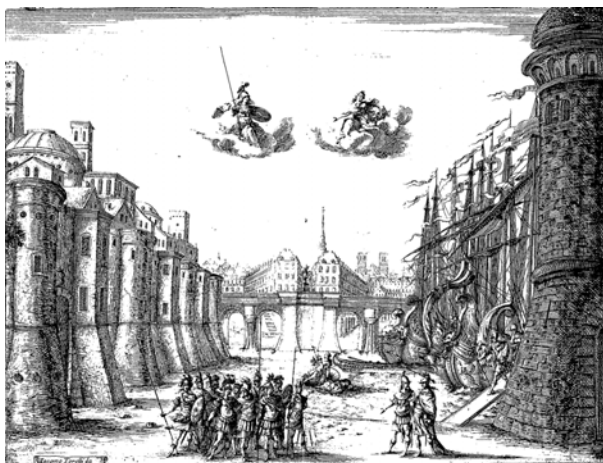
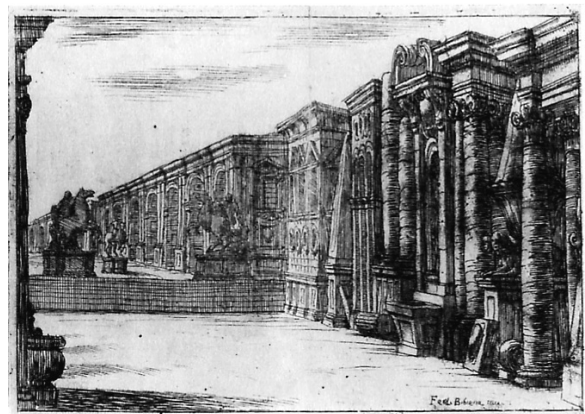


Plate 2.5b. Ferdinando Galli Bibiena's oblique spaces, by contrast, disabled vertical movements. "Capital" for *Didio Giuliano* (Piacenza, 1687), the first opera to incorporate a *scena per angolo*.



³¹ The first implementation of oblique perspective in *tragédie lyrique* was the Nile scene designed by Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni for Lacoste's *Orion* (Paris, 1728), see BAPST 1893, 476. In GROVE, "Berain, Jean", it is noted that Lully's principal scenographer, Jean Berain, "never used the oblique perspective known as *per angolo* that was already in use in Italy."

The gods out of the machine

Pour des machines proprement dites, je ne leur en ai pas vu; leurs poèmes n'ayant ni merveilleux, ni divinités, ni magie, n'en sont pas susceptibles.

Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières de l'Italie* (1739-40)³²

Censorial restrictions and Bibienesque scenography alone did of course not suffice to ban the *deus ex machina* from the Italian stage. A third ally was found in the legacy of dramatic criticism. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle had demanded that

the unraveling of the plot, no less than the complication [...] arise out of the plot itself, it must not be brought about by the *deus ex machina* – as in the *Medea* [of Euripides: Medea's flight in a chariot], or in the Return of the Greeks in the *Iliad* [of Homer: Athena's appearance to Ulysses].³³

Divine (*theia*) and irrational elements (*alogia*) were furthermore to be removed from the drama itself:

The *deus ex machina* should be employed only for events external to the drama – for antecedent or subsequent events, which lie beyond the range of human knowledge, and which require to be reported or foretold; for to the gods we ascribe the power of seeing all things. Within the action there must be nothing irrational. If the irrational cannot be excluded, it should be outside the scope of the tragedy.³⁴

Although the Renaissance and Baroque did not remain deaf to these precepts, they equally cultivated an untrammelled fondness for machinery, few sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plays lacking an instance of so-called *theophany* – a visible manifestation of divinity to humankind. Thus religious dramas starred angelic messengers announcing the birth, resurrection and ascension of Christ, while pastoral spectacles had deities, allegorical figures, mythological heroes and even ancient authors descend from heaven to dwell on the play's festive occasion.³⁵ And, as explained in Chapter One, Venetian opera favored divine episodes on behalf of their marvelous effect, whether congruous with the plot or not. Thus Busenello had Pallas foretell Seneca's pending death in Act I scene 8 of his 'historical' scenario for *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (Venice, 1642):

*Pallade in aria predice la morte a Seneca,
promettendoli che se doverà certo morire
glielo farà di novo intender per bocca di
Mercurio, e ciò per esser come uomo virtuoso
suo caro e diletto; venendo ringraziata
sommamente da Seneca.*

The scene opening the second act indeed features Mercury, informing the philosopher that his end is nearing:

³² DE BROSSES 1958, II, 391.

³³ ARISTOTLE 1972, par. 1454a31.

³⁴ Ibid., 1454a31.

³⁵ Examples in HANNING 1980, 3.

*Mercurio in terra mandato da Pallade
annunzia a Seneca dover egli certo morire
in quel giorno, il quale senza punto smarirsi
degli orrori della morte, rende grazie al
Cielo, e Mercurio dopo fatta l'ambasciata
se ne vola al Cielo.*

And in scenes 11 and 12 of the same act, Cupid prevents sleeping Poppea from being killed by her jealous lover *en travesti*, Otho:

*Amore scende dal Cielo mentre Poppea
dorme per impedirli la morte, e si nasconde
vicino a lei.
[...]
Ottone travestito da Drusilla capita nel
giardino dove sta addormentata Poppea
per ucciderla, e Amor lo vieta. Poppea
nel fatto si sveglia, e inseguito (Ottone
creduto Drusilla) dalle serventi di Poppea
fugge. Amor, protestando voler oltre la
difesa di Poppea incoronarla in quel
giorno imperatrice, se ne vola al Cielo,
e finisce l'atto secondo.*

Needless to say, these ‘machine-centered’ episodes harvested the scorn of Aristotle-minded critics. In France, the deities crowding the operas Cardinal Mazarin imported from Italy, as well as the *pièces à machines* which Pierre Corneille too would be guilty of, were received with mixed praise. According to d’Aubignac, technical skills were a must when designing and rigging machines *à l’italienne*, unless one wished to provoke laughter. Apparently, many a badly-constructed descent had in effect brought Paris in an uproar:

elles [machines] sont belles en apparence, mais souvent peu ingénieuses; il peut y avoir neantmoins des raisons étrangères, & quelquesfois assez d’adresse pour les bien employer; mais il faut prendre garde qu’elles joient facilement: car quand il y a quelque desordre, aussi tost le peuple raille de ces Dieux & de ces Diables qui font si mal leur devoir.³⁶

In Corneille’s view, the *vraisemblance* of like apparitions hinged upon the genre and narrative context in which they appeared. A point could be made for their deployment in mythological spectacles, but they made little if any sense in historical tragedies:

Les apparitions de Vénus et d’Eole ont eu bonne grâce dans *Andromède* [tragédie à machines, 1650], mais si j’avais fait descendre Jupiter pour réconcilier Nicomède avec son père [in *Nicomède*, tragedy, 1650-1] ou Mercure pour révéler à Auguste la conjuration de Cinna [in *Cinna*, tragedy, 1640-1], j’aurais fait révolter tout mon auditoire, et cette merveille aurait détruit toute la croyance que le reste de l’action aurait obtenue.³⁷

Aware that the ancient Greeks had as well inserted *dei ex machina* in their ‘historical’ tragedies, he quickly added that modern customs felt less comfortable with them:

³⁶ D’AUBIGNAC 1657, 461.

³⁷ CORNEILLE 1963, 835.

Ces dénouements par des Dieux de machine sont fort fréquents chez les Grecs, dans des tragédies qui paraissent historiques, et qui sont vraisemblables à cela près: aussi Aristote ne les condamne pas tout à fait et se contente de leur préférer ceux qui viennent du sujet. [...] On me dira que ces apparitions n'ont garde de nous plaire, parce que nous en savons manifestement la fausseté et qu'elles choquent notre religion, ce qui n'arrivait pas chez les Grecs. J'avoue qu'il faut s'accommoder aux mœurs de l'auditeur et à plus forte raison à sa croyance; mais aussi doit-on m'accorder que nous avons du moins autant de foi pour l'apparition des anges et des saints que les anciens en avaient pour celle de leur Apollon et de leur Mercure [...]³⁸

The lavish use of deities in *tragédie en musique* was dealt with in similar terms. In 1674, the architect and fairy-teller Charles Perrault noted that divinities “viennent à tous momens se presenter sur le Theatre, sans qu'il en soit aucun besoin.”³⁹ As such, they contradicted Horace's famous demand to “let no god intervene, unless a knot come worthy of such a deliverer”:⁴⁰

Est-ce pas aller directement contre le precepte d'Horace, qui condamne ces Dieux de machines, & qui ne les souffre que pour un dénouement qui ne se puisse faire par les voyes ordinaires & naturelles?⁴¹

Yet, while Perrault, a *lulliste* and *moderne*, accepted the abundance of deities in opera, others reacted less favorably to the issue. Saint Evremond, for instance, deemed it an offence to modern logic to deploy so many *dei ex machina* in one piece. In *Sur les opéra* (1684), he gave the following, elaborate explanation:

Les Anciens ne se servoient de machines que dans la nécessité de faire venir quelque Dieu, encore les Poètes estoient-ils trouvez ridicules presque toujours de s'estre laissé reduire à cette nécessité [...] L'antiquité qui exposoit des Dieux à ses Poètes, & jusques dans ses foyers; cette Antiquité, dis je, toute vaine & credule qu'elle estoit, n'en exposa neanmoins que fort rarement sur le Theatre. Après que la creance en a esté perduë, les Italiens ont rétably en leur Opera les Dieux Payens dans le monde, & n'ont pas craint d'occuper les hommes de ces vanitez ridicules, pourvû qu'ils donnassent à leurs pieces un plus grand éclat par l'introduction de cet ébloüissant & faux merveilleux; ces divinitez de Theatre ont abusé assez long temps, l'Italie détrompée heureusement à la fin, on la voit renoncer à ces mesmes Dieux qu'elle avoit rappelez, & revenir à des choses qui n'ont pas veritablement la mesme justesse, qui sont moins fâcheuses, & que le bon sens avec un peu d'indulgence ne rejette pas. Il nous est arrivé au sujet des Dieux & des machines, ce qui arrive presque toujours aux Allemands sur nos modes, nous venons de prendre ce que les Italiens abandonnent: & comme si nous voulions reparer la faute d'avoir esté prevenus dans l'invention, nous poussons jusqu'à l'excès un usage qu'ils avoient introduit mal à propos, mais qu'ils ont mesnagé avec retenuë. En effet nous couvrons la terre de Divinitez, & les faisons danser, descendre par troupes, au lieu qu'ils les faisoient descendre avec quelque sorte de mesnagement aux occasions les plus importantes, comme l'Arioste avoit outré le merveilleux des Poëmes par le fabuleux incroyable, nous outrons le fabuleux par un assemblage confus des Dieux, de Bergers, de Heros, d'Enchanteurs, de fantômes, de furies & de demons.⁴²

An army of European rationalists leagued with Saint Evremond, each in his turn applying negative judgments to the operatic tradition of their respective country. In Germany,

³⁸ Ibid., 835.

³⁹ PERRAULT 1674, 65.

⁴⁰ HORACE 1955, ll. 191-2: “[...] nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus / inciderit [...]”.

⁴¹ Ibid., 65.

⁴² SAINT EVREMOND 1670-84, XI, 111-6.

it was Johann Christoph Gottsched who took up the hatchet, contending in his *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* (1730) that

In der that erfordert es nicht viel Verstand, alle Augenblick einen Gott vom Himmel kommen zu lassen, um dem Schauspiele auszuhelfen, wenn es widerwärtig ablaufen will; wo nicht ein höherer Beystand dazu kömmt. Das heißt mehrentheils den Knoten zerschneiden, aber nicht auflösen. Und darinn verstoßen gemeinlich unsere [German] Operschreiber. Weil sie ihre Schauspiele gern so wunderbar machen wollen, als es möglich ist: so denken sie fleißig auf Maschinen, das ist, auf göttliche Erscheinungen, welche die Augen des Pöbels blenden.⁴³

In Italy, Salvadori argued in his *Poetica toscana all'uso* (1691) that “there is nothing improper about dramatic solutions through gods in machines, but it is senseless to use them too often.”⁴⁴

However, many librettists had by then taken Aristotle’s advice at heart and confined machine spectacles to moments “outside the scope of the tragedy” – prologues, interludes and appendages (*licenze*). These perfunctory appearances in their turn were gradually deleted so that by 1670, as Ellen Rosand observed, “the prologue had been virtually abandoned, and with it the Venetian topicality it had once contained.”⁴⁵ No longer did deities pay homage to the greatness of the patron or city. Instead, mass scenes with soldiers and entire civilizations aroused the *meraviglia* necessary to attract the spectator’s attention. In 1675, Abate Frugoni reported:

Today, however (as far as I know), Venice [...] has cut off the prologues from the scene [...] and during the raising of the curtain one has a spectacle burst out before the astonished eyes of the present ones [...] in which are presented in perspective a most splendid [group of] supernumeraries, joined by numerous assistants [...]⁴⁶

When Bibiena arrived on the scene, the gods were relegated to spaces even more distant than the prologue, namely to the asylum of dramatic discourse. Paradoxically, though, their expulsion contributed to the development of a musico-dramatic form that did perhaps not astonish the eyes, but at least tickled the ears and explicitly pertained to the divine. A better understanding of the introduction of the numinous *accompagnato* can be gained from a comparison of two Vergilian operas: Giacomo Francesco Bussani’s *Enea in Italia* (Venice, 1675) and Metastasio’s *Didone abbandonata* (Naples, 1724).

⁴³ GOTTSCHED 1973, I, 240.

⁴⁴ Quoted from FREEMAN 1967, 11.

⁴⁵ ROSAND 1991, 151. See also Eadem, 388; HONOLKA 1978, 136; DONINGTON 1981, 223-6; GLIXON 1985, 20n37.

⁴⁶ FRUGONI 1675, 189: “Hoggidi però (per quanto mi consta) Venetia (Theatro di meraviglia anche ne suoi Theatri maestosissimi) hà recisi i Prologhi dalle Scene, e con una meravigliosa mostra fà nell’abbattimento delle Cortine, prorompere al guardo attonito degli astanti uno spettacolo, che fuiscera l’ammirazione da gli affetti commossi, ne’ quali si presentano in prospetto lustratissime le comparse, da numero Equipaggio associate [...]”.

The voice of destiny

Bussani derived the libretto for *Enea in Italia* from books seven to twelve of the *Aeneid*, which relate Aeneas's battle with the Latin warrior Turnus over the hand of Lavinia, the daughter of King Latinus. Bussani's plot exceeds the 'human' dimension, though, for it visualizes the divine forces underlying Aeneas's deeds. In the nocturnal opening scene, Fate and Venus discuss the warrior's mission and reveal the future city of Rome, as if in a crystal ball (*Appendix 2.3*). The spatial illusion conjured up here is all-encompassing in that it unifies three layers of being – Aeneas's dream, Vergil's epic narrative, and the spectator's (or reader's) here-and-now. Not unlike contemporary fresco ceilings, it pictures the realms of heaven and earth, be it on different vertical positions – the deities above, Aeneas and his fleet below. Fate and Venus thereby embody an essential stratum of absolutist power, the *mise-en-gloire* of which is accomplished through the lines of central perspective, which connect the *dei* and the 'pious' Aeneas on stage,⁴⁷ the dedicatee Philippe-Jules Mazarin Mancini on the *place du prince*. 'Continuity' between these two instances is achieved through a fluid continuum between auditorium, proscenium and scene. In musical terms, quite tellingly, melodic material from the overture is rehearsed in the first aria for Venus:

Example 2.8a. Carlo Pallavicino *Enea in Italia* (Venice, 1675) – overture, mm. 13-14 and 23-24.

The musical score for Example 2.8a shows four staves: Violino I, Violino II, Viola, and Basso. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). Measures 13-14 and 23-24 are indicated by brackets and measure numbers above the staves. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and dynamic markings.

Example 2.8b. Ibid. – Venere "Ombre cieche" (Act I scene 1), mm. 1-2 and 25-27.

The musical score for Example 2.8b shows two staves: Venere and Basso. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). Measures 1-2 and 25-27 are indicated by brackets and measure numbers above the staves. The Venere part includes the lyrics: "Om - bre cie - che S'e - gli dor - men (do)".

⁴⁷ See the 'Argomento': "Non ordi mai la Parca stame più illustre, e Reale di quello del PIO ENEA."

In Bussani's *theatrum mundi* the boundaries between what *is* and what lies beyond it are decidedly blurred. Anthropomorphic deities side with mortals, express themselves in genuine arias, observe earthly adventures from their celestial balcony, and perhaps even winked at the privileged spectator. A numinous *accompagnato* would here be out of place, simply because the gods do not need to be alluded to in words – they are seen. In opera seria, on the other hand, “the gods do no longer speak, and we are never told whether they hear.”⁴⁸

And yet, the Metastasian hero too is driven by exterior forces that cannot be simplified as ‘passions.’ In a statement to Dido’s sister, Selene, and confidant, Osmidas, in the very opening lines of *Didone abbandonata*, Aeneas motivates his decision to leave Dido and Carthage as follows:

ENEAS
No, principessa, amico,
Sdegno non è, non è timor che move [my emphasis]
Le frigie vele e mi trasporta altrove.
[...]
Ma ch’io di nuovo esponga
All’arbitrio dell’onde i giorni miei
Mi prescrive il destin, voglion gli dei [my emphasis];
E son sì sventurato
Che sembra colpa mia quella del fato.

Aeneas’s ‘destiny’ and ‘gods,’ which Metastasio aptly apologized for in a disclaimer,⁴⁹ do not intervene in his drama. One will search in vain for arias performed by deities, or a revelation of Rome painted somewhere on a backcloth, for feats like these represented the *theia* and *aloga* Aristotelians dismissed. Instead, Metastasio reread the *Aeneid* to concoct a hypotyposis (vivid description) from two separate episodes – Mercury’s appearance through which Jupiter orders Aeneas to leave Carthage (Book IV, ll. 222-78), and Aeneas’s dream of his father Anchises (V, ll. 721-40), which is actually unrelated to the Carthagian episode.

Ironically, though, countless composers of a *Didone abbandonata* sought to make up for the visual deficit arising from this *récit*. They thus added a ‘voice’ that evoked the divine and filled in the missing space. In Domenico Sarro’s maiden setting, for instance, the description is underscored by string haloes, diminished sevenths, bold modulations, and motives that verge on the whimsical (*Example 2.9*). By the time Niccolò Jommelli reached his third setting of *Didone abbandonata* (Stuttgart, 1763), Aeneas’s description assumed quasi-symphonic proportions (*see Appendix 2.4*).

⁴⁸ STROHM 2002, 62-3.

⁴⁹ *Didone abbandonata* (Naples, 1724): “Tutte l’espressioni di sensi e di parole che non convengono co’ dogmi cattolici o sono scritte per proprietà del carattere rappresentato o sono puri adornamenti poetici.” (Quoted from METASTASIO 2002-4, CD-ROM).

Example 2.9. Domenico Sarro *Didone abbandonata* (Naples, 1724) – Act I scene 1, mm. 29-53.

29

Enea

"Fi - glio" (ei di - ce e l'a - scol - to) "in - gra - to fi - glio, ques - to è d'I - ta - lia il re - gno

[Strings]

32

Presto

che ac - quis - tar ti com - mi - si A - pol - lo ed i - o? L'A - sia in - fe -

35

li - ce as - pet - ta che in un al - tro ter - re - no, o - pra del tuo va - lor, Tro - ia ri - nas - ca; tu il pro - met - tes - ti;

f *dolce*

39

io nel mo - men - to e - stre - mo del vi - ver mi - o la tua pro - mes - sa in - te - si, al - lor che ti pie - gas - ti a ba - ciar ques - ta

43

des - tra e mel giu - ras - ti. E tu frà tan - to in - gra - to al - la pa - tria, a te stes - so, al ge - ni - to - re

Example 2.9 (continued).

47

qui nell' o - zio ti per - di e nell' a - mo - re? Sor - gi; de' leg - ni tuo - i tron - ca il ca - na - pe

50 **Presto**

re - o, sciog - li le sar - te". Míguar - da poi con tor - vo cig - lio e par - te.

Paradoxically, then, the louder the cry for opera devoid of miracles and deities, the more ‘indispensable’ the divine became in the orchestral pit. The deities themselves were erased for sure, but their presence was evoked in oaths, prayers and dreams which were accompanied by music that blatantly overrode the narrow conditions of Catholic censorship, Bibienesque scenography, and classicist poetics. The numinous was to stay and to be reckoned with, even as a conventional folly.



CHAPTER THREE

ARCADIAN MOONLIGHT ON ENDYMION

On 5 October 1690, fourteen intellectuals gathered in a garden near San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, to establish a society with which they hoped to return Italian poetry to its Renaissance glory. This *Accademia degli Arcadi* (or *dell’Arcadia*), as their brainchild was baptized, would gently mutate into a pan-Italian institution with dozens of colonies and well over two thousand members.¹ To the annoyance of several Pastori, however, the lion’s share of its activities was confined to “pastoral chit-chat, little sonnets and songs” (Gravina) which were “nearly always devoted to the elaboration of the grand affairs of love” (Muratori).²

Perhaps the Arcadia did not enter history as an institute of higher learning, as some of its representatives had wished, but even so, the Arcadian way of representing amorous matters had little to do with the so-called ‘Bacchanalian excesses’ of the Seicento.³ Arcadian sonnets and libretti explored the chaster dimensions of love, representing lovers as faint-hearted beings to whom eroticism constituted a threat, rather than a welcome sensation. Already a century ago, Gabriel Maugain observed that

En général, dans les [Italian] poésies écrites à la fin du XVII^e siècle ou au début du XVIII^e, l’amant est timide. Quand survient celle qui occupe sa pensée, il fuit ou garde le silence. Il s’approche d’elle pendant qu’elle sommeille, mais il redoute alors de la réveiller; il supplie la brise et les ruisseaux de se taire.⁴

On comparing Giovanni Battista Gaulli’s painting *Diana cacciatrice* (Rome, 1690) and Handel’s homonymous cantata (Rome, 1709), both of which saw the daylight in the Arcadian context, Ellen Harris has furthermore pointed to the fact that Arcadianism conveys the “insinuation that women, and even goddesses, represent a mortal danger to men.”⁵

¹ Details in MAYLENDER 1926, I, 232-81; QUONDAM 1973; GRAZIONI 1991.

² GRAVINA 1973, 472 (“L’altra cagione di questa segregazione [split of the Arcadia, 1711] è stata che cercando molti ridurre quella ragunanza dalle cicalate pastorali e dai sonettini e canzoncine a qualche più solida e più profittevole applicazione [...]” – *Della division d’Arcadia, lettera ad un amico*, 1711); MURATORI 1767-73, VIII, 2 (“[...] Argomenti per lo più assai leggieri, perchè quasi sempre destinati a trattar de’ grandi affari d’amore.” – *I primi disegni della repubblica letteraria d’Italia*, 1703).

³ HELLER 2003, 298.

⁴ MAUGAIN 1909, 320.

⁵ HARRIS 2001, 52-3.

This timid attitude toward love especially prevails in the many depictions of Diana and Endymion. The very frequency with which the Pastori returned to this particular subject is astonishing, to say the least. In 1688, two years before the Academy's actual foundation, Christina of Sweden and Alessandro Guidi joined hands in the creation of an *Endimione* that unfortunately did not reach the operatic stage, but was recited before the Pastori and issued in print together with a treatise by Arcadian co-founder Gian Vincenzo Gravina. In 1692, a homonymous *favola per musica* by Francesco de Lemene was premiered at Lodi; it succeeded precisely where Guidi's had failed – to enjoy success as a libretto. Yet, Lemene's *Endimione* sparked a cabal at Turin and another Arcadian tract written by Giovanni Antonio Mezzabarba and dedicated to Pietro Antonio Bernardoni, *procustode* of Arcadia's Modenese chapter. In 1706 Bernardoni revised Lemene's libretto for the Viennese stage where it was graced with music by another Arcadian darling, Giovanni Bononcini. The story continues through the feathers of the Bononcinis, and more particularly through those of Giovanni's brother Antonio Maria. The latter provided a new setting of Lemene's drama for the Teatro San Bartolomeo in Naples (1721). Two weeks after the premiere of this opera, Naples witnessed Arcadia's last and must enduring contribution to the Endymion myth in the guise of a serenata by Gravina's heir, Pietro Metastasio.⁶

All in spite of the thematic and institutional background common to all of these works, the *Endimiones* of Guidi, Lemene and Metastasio can and should be sharply contrasted in terms of intellectual purpose and dramaturgical style. While the drama of Christina and Guidi emphasizes the platonic dimension of Endymion's love for Diana, Lemene's underscores the irony inherent to Diana's defeat by Cupid. Metastasio's version in its turn highlights the pastoral airiness as appropriate for an entertainment dedicated to newlywed aristocrats. Such bewildering contrasts invite thorough re-assessment of the notion of 'Arcadian opera,'⁷ at least as regards its initial stage. For although most Pastori saw moral and stylistic purification as their principal aims, the artistic results emerging from these reformist ambitions were polymorphic and individualistic. As will be seen, the era in which intellectuals met in gardens, assumed pastoral pseudonyms and elaborated paradigmatic stories was less coherent than is generally believed.

⁶ Not mentioned in this chapter are three further Endymion operas of Arcadian descent: Alessandro Scarlatti's serenata *Endimione e Cintia* (Rome, 1705, anonymous libretto), not to be confused with his *Diana ed Endimione* (Rome, c. 1679-85, likewise anonymous); Leonardo Leo's *Diana amante* (Naples, 1717; Giuseppe Papis); and Francesco Gasparini's *L'Oracolo del Fato* (Barcelona, 1709; Pietro Pariati). Details in Appendix 1.1, "Endymion".

⁷ Essential studies on the phenomenon include BURT 1955; BINNI 1963; FREEMAN 1967; HARRIS 1980, chap. 2; BELLINA & CARUSO 1998; BUCCIARELLI 2000, in particular 1-31; SMITH 2001.

The Endymion legacy

To begin our journey, we will take a quick glance at Endymion's pre-Arcadian history. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Endymion myth could reflect upon a rich past comprising two millennia and a broad range of variants.⁸ One thread of the legend, reported in Apollodorus's *Library*, tells that Endymion was the first King of Elis, a polis in the northwest of the Peloponnese. Endymion was made immortal by moon goddess Selene so that she might contemplate his beauty forever.⁹ This story was transferred eastwards, from Elis to Caria in Asia Minor, and Arcadia, a barren, mountainous land in the Peloponnese which since Polybius had come to be regarded as a paradise inhabited by virtuous, artistic shepherds.¹⁰ Selene, Endymion's lover, in her turn came to be identified with Artemis, the protectress of virginity who enjoyed great popularity in Arcadia.

The Romans too perceived Luna and Diana (or Cynthia) as equivalents; at the same time, though, they discarded Endymion's royal status and regarded him instead as a shepherd who had slept during the day to hunt in the moonlight. Pliny the Elder built upon this suggestion to advance the hypothesis that Endymion had been an astrologer who kept awake at night to study the phases of the moon.¹¹ Latin poets in their turn uncovered the erotic dimensions of the story, for instance pointing to the fact that Endymion "was naked when he enraptured Phoebus's sister [Diana] and slept with the goddess, who was also naked."¹²

Early modernity rediscovered the tale from material artefacts such as mural paintings and sarcophagus reliefs, as well as from the *Phaido*, Plato's illustrious dialogue on the nature of (Socrates's) death. In it, Plato deployed Endymion's sleep to illustrate the immortality of the mind versus the ephemeral nature of the body. Renaissance court poets capitalized on

⁸ They are summed up in ROSCHER 1965, I, 1246-8. Overviews of artistic applications are given in PIGLER 1974, II, 160-5 and DAVIDSON REID & ROHMANN 1993, I, 373-82.

⁹ APOLLODORUS 1921, I.9.5: "Calyce and Aethlius had a son Endymion who led Aeolians from Thessaly and founded Elis. But some say that he was a son of Zeus. As he was of surpassing beauty, the Moon fell in love with him, and Zeus allowed him to choose what he would, and he chose to sleep for ever, remaining deathless and ageless." According to PAUSANIAS 1918, V.1.3-4, Endymion's relationship with Selene had either resulted in an impressive offspring or had simply never existed: "The Moon, they say, fell in love with this Endymion and bore him fifty daughters. Others with greater probability say that Endymion took a wife Asterodia."

¹⁰ See POLYBIUS 1962, IV.20.1 ("[...] the Arcadian nation on the whole has a very high reputation for virtue among the Greeks, due not only to their humane and hospitable character and usages, but especially to their piety to the gods [...]") and IV.20.8 ("[...] it is a well-known fact, familiar to all, that it is hardly known except in Arcadia, that in the first place the boys from their earliest childhood are trained to sing in measure the hymns and paeans in which by traditional usage they celebrated the heroes and gods of each particular place [...]").

¹¹ PLINY THE ELDER 1855, II.43. See also CARTARI 1571, 126. Giovanni Faustini alluded to this theory in Act I scene 8 of *La Calisto* (Venice, 1651), having Diana call Endymion the "dotto investigatore" of the "volubili moti" of her "sfera." Similar allusions to Endymion's astrological talent appear in the third act of Parisani's *Diana schernita* (Rome, 1629) and in Canto X (ll. 42-7) of Marino's *Adone*.

¹² PROPERTIUS 15 B.C., II.15, ll. 15-6: "Nudus et Endymion Phoebi cepisse sororem / dicitur et nuae concubuisse deae."

Plato's association to draw allegorical lines of resemblance between the mythological characters and the 'immortal' patrons they eulogized in their poems. Thus John Lyly had in his tragedy *Endimion, The Man in the Moone* (London, 1591) a boy actor evoke the unearthly, everlasting beauty of Queen Elizabeth:

ENDIMION. Tell mee Eumenides, what is hee that having a Mistris of ripe yeeres, & infinite vertues, great honours, and unspeakable beauty, but woulde with that shee might grow render againe? Getting youth by yeeres, and never decaying beauty, by time, whose fayre face, neyther the Summers blase can scorch, nor Winters blast chappe, nor the numbring of yeeres breede altering of colours. Such is my sweete Cynthia, whom tyme cannot touch, because she is divine, nor will offend because she is delicate.¹³

Seicento librettists, however, erased Endymion's platonic persona in favor of more playfulness and irony, conveyed through *concetti* culled from myth, pastoral and *commedia dell'arte*. In Giovanni Faustini's *La Calisto* (Venice, 1651), for example, the love plot between Endymion and Diana shares the stage with the erotic affairs of Jupiter and Callisto, the jealousy of Juno, the roguish interventions of satyrs, and the sorrows of an old nymph, Linfea.¹⁴ Almerico Passarelli's *Endimione* (Ferrara, 1655) has the story unfold against the backdrop of the Spartan court, where 'Queen' Diana is surrounded by courtiers (Crisi, Arante, Alda, Lidio and Eurillo) and personifications of her own passions (Gelosia, Furore and Amorini). In the anonymous set of intermedi *Gli amori della luna con Endimione* (Bologna, 1681), finally, Bacchus summons the shepherds to set up "orgies and bacchanals with rustic display,"¹⁵ while Endymion does his best to ward off Luna's improper advances. In vain, for he is tricked into her arms when liquor is spilt on his face and he falls asleep. At the end of the jolly spectacle, the Olympic deities amuse themselves luring over Luna's love-play and cannily remarking that "the one who nourishes a lascivious flame in her bosom likes to be the goddess of decency."¹⁶

¹³ *Endimion, The Man in the Moone. Playd before the Queenes Maiestie at Greenewich on Candlemas day at night, by the Chyldren of Paules*, 2nd edn (London, 1591), Act I scene 1. Part of this practice survived in court intermezzi like Pio's *Gli amori di Diana e di Endimione* (Parma, 1628; music by Monteverdi) and serenatas like Pariati's *L'Oracolo del Fato* (1709 and 1719; music by Gasparini). The latter has Fate declare that the beauty of Emperor Charles VI and Elisabeth Christina surpasses that of Diana and Endymion.

¹⁴ The juxtaposition of the Callisto and Endymion tales with the nymphomaniac Linfea was rehearsed in Benedetto Marcello's *Calisto in orsa* (Venice, ?1725).

¹⁵ *Gli Amori della Luna con Endimione* (Bologna, 1681), Prologo: "Sù venite ò Pastori / Con pompe rusticali / Celebrate pur l'Orgie, e i Bacchanali."

¹⁶ "[...] chi nutre nel sen fiamma lasciva / Vuole dell'honestade esser la Diva."

A swansong for Neoplatonism

Ironically, it was Diana onto whom Christina of Sweden (1626-89) projected her legendary chastity and unwillingness to marry. Already during her Swedish reign (1632-54), Christina exemplified her resistance to the temptations of love through ballets like *Diane victorieuse, ou Le vaincu de Diane* (Stockholm, 1649), in which she herself danced the lead.¹⁷ Her entry in Rome (1656) occasioned a medallion that depicted her as Diana taming four lions – symbols for the four cardinal passions (distress, fear, lust and delight) from stoic philosophy.

Plate 3.1. Medallion, Rome 1656.¹⁸



Christina's interest in the Endymion episode of the Diana myth may have been aroused by a gallery at her first Roman residence, Palazzo Farnese. Its ceiling was adorned by Annibale Carracci's sumptuous fresco cycle *The Loves of the Gods* (1597-1604). Among the various groupings of mythological characters in Carracci's ceiling, there was a *quadro* representing Diana and Endymion in fond embrace. Either or not inspired by its sensual imagery, Christina summoned her French secretary, Gabriel Gilbert, to devote a semi-musical tragedy to the subject – *Les Amours de Diane et d'Endimion* (1657).¹⁹ Curiously, Gilbert's

¹⁷ This ballet was composed by Helie Poirier (French version) and Georg Stiernhielm (Swedish version, as *Then fångne Cupido*), see FOGELBERG ROTA 2005.

¹⁸ Reproduced from ARCKENHOLTZ 1751-60, I, 518. The motto "nec sinit esse feros" was derived from Ovid's *Letters from Pontus*, II.9.47-8 ("Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes, emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros": "A faithful study of the liberal arts humanizes the character and does not permit it to be turbulent.") and explained in *Ibid.*, I, 518, as follows: "[...] NEC SINIT ESSE FEROS, que de Meiern [Johann Gottfried von Meyern, antiquarian, 1683-1745] explique en faveur de la Reine, comme s'étant vaincuë elle-même & aiant remporté en résignant la Couronne, la plus grande victoire sur les quatre passions les plus fortes."

¹⁹ In his letter of dedication to Cardinal Mazarin, Gilbert wrote that he had composed *Les Amours de Diane et d'Endimion* "en Italie par le commandement d'une personne Auguste pour qui V.E. a beaucoup de respect," that

play concludes with Endymion's assassination by Diana's jealous brother, Apollo. The odd departure from tradition has been explained in terms of an allusion to Marquis Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi, who allegedly had an affair with Christina but was executed for betraying her political ambitions (the seizure of the Neapolitan crown) to Oliver Cromwell.²⁰

In 1688, Christina's Diana alter ego had another, if less tragic rendez-vous with Endymion in a three-act libretto commissioned from her poet-in-residence, Alessandro Guidi (1650-1712). In the flowery preface to this *Endimione*, published four years later, Guidi acknowledged that his patroness had picked out the subject and participated in its conception:

Mà le belle ferite,
Onde Cintia si vide
Per le selve di Caria or mesta, or lieta,
L'alta Reina [Christina] a versi miei commise;
E in così care guise
Il nostro canto accolse,
Che nel fulgor l'avvolse
De' suoi celesti ingegni.²¹

Unfortunately, Christina's illness and death in 1689 prevented Guidi's *favola pastorale* from being set to music and staged. Shortly afterwards, though, the Arcadian Academy absorbed Christina's *Accademia Reale* (1674-89), to which both Guidi and Arcadian *custode generale* Giovan Mario Crescimbeni had adhered. Cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani, the future Clement XI (1700), became Guidi's protector.²² And so *Endimione* became part of Arcadia's early legacy, being first recited by three Pastori at the garden of Christina's Palazzo Riario (today Corsini) on the day on which Guidi was admitted to the Academy as 'Erilo Cleoneo' (10 June 1691).²³ Probably at the instigation of Crescimbeni, the libretto appeared in print the

is, Christina, whom Mazarin had invited to Fontainebleau in 1656. It was only in 1658, however, that the ex-Queen witnessed a performance of Gilbert's tragedy by the Hôtel de Bourgogne troupe.

²⁰ In 1669, Lindelbach translated Gilbert's play "in Nederduytsche vaarzen" as *De liefde van Diana en Endimion*. In the preface he argued that a like adaptation made sense since "(gelijk ons bericht is) onder de verdichte liefde van Diana en Endimion, een zin bedekt, welke op gekroonde Personagien, in onze eeuw beken, slaat; en ons ook, door den Heer Gilbert, Geheimschrijver der Koninginne van Zweeden, in Italien opgesteld, en in Vrankrijk vertoont, geen minder vernoeving als lust gaf [...]". In 1681, Charpentier composed new incidental music and songs for *Les Amours*, see WHITFIELD 1994.

²¹ All passages from *Endimione* are quoted from GUIDI 1692. For a modern edition, see GUIDI 1981, 95-155. The "beautiful wounds" symbolize the amorous injuries afflicted by Cupid's darts, while the "woods of Caria" can be understood as a metaphor for either the garden of Palazzo Riario, where *Endimione* was premiered, or the Arcadia in general (note: Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, Arcadia's *custode generale*, assumed the pseudonym 'Alfesibio Cario').

²² In the preface to *Endimione*, Guidi addressed his new patron as follows: "[...] ò grande Albano, / A te, chi sì sovente / Innanzi a l'alta Donna [Christina] eri presente! [...] Mà Tu, Signor, de chiari genj erede / Asciugasti il lor pianto [for Christina's demise], e a nova speme / Tu richiamasti i carmi, & or ti porto / Quei, che un tempo ti fur dilette, e cari [...]".

²³ GUIDI 1726, xviii-xix: "La prima comparsa in questa Accademia [Arcadia] volle egli [Guidi] farla col suo *Endimione*, il quale non avendo avuto fortuna d'esser pubblicato in tempo della Regina di Svezia, egli prima di darlo alle stampe, ottenne d'esporglo al giudizio di Roma nel luogo delle Ragunanze degli Arcadi, che allora era appunto il giardino del Palazzo abitato già della stessa Regina. Se ne fece il recitamento da tre de' principali

following year in a five-act version enhanced with choruses and a *Discorso* by Gian Vincenzo Gravina (1664-1718).²⁴

The plot of *Endimione* can be – somewhat superficially – summarized as a rhetorical duel between two guiding forces, Eros (Cupid) and Chastity (Diana). In the opening scene, Cupid stresses the fertility and sensuality of Diana’s realm, with its “happy beaches,” “adventurous hills” and “beautiful flowers.” Diana from her part perceives this landscape in an emotionally inward way, as “solitary shadows” and “profound silences”:

AMORE.

Felici piagge, avventurosi colli,
Non perche di bei fiori April v’adorna;
Ma perche in voi soggiorna
In nove forme, e in sì leggiadro velo
Cintia scesa dal cielo.

CINTIA

Ombre solinghe, alti silenzi, ò quanto
Grave sento su’l cor vostra quiete,
Or che’l terror de l’universo, e’l grande
Nemico di mia pace in seno avete.²⁵

Diana, a self-declared enemy of love, begs Cupid to carry his arch and torch to royal palaces.²⁶ Inevitably, though, the archer prefers to stay so that he can enrapture the hearts of Diana’s subjects and crown himself King of the universe, which he in effect does in his first aria, “Ne la Reggia, e dentro ’l bosco.”²⁷ His statements form the catalyst for a defensive aria by Diana, “Il ruscel, che al mar s’invià,” in which she compares her will to an unstoppable brook that reaches out for the sea.²⁸ Cupid swears to punish her vanity and foresees her downfall. The chorus concludes the act on a critical note:

Pastori, ad ognuno de’ quali fu assegnata una parte, e vi concorse numerosissima, e sceltissima udienza, la quale restò grandemente maravigliata della nuova maniera adoperata dal Guidi in sì fatta spezie di Poesia [...]”. Documentary evidence for this performance can be found in TELLINI SANTONI 1991, 13 (nos. 129-31).

²⁴ GUIDI 1726, xix: “Questa favola [*Endimione*] nel suo nascimento fu composta di tre atti; e tale anche fu recitata in Arcadia, come si vede nel suo Archivio [today Biblioteca Angelica] dove se ne conserva una copia sottoscritta dallo stesso Autore [I-Rvat ms. 1, c. 204r-235v]; ma poi essendo cessata la ragione, per la quale distacossi il Guidi dalla divisione di cinque atti, la quale fu, perchè la Regina aveva intenzione di farla rappresentare coll’ornamento della Musica, al qual’effetto volle, che vi fossero inserite anche delle arie musicali; egli si mise a riformarla alla maniera antica, dandole divisione di cinque atti, con la giunta dal Coro in fine di ciascheduno [...]”. Crescimbeni advocated five-act pastorals with choruses in his *Comentarii alla sua istoria della volgar poesia* (CRESCIMBENI 1730-31, 288 and 296).

²⁵ A similar conflict is played out in the opening scene of Apostolo Zeno’s *Il Narciso* (Anspach, 1697): “CIDIPPE. Ben mi pareva ch’oggi più bella e chiara / L’alba sorgesse, e più dell’uso il colle / fiorisse; or che ti veggo, / mia delizia e mio sol, gentil Narciso. // NARCISO. E a me pareva che nube impura intorno / togliessi agli occhi miei / la primavera o il giorno, or che ti veggo, / mio tormento e mio orror, ninfa importuna.”

²⁶ Arcadia produced many ‘enemies of love,’ see for example Giovanni Bononcini’s serenata *La nemica d’amore fatta amante* (Rome, 1693; anonymous libretto).

²⁷ “Ne la Reggia, e dentro ’l bosco / Io conosco / D’esser Nume, e Nume grande: / Gloriosa intorno spande / La mia face i raggi suoi, / O se infiamma i nobil cori / De’ Pastori, / O se accende i grandi Eroi.”

²⁸ “Il ruscel, che al mar s’invià, / Come vuole il suo destino, / Non desia / Di fermarsi in suo camino: / E se bene ei move i passi / Sol fra sassi; / Pur’ invano a far dimora / Il lusinga Aprile, e Flora. [...]”.

CORO

Non son così tranquilli i boschi, e i colli
Non son sì dolci, e le Città no'l sanno.
A te bell'ombre ancora
In nostra compagnia siede l'affanno.

Cupid's male victim is introduced in the second act, moaningly venting his one desire: to be far removed from all things and places affected by love. Apparently, his heart has been put ablaze by passion – for Diana, as will turn out:

ENDIMIONE

Seguendo un mio desir, che mi diparte
Da tutto 'l Mondo, e fà il mio guardo schivo
D'ogni bel poggio, e d'ogni ameno loco,
In solitaria parte,
Pien di sospir men vivo,
E penso, come Amor m'hà posto in foco.

Diana dismisses his fear and cowardice. Yet, no later than the hunter has left the scene, she admits that she fled the heavenly spheres and moved to Arcadia precisely to escape the power of love.²⁹ Eager to take revenge on Diana, Cupid promises Endymion to assist him in the conquest of Diana's heart. To do so, he grants him the eloquence necessary to win her over:

AMORE

Or la tua mente
In ogni suo pensier, s'erge, e sfavilla,
Nè più ragiona in pastorali accenti;
Ma in note alme, e leggiadre.
Et è questa d'Amore alta possanza,
Che cotanto dal vile
Imaginar ti leva, e ti diparte.

Before that materializes, however, both lovers confront the dark side of love. Endymion exclaims that death would be more dear to him than love,³⁰ while Diana pictures Cupid's menace as a shadow looming over her woods.³¹ At the closing of the third act, however, Endymion suddenly throws off his pastoral garb, singing

ENDIMIONE

Io ch'al prato, al monte, al bosco
Vissi povero Pastore,
Cangio stato, e mi conosco
Pien di novo alto valore.

²⁹ "Son fuggita da le sfere, / Per fuggirti, ò crudo Amore; / Nè mi val seguir le fere, / Nè star chiusa in chiuso orrore; / Che ver me dispieghi l'ali, / E mi giungi co' tuoi strali."

³⁰ "Ombre placide serene / Del soave amico Lete / Care siete / Al mio duolo, a le mie pene; / Ma più care anco sareste, / Se foste del mio fato ombre funeste. // Ombre rigide di Morte / Voi potreste consolarmi, / E recarmi / La felice intera sorte. / V'aspettò l'alma sovente; / Or giace stanca, e al suo destin consente."

³¹ "Or che queste / Alme foreste / Fà sua Reggia il fero Dio, / Tutto è pena al guardo mio. / Orrid'ombra sparge il bosco, / E sol toscò / Versa il fonte, e corre il rio. / Tutto è pena al guardo mio."

That his status has in effect changed, becomes apparent from the fourth act on, as he begins to address Diana in a metaphoric vein. In one such address, he exclaims:

ENDIMIONE
Amor m'hà date l'ali
Non per cose mortali, e 'l tuo bel lume
Di raggio in raggio m'avvalora, & erge.
Io per lui poggio a sì sublime stato,
Che per me stesso non saria giamai
Salito a tal ventura,
Or tu, cortese Dea, prenditi cura
Di quella fiamma, che da te discende:
E a te stessa perdona
La colpa, che t'offende.

Still clinging to her divine status, Diana cannot respond to the shepherd's lofty discourse, unless she too undergoes a mental metamorphosis that *lowers* her social status to that of her beloved. None other than Cupid initializes this transformation through deception, by telling her that Endymion lies deadly hurt:

AMORE
Del mio sì grave affanno
Sola cagion tu sei.

CINTIA
Meco tu scherzi Amore.

AMORE
Come potesti mai
Drizzar il fero strale entro il bel seno
Del più vago Pastor di queste selve
Mia gloria, e mio diletto,
E che solo dovea da tuoi begli occhi
Sentire aprirsi il petto.

CINTIA
Che Pastor? che ferite? e quando rea
Fù la mia Deità di colpa atroce?

AMORE
E ver, che l'arco tese
Elpinia [one of Diana's nymphs] per ferir Fera fugace,
Ma s'udi pria, che liberasse il dardo,
Ben tre volte invocar tuo nome, e disse.
Cintia, tu guida il colpo, e 'l colpo giunse
Ahi fierezza! ahi pietate!
Nel sen d'Endimion, che non lontano
Stava pensoso tra solinghi orrori
Su l'aspra istoria de' suoi tristi amori.

CINTIA
In nome de le furie uscì da l'arco
L'empia saetta, ch'il mio ben trafisse.
Or dunque giace il bel Pastore estinto?

AMORE
Estinto nò: ma da crudel ferita
Langue piagato a morte.³²

Overcome by grief, Diana gets rid of her immortality and reveals herself as a woman who is hopelessly in love with Endymion:

CINTIA
Ricuso d'esser Dea,
E d'esser viva ancor, se mi s'invola
Il vago Endimione,
Che viver non vorrei,
Senza 'l caro splendor de' lumi suoi.

AMORE
Or cela amor, se puoi.

The fifth and last act displays the couple's amorous conjunction in heaven. All shadows and dark clouds having been dispersed, it is time for 'light' and 'beatification':

CINTIA
Segui Amor, ch'a tanta luce
Ti conduce
Per sì nova alta ventura,
Di bearti ei prende cura;
Nè sprezzar d'Amore 'l dono;
Spesso sono
Suoi seguaci accolti in cielo
Nel consorzio de gli Dei.

Still burdened with fear, though, Endymion recalls a series of ill-fated lovers from the *Metamorphoses* (Semele, Adonis, Hyacinthus and Psyche), as if gazing from his pictorial frame toward the neighboring tableaux in Carracci's ceiling:

ENDIMIONE
Pur gl'eventi acerbi, e rei
Io di Semele pavento
Dal suo Giove incenerita:
E ben sento,
Che d'Adon l'aspra ferita
Và turbando i pensier miei:
Raffiguro il bel Giacinto
Di mortal pallor dipinto:
Veggio Psiche amata amante
Gir sospinta a rischi indegni
Per di sdegni.

But Diana rapidly casts away this last discomfort, soothing and carressing him, after which the couple joins in a duet in which Endymion declares to feel "more blessed than the deities

³² Bruno Maier has read this passage as a tribute to Tasso's *Aminta*, more particularly to the episode in which the nymph Silvia is tricked into love when learning about Aminta's death (see GUIDI 1981, 34).

themselves.”³³ In fresco-like fashion, the concluding scene depicts the couple’s ascension to and glorification in heaven.

In terms of action, Guidi’s plot is stilted, being confined to three characters and a (fairly redundant) chorus, and lacking the scenic spectacle and episodes typical for the composite libretti of the period. Even the sleep scene, so natural to the Endymion myth (see also below), remains tantalizingly absent. According to Gravina, this “sublime design” had “sprung from the mind of the incomparable Christina.”³⁴ Crescimbeni reported in his *Istoria della volgar poesia* (1698) that “the fable of Endymion” had actually been “conceived” by her in this “new manner” and merely versified by Guidi, be it “with such delight of Her Majesty, that she herself wanted to add value to the work by enriching it with some of her own verses, which one sees indicated in the printing.”³⁵

The close collaboration between patron and poet has led some scholars to believe that *Endimione* contains deeper allegorical levels pertaining to the lives of Christina and Guidi. Bruno Maier has for instance suggested that Guidi (Endymion) envisaged the libretto as an expression of his gratitude toward Christina (Diana), whose patronship (love) elevated his poetic inspiration to celestial heights.³⁶ Annemarie Maeger has in her turn stated that *Endimione* unveils Christina’s inner conflict between her public image as celibate ruler and her amorous desire for a Catholic ‘shepherd,’ Cardinal Decio Azzolino.³⁷

But for all their biographical interest, Maier’s and Maeger’s hypotheses cannot hold against the fact that Guidi’s audience, and most notably the Arcadians, did not expend any energy into deciphering allegorical intentions, let alone associated *Endimione* with an alleged love affair between their spiritual protectress and a Roman cardinal. What they were intrigued by instead was the libretto’s peculiar representation of love. On the very day of the premiere, for instance, the Pastore Lacrito Scotaneo responded to Guidi’s “most charming *favola Boschereccia*” with a poem in which he extolled its “chaste,” “modest,” “elevated,” and

³³ “Più beato / Io saria de’ Numi stessi [...]”.

³⁴ GUIDI 1692, 67-8: “[...] la presente favola dell’Endimione, sublime disegno nato nella mente della Incomparabil CRISTINA & espresso con vive, e rare maniere da un’ industrie fabbro [...]”.

³⁵ CRESCIMBENI 1730-1^b, II, 512: “[...] ordinò vestire di poesia la favola d’Endimione da lei in nuovo modo ideata, il che egli [Guidi] feci con tal compiacimento di S.M. [Sua Maestà], che ella medesima volle aggiugner pregio all’Opera con arricchirla di alcuna suoi versi, come veggonsi contrassegnati nell’impressione.” Christina’s contribution – seventy-three lines in all – were marked in early editions through italics or *virgole*.

³⁶ GUIDI 1981, 33.

³⁷ GUIDI 1998, 7-12. Azzolino arranged Christina’s affairs, introduced her to Guidi and became her sole heir. Yet, the ‘hard evidence’ (if such can exist) regarding Christina’s feelings for Azzolino is restricted to a few love letters dating back to the 1660s.

“sublime” thoughts.³⁸ In Guidi’s biography Crescimbeni praised the poet for having “accorded pastoral simplicity with the grandness and sublimity of thoughts and style,” and for having “dealt with amorous subjects in a heroic way.”³⁹ The precise implications and significance of these appraisals can be inferred from the rich theoretical legacy produced by the Arcadia and its forerunner, Christina’s Royal Academy.

The *Table des sujets sur lesquels on doit traiter dans l’Academie*, which Christina herself compiled, for instance testifies to the idea that issues of love occupied a central place in late-seventeenth-century literary academicism.⁴⁰ On a total of fifty-seven propositions for discussion, twenty-nine deal with love, and some of these hold particular relevance for *Endimione*. Thus the omnipotence of love, as suggested by the plot and conclusion, is confirmed by Subject XXIII, which states that “nous sommes faits pour aimer; il est impossible de n’aimer pas.” Perhaps did Christina acknowledge the vanity of her chastity near the end of her life, either or not on account of the handsome noblemen who by then had crossed her path. In her *sentimens*, she tellingly confessed that “Il seroit à *souhaiter* [my emphasis] que les Princes [i.e. rulers of both sexes] s’abstinssent entièrement de l’amour” – she tellingly added: “je le crois presque impossible.”⁴¹

Plate 3.2. Giuseppe dell’Acqua’s visualization of the final scene in Guidi’s *Endimione* for Antonio Rubbi’s *Teatro pastorale drammatico del secolo XVII* (Venice, 1787).



³⁸ TELLINI SANTONI 1991, 13, no. 132: “Lacrito Scotaneo ad Erilo Cleoneo avendo sentito la sua leggiadrissima favola Boschereccia degl’Amori di Endimione, e Diana cantata con versi, e sentim.ti quanto quasti, e pudichi, altrettanto alti, e sublimi.”

³⁹ GUIDI 1726, xix: “[...] egli [Guidi] fu il primo, che tentasse d’accordare con la semplicità pastorale la grandezza, e la sublimità de’ sentimenti, e dello stile, e trattasse fra Pastori eroicamente materie d’amore.”

⁴⁰ The table is reproduced in full in ARCKENHOLTZ 1751-60, IV, 33-5.

⁴¹ Ibid., IV, Appendix, 39 (no. 4:31).

Yet, the idea advanced by subject XXVIII – “Le véritable objet de l’amour est Dieu, l’ame est faite pour l’aimer, & le posséder éternellement”⁴² – steers our interpretation of *Endimione* in a different direction, namely toward the idea that Endymion’s love for Diana should be understood as a statement of Christina’s unfettered belief in God. This reading may seem problematic in the light of contemporary tendencies which denounced the allegorical connections between Christian and pagan religion (see previous chapters), yet it was not as such in post-Tridentine Rome, where hermetic philosophies constituted the common currency. Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), for instance, the German Jesuit whose ‘Wunderkammer’ Christina has frequently visited,⁴³ was a champion of Florentine Neoplatonism. In his *Œdipus Aegyptiacus* (1652-4), Kircher described pagan myths as the expressions of a *prisca theologia*, a monotheistic precursor to all religion which, as had happened with language during the construction of the Babel Tower, had diffracted in the course of time. The “wisdom of the Aegyptians,” Kircher wrote, “was nothing other than this: to represent the science of Divinity and Nature under various fables and allegorical tales of animals and other natural things.”⁴⁴ “Not only the Prophets, Apostles and other holy men of God, but also the Gentiles, Poets, Priests and Prophets were inspired by this divine Numen,” that is, the Holy Spirit.⁴⁵ As a result, pagan mythology contained the seeds of true religion, be it concealed under allegorical layers which only the connoisseur could penetrate.

Among the Arcadians, it was *enfant terrible* Gian Vincenzo Gravina who staunchly rehearsed Kircher’s hermetic views.⁴⁶ In 1696, Gravina tackled the issue of mythology in a tract entitled *Delle antiche favole* (1696).⁴⁷ In its very opening paragraph, he upset causal logic by contending that the truth “contains the complete knowledge of that about which a judgment is made,” while the “untruth contains either a part or nothing of it.”⁴⁸ Overthrowing the *tertium non datur*, the principle by which a proposition can be either true *or* false, but not both, the proposition opens the doors to hermeticism, and more particularly to the presumption that forms of knowledge can be simultaneously false *and* partly true, and are as

⁴² A variation on this phrase can be found in her maxims, Ibid., 26 (2:82): “L’amour et l’ambition doivent avoir Dieu pour objet: ce n’est qu’en lui seul qu’elles peuvent trouver de quoi se satisfaire abondamment & dignement.”

⁴³ ÅKERMAN 1991, 260.

⁴⁴ Quoted from GODWIN 1979, 56.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

⁴⁶ In 1696, Gravina disputed the authorship of the *Leges Arcadum* with Crescimbeni. Their row was a mere run-up to the schism of 1711, on which Gravina left the Academy to found an *Arcadia Nuova*, the future *Accademia dei Quirini* (1714).

⁴⁷ *Delle antiche favole* was re-issued as the first volume of *Della ragion poetica*, see GRAVINA 1973, 195-258.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 200: “[...] il vero contiene la cognizion intera di quel che si giudica; il falso ne contiene o parte o nulla.”

such open to endless exegesis.⁴⁹ In keeping with Kircher, Gravina stated in the *Discorso sopra l'Endimione* (1692) that the mythmakers of antiquity, and above all Homer, had practised a *scienza poetica* wherein truth and fiction were merged.⁵⁰ They deployed a “long string of [pagan] gods,” not to deceive the superstitious, as Fontenelle and others contended, though rather to represent the “causes and movements of nature” in more imaginative and thus comprehensible ways.⁵¹ These figments of the fantasy did not only impart the “image of truth,” moreover, they stirred up the reader’s attention, lifting his “soul above himself,” “withdrawing it from earthly matters” and liberating it from the “bonds with which our corporeal nature [...] delays our flight toward the contemplation of the pure and eternal.”⁵²

Christina too perceived myths as veiled allegories of science and religion.⁵³ In one of her maxims, she wrote that “La sage et héroïque Antiquité adorait l’auteur de la nature [God] sous les diverses figures et noms de ses dieux.”⁵⁴ *Mutatis mutandis*, pagan deities could personify Christian characters, while their adventures and feelings could represent abstract assumptions about, say, the nature and aims of love. Clues for a like interpretation of *Endimione* can be inferred from numbers XXXIII and XXXVI of the *Table des sujets*. While the former contends that love “inspire la chasteté, & la tempérance,” the latter states that “le vulgaire des hommes prend souvent la sensualité & la débauche pour l’amour, & il n’y a rien si différent.”

The platonic kind of love suggested by Christina’s *sujets* was treasured by the Arcadians, who denoted it through a whole gamut of terms: *amore onesto*, *amore gentile*, *amore eroico*, *amore razionale*, etcetera. ‘Rational love,’ for example, was defined by Gravina as a passion whereby the physical beauty of the lovers no longer fulfilled “an end, but an occasion,” beauty being “allied to the souls,” “separated from the bodies,” and “fed by

⁴⁹ ECO 1993, 44, offers a detailed account of the implications of the *tertium non datur* for causal versus hermetic rationale.

⁵⁰ GUIDI 1692, 57: “[...] chi guarderà fisso dentro la tessitura di quegli ordigni, osserverà, che il vero stà dentro le favole, e troverà, che alle volte le istorie di veri nomi tessono false cose, e finti fatti; e all’incontro le favole per lo più sotto finti colori, e falsi nomi delineano eventi veri, e naturali affezioni, & esprimono i veri genj de’ Principi, de’ Magistrati, e d’ogni persona.”

⁵¹ GRAVINA 1973, 210: “[...] fu propagata una larga schiera di numi, sotto l’immagini de’ quali furono anche espresse le cagioni e i moti intrinseci della natura.”

⁵² GUIDI 1692, 53: “E tali invenzioni non solo ne’ Poemi sono lodevoli; ma altresì necessarie, per la novità, e maraviglia, che generano, con la quale eccitando l’attenzione, e traendo l’animo dalle terrene cose, lo sollevano sopra se stesso, sicché si rende più libero, e spedito da quei legami, co’ quali la natura corporea avvolgendoci, ritarda il nostro volo verso la contemplazione del puro, e dell’eterno.”

⁵³ Also worth mentioning is the statement of *Accademico Reale* Benedetto Menzini that “Le plus beau sujet qui puisse tenter un poète, ce sont les louanges de la cause première. Qu’on chante donc des hymnes à Cérès, à Pomone, à Bacchus, au bienfaisant Apollon, qui font sortir les semences cachées dans le sein de la terre. Ne voit-on pas, sous leurs noms, on célèbre Dieu lui-même?” (Quoted from MAUGAIN 1909, 396).

⁵⁴ CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN 1994, 299 (no. 1123).

its resemblance with the common virtues.”⁵⁵ These ‘common virtues,’ he continued, were “transferred from lover to beloved” like a “stream of honesty” that was “part of the divine” and which enabled the two amorous souls to merge “peacefully in a single flame that grasps the spiritual substance.”⁵⁶

None other than the poems of Petrarch, whom Gravina called the “prince of Tuscan lyric poets,” had exemplified the sublimation of amorous longing.⁵⁷ Christina revered Petrarch to such extent that she ‘re-opened’ his ‘school’ and by doing so made a substantial contribution to Arcadianism, and Italian literature in general.⁵⁸ In fact, the lion’s share of Arcadia’s output was made up by Petrarchan sonnets centering around the issue of platonic love. The elevated, sublime tone typical for these poems, and so sharply contrasting with the mundane expressions of the past century, symbolized the effects of platonic love on behalf of the Arcadian poet. For love, as issue XXXI of Christina’s *Table des sujets* declared, “rend éloquens, les gens non éloquens.” In *Endimione*, Cupid likewise endows Endymion with poetic inspiration, conveyed through elevated metaphoric language.

Whether or not Guidi’s *Endimione* constituted a poet’s tribute to his illustrious patroness, or a Queen’s confession of love, seems less relevant in the light of Christina’s and Arcadia’s pleas for a type of love that harked back to the Renaissance and countered seicento readings of the Endymion myth. Anything but a *parody* of chastity, Guidi’s *Endimione* champions the celibate lifestyle of a generation to whom the ‘Pastore’ epithet meant more than a playful disguise. The early Arcadian league was principally comprised of *abati* like Crescimbeni, and cardinals like Albani and Ottoboni, not to mention the *Pastore massimo*, the Pope. These clerics were initiated in hermetic philosophies and as such able to recognize the Neoplatonic layers of meaning in Guidi’s mythological libretto. Those lacking this knowledge, on the other hand, must have rejected the *maniera antica* of the libretto and resorted to an alternative with more action, fun and opportunities for music.

⁵⁵ GRAVINA 1973, 191: “[...] servendosi della bellezza altrui non per fine, ma per occasione dell’amore, alimentato poi dalla somiglianza delle comuni virtù, colle quali separatamente dai corpi, restano legati gli animi [...]” (*Regolamento degli studi di nobile e valorosa donna*, c. 1694-9).

⁵⁶ Ibid., 191-2: “[...] piacevolmente ardenti in una sola fiamma, che appigliatasi alla sustanza spirituale, vive colla vita degli amanti, libera affatto ed immune dai cangiamenti del corpo. Questo amore prodotto dalle comuni virtù che scambievolmente dall’amante nell’amato si trasfondono, e che per esser rivolo dell’onestà partecipa del divino [...]”

⁵⁷ Ibid., 191: “Verrà poscia il principe de’ lirici toscani, Francesco Petrarca, poeta gentile ugualmente e sublime, il quale ha portato nella poesia un affetto novello, il quale è l’amore onesto [...]”.

⁵⁸ MURATORI 1971, 43: “Cristina Reina di Svezia, facendo coraggio in Roma alle Muse Italiane, fu in parte cagione, che si riaprisse la Scuola del Petrarca [...]”. On eighteenth-century Petrarchism, see CROCE 1971, II, 240-9.

Arrows, dogs, trees and birdcatchers

The libretto that made up for Guidi's operatic defects was Count Francesco de Lemene's (1634-1704) *Endimione*, a *favola per musica* premiered at Lodi in June 1692.⁵⁹ Lemene and Guidi did not have a few traits in common. In 1661-2, Christina of Sweden offered Lemene the scenario for a libretto about a Muslim's conversion to Catholicism (*L'Eliata*).⁶⁰ Miraculously recovered from a severe illness, Lemene himself became a devout Catholic in 1680, beginning a poetic pilgrimage that led to two celebrated collections of theological poems, *Dio* (1684) and *Il Rosario* (1691), as well as to an oratorio commissioned by Pietro Ottoboni (*Giacobbe al fonte*, 1694). In 1695, four years after Guidi, Lemene assumed the Arcadian pseudonym 'Arezio Gateatico' to the joy of Crescimbeni and his fellows.⁶¹

And yet, Lemene's *Endimione* is a far cry from Guidi's hermetic paean. Apart from being cast in the traditional three-act mold, the libretto makes numerous concessions to seventeenth-century convention. It features newly-invented subplots with such generic characters as a shepherd called Thyrsis (Tirsi), a nymph called Aurilla, and a jesting satyr called Silvanus (Silvano).⁶² With the exception of Silvanus, these secondary characters get stuck in love triangles with the protagonists – Thyrsis falls in love with Aurilla, and both Diana and Aurilla with Endymion. This material proved sufficient for Lemene to conceive a respectable sixty-six scenes, sixty-two lyrical numbers, fifteen scene changes and several interventions for machinery.

The sharpest contrasts with Guidi's libretto can be indicated on the level of characterization. Lemene portrayed Diana as an ambiguous ruler who possesses little if any of the stoic graveness of Guidi's goddess. Feeble-minded as she is, she for example distantiates her soul from the twisting Meander river,⁶³ but immediately afterwards admits that her

⁵⁹ None of the original music by Paolo Magni (Act I) and Giacomo Griffini (Acts II and III) has survived. A modern edition (referred to throughout this chapter) of Lemene's *princeps* is LEMENE 1992, 103-69. The attribution of a Lodi 1693 score to Giovanni Bononcini (RONCAGLIA 1933, 23; HUEBER 1955, 75) is simply erroneous.

⁶⁰ Details in LEMENE 1992, xxxiv, c-ci; FOGELBERG ROTA 2005, 1-2. Lemene was offered an additional scenario by Christina, *Narciso* (not to be confused with Lemene's 'first' *Narciso* of 1676), but only indications of its scenario have been preserved.

⁶¹ Two Arcadian biographies of Lemene were published shortly after his death: Tommaso Ceva's *Memorie d'alcune virtù del signor conte Francesco de Lemene con alcune riflessioni su le sue poesie* (Milan, 1706) and Muratori's *Vita di Francesco de Lemene lodigiano, detto Arezio Gateate* [sic], included in the first volume of *Vite degli Arcadi Illustri* (Rome, 1708). Sonnets of Lemene were included in the fifth volume of *Rime degli Arcadi* (Rome, 1717).

⁶² There is also a Tirsi in Lemene's *Il Narciso* (Lodi, 1676), *La ninfa Apollo* (Rome, 1689) and the *Dialogo pastorale* (Lodi, undated), and an Aurilla appears in the latter libretto.

⁶³ "O Meandro gentil, che in queste sponde / tortuoso t'aggiri, / e con volubil onde / or parti, or torni in replicati giri, / non è l'anima mia come sei tu, / poichè amante parti, non torna più."

thoughts are only betraying her (Act I scene 7).⁶⁴ In Act I scene 2, she proclaims the main theme of the opera in the following ‘edict’:

DIANA
O del Latmo frondoso
ornamento e terror, ninfe e pastori,
so che in cor generoso
voi non date ricetto
ad amoroso affetto;
pur, perché più sicura ogn'alma sia
da peste così ria,
questo editto io promulgo. Attenti udite
di questa legge mia l'alto tenore:
“Pena la vita a chi ricetta Amore.”

This law of chastity will be rigorously observed by Endymion and applied to Thyrsis and Aurilla, but violated by the goddess herself and perverted, in the opera’s final sentence, into “Pena la vita a chi *discaccia* Amore” (my emphasis).

Endymion was rendered by Lemene as a naive sleepyhead whose favorite (and only) pastimes are hunting and sleeping. Unlike Guidi’s title-character, he is unaffected by love and does not even show the slightest inclination to respond to Diana’s and Aurilla’s amorous proposals. Thus in Act III scene 4, he remains literally mute to the ‘echoes’ of Aurilla’s feelings:

AURILLA
cangiati dunque, Endimione, ed ama.

ENDIMIONE
Mi consigli ad amar, quando l’amare
fia che per legge de la nostra dea
col morir si punisca?
Ninfa non v’è, non v’ha pastor, che ardisca
nodrir nel casto seno
amoroso desio.

AURILLA
Parmi un’eco sentir risponder: io.

ENDIMIONE
Io nulla sento; or dunque,
quand’ardess’io d’un amoroso foco,
qual ninfa in questo loco
già mai riarderebbe a l’arder mio?

AURILLA
Parmi un’eco sentir risponder: io.

ENDIMIONE
Io nulla sento ancor.

⁶⁴ “Miei pensieri lusinghieri / mi tradite, se mi dite / che nel seno amor non ho; // Ne l’insidie Amor si pose, / si nascose / d’un pastor [Endymion] nel bel sembiante, / e furtivo in sen m’entrò. / Son amante, già lo so.”

AURILLA

Sordo sei tu.

ENDIMIONE

Questa ancor c'è di più.
Cinzia mi dice amante, e sordo Aurilla,
e così mi ritrovo in un istante,
e pur io nol sapea, sordo ed amante;
che vuol poi dir, se ben ripenso meco,
mi trovo e sordo e cieco.
Che destino è mai questo?
Quando mai finirà?
Deh mi dica chi 'l sa, dormo o son desto?

Unfortunately for him, he gets trapped in a cobweb of misunderstandings that are spun around three props – a golden arrow, a dog and a tree. The golden arrow is donated by Diana in his sleep, subsequently robbed by Silvanus and then given to Aurilla, who returns it to Endymion as a token of her love. Endymion unconsciously insults Diana when declaring, so as to confirm his obedience to her law, that the love of the one who has given him the arrow – Aurilla, not Diana, he believes – is less dear to him than his dog (Act I scene 18):

ENDIMIONE

Amante non son io, né mai lo fui,
Né amante mai sarò. Scritto ho nel core:
“Pena la vita a chi ricetta Amore”.

DIANA

E s'io, che fei la legge,
da la legge ti scioglio?

ENDIMIONE

Né pure amare io voglio.

DIANA

E se chi 'l dardo ti donò [Diana], donasse
un ben dovuto amore al merto tuo?

ENDIMIONE

Più m'è caro un mio can, che l'amor suo [of Aurilla].

DIANA

Villan, così mi sprezzì?
Così parli, villan? Non so perché...
Lasciami il dardo. Va', parti da me.
Teco d'esser gentile io mi vergogno.

ENDIMIONE

O Diana vaneggia o questo è un sogno.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Maria Grazia Accorsi hits a nail when noting that “Il vero semplice è Endimione che arriva fino alla fine senza aver capito nulla, sorpreso, ubbidiente e smarrito, il cui atteggiamento si riassume nella formula tipicamente seicentesca – ben prima che metastasiana – argutamente trascrittrice della condizione di dormiente di Endimione, del “sogno o son desto?”.” (LEMENE 1992, lix).

The second misunderstanding revolves around Endymion's beloved dog, Dorinda, which – like Silvio's Melampo in Guarini's *Il pastor fido* – runs away.⁶⁶ Seeking to retrieve the pet, Endymion describes it in an aria to Silvanus, who mistakes it for a girl and alarms Diana.⁶⁷ The Modena 1698 revival of *Endimione* added credibility to Silvanus's suspicion by having Endymion lament for the lost animal.⁶⁸ This aria, “E' sempre inquieto quel core infelice,” was retained in the Vienna 1706 version and crafted by Giovanni Bononcini into an enchanting, ‘Affettuoso’ song in g minor with a plaintive chalumeau part.⁶⁹

Example 3.1. Giovanni Bononcini *Endimione* (Vienna, 1706):
Endimione “E' sempre inquieto” (II,10), mm. 22-31.⁷⁰

The musical score for Example 3.1 consists of three staves. The top staff is for the Schalumeaux, the middle for Endimione, and the bottom for the Bass. The key signature is G minor (three flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The score spans measures 22 to 31. The lyrics are: "È sem - pre in - quie - to quel co - re in - fe - li - ce in - fe - li - ce quel co - re in - fe - li - ce che per - de il suo ben".

The third misunderstanding emerges from a tree trunk on which Thyrsis and Aurilla carve the names of their loves – Thyrsis names Aurilla, Aurilla Endymion (Act II scene 13). As can be expected, Diana discovers both names and gets infuriated. She punishes the secret lovers by transforming Aurilla, like Daphne, into a tree (Act III scene 14), and having Thyrsis tied to

⁶⁶ Ibid., liii.

⁶⁷ In Act II scene 15, Silvanus quotes Endymion's description to Diana: “È viva spiritosa, / lusinghevol, vezzosa, / candida come neve, / come cervetta lieve. / Se corre poi, non corre no, ma vola, / e d'un aureo monile orna la gola.”

⁶⁸ “E' sempre inquieto / Quel core infelice, / Che perde il suo ben; // Non gode mai lieto / Di sorte felice / Un giorno seren.” (Act II scene 10).

⁶⁹ Questions remain as to the authorship of the Modenese revision: Silvio Stampiglia (LINDGREN 1972, 109) or Pietro Antonio Bernardoni (LEMENE 1992, cvii n. 4)? FORD 1974-5, 107n3, has argued – on the basis of an observation in HUEBER 1955, 75, namely that Bononcini's Viennese *Endimione* “auf Grund seiner melodisch und harmonisch einfacheren Struktur, im Vergleich zu den benachbarten Opern dieser Zeit, einer früheren Schaffensperiode zuzuordnen ist.” – that the Modena 1698 score was “conceivably” by Bononcini; LINDGREN 1972, 110, on the other hand, has remarked that the archaic characteristics emphasized by Hueber “may instead reflect the pastoral rather than heroic character of *Endimione's* text.” Whatever the answer, Bononcini's Viennese version must have been specially orchestrated for chalumeaux, for these instruments were only available at Vienna.

⁷⁰ A copy of this aria (lacking the chalumeau part) has been preserved in a collection entitled *Anderer Theil derer Cantaten und Arien* (B-Bc no. 15155, pp. 119-21) – testimony of the aria's popularity in chamber contexts?

the ‘Aurilla tree’ to be executed (Act III scene 18). Luckily, Endymion and Cupid arrive just in time to cancel the execution and undo Aurilla’s metamorphosis (Act III scenes 21-3). At the end of all tribulations, Endymion himself is hit by a dart and promptly understands the mechanics of love.⁷¹ Without the need for an ethical *tour de force* or a spiritual growth process, all misunderstandings are solved, chastity is reconciled with passion, and Endymion wedded to Diana:

AMORE
Or questa mano, Endimion, tu prendi.

ENDIMIONE
Io la man d’una dea, mortal pastore?

AMORE
Ogni disuguaglianza agguaglia Amore.

In courtly fashion, Cupid elucidates the lesson of the plot to the ladies of Lodi:

AMORE
A voi, donne de l’Adda [river in Lodi],
or proseguo il mio volo e so che a voi,
or che pudico io son, sarò più caro:
ma quando a voi fia giunto, o dee terrene,
questo trionfo mio, vo’ che si mostri
su luminose, armoniose scene,
o belle, agli occhi vostri. Alor [sic] sarete,
o saggie donne e belle,
pudiche sì, ma non d’Amor rubelle,
ché dal trionfo mio chiaro vedrete,
che mal si fugge Amore e che tal ora
chi più sdegna d’amar, più s’innamora.

Cupid’s triumph would indeed be staged on “luminous, harmonious scenes,” being revived at Mantua, Modena, Vienna, Hamburg and other cities,⁷² and issued in print in several editions. The character that arguably contributed most to this success was Silvanus, an eclectic mixture of Venetian and Lombardian buffoonery which Lemene rehearsed in his dialectal comedy *La sposa Francesca* (1709). A hero of the simple life, the satyr excels, like other operatic birdcatchers, at gluttony, greed, cowardice, and above all stupidity. In Act II scene 7, he for instance relates the amorous misdemeanors of his pigeon and donkey to Diana, requesting her permission to kill both animals on account of their disobedience to her edict. Too busy violating the law herself, Diana does not lend her ear to Silvanus’s ‘great case’ and instead creates an exception for Endymion, which Silvanus hilariously misunderstands:

⁷¹ “O bellissima dea, / oh qual dolcezza inusitata e nova, / nel mirarti, o mia dea, l’anima prova.”

⁷² See Appendix 1.1, “Endymion”.

SILVANO *che parla a Diana*
Senti, Cinzia, un gran caso. Una colomba
un bel piccione amava,
e lasciava il baciava.

DIANA *che parla fra sé*
Or s'ella [Aurilla, not the pigeon] è innamorata

SILVANO

Innamorata?

DIANA
Mora la sventurata.

SILVANO
Se il tuo core altro non brama
l'ho già morta e l'ho mangiata,
e giovandomi il proclama
io l'ho tutta ben pelata.

DIANA
Che strano caso, o dio!

SILVANO
Or quest'altro più strano. Un mio somaro,
cioè un asino mio
(parlando con le dee si parla chiaro)
queste mese di maggio è innamorato.
Si sente tutte l'ore
cantar versi d'amore.
Or io sono imbrogliato:
fin che tu non decida
se anch'egli sia compreso ne la grida.

DIANA
Ma s'egli [Endymion, not the donkey] è innamorato, ahi che farò?

SILVANO
Consigliarti non so.

DIANA
Ah, s'egli è innamorato

SILVANO
È innamorato

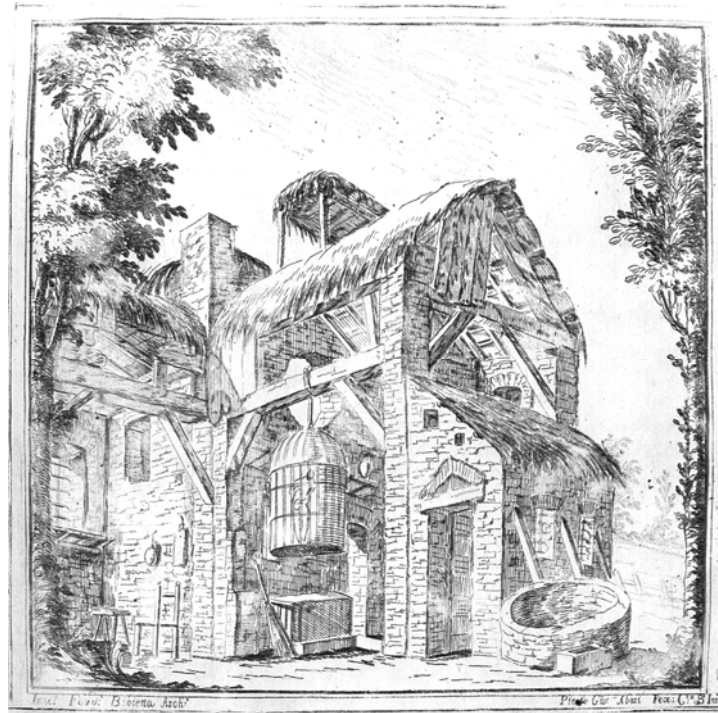
DIANA
Vo' dichiarare altrui
che questa legge mia non è per lui.

The poor buffoon can only react to Diana's decree with an aria on the 'great fortune' of amorous donkeys ("Gli asini han gran fortuna" – Act II scene 8).

Silvanus's presence in Lemene's *Endimione* had far-reaching musical and scenic repercussions. Giovanni Bononcini for instance distinguished the peasant's part from the more contrapuntal arias of the remainder of his cast through a simple style akin to

intermezzi and commedie per musica.⁷³ Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, the designer of sets for both the original version and a revival in Turin (1699), sketched Silvanus's hut with surprisingly 'rustic' lines.

Plate 3.3. Ferdinando Galli Bibiena: 'Bosco con Capanna di Silvano'
from *Disegni delle Scene, che Servano alle due opera [sic] che si rappresentano
l'anno corente nel Reggio Teatro di Torino...*, Turin, 1699). Engraving by Pietro Abati.⁷⁴



In 1699, during the above-mentioned reprise of *Endimione* at the Teatro Regio in Turin, controversy arose precisely over Silvanus's coarse humor. Giovanni Antonio Mezzabarba, a local lecturer in philosophy and member of the Arcadia, reported in his *Discorso in difesa dell'Endimione* (1699) that Lemene's "base style" provoked fierce reactions from intellectuals. "To the critics' advice," Mezzabarba wrote, "poor Silvanus [...] should be, to art's disgrace, ridiculous with majesty."⁷⁵ Yet, he replied, Lemene "would have failed in his duties towards the character if he would have introduced Silvanus in more

⁷³ See HUEBER 1955, 24.

⁷⁴ Reproduced from VIALE FERRERO 1980, Table IX. In the absence of any evidence whatsoever, the music to this revival has been traditionally ascribed to Giovanni Bononcini, see VIALE FERRERO 1980, 72n282; BOUQUET 1988, 35.

⁷⁵ MEZZABARBA 1699, 24: "Resta solo il povero Silvano, che, per avviso de' Critici, dovrebbe essere, ad onta dell'arte, ridicolo con maestà."

elegant fashion.”⁷⁶ For Silvanus was modeled after the “ancient satyrs” and as such blended the “serious with the caustic and the comic.”⁷⁷ Moreover,

how can one have a poor boor – who visited no other college than his hut, nor made a tour other than that from the sheep fold to the meadow, from the meadow to the spring, and from the spring to the slum – speak in so refined and embellished a way? For Silvanus is, as his name indicates, a son of the woods and of solitude [...] and it should therefore be no surprise that he talks like a plebeian.⁷⁸

Lemene’s depiction of Diana too seems to have been criticized at Turin. However,

if Diana does not talk like a goddess, the poet has not placed her as Luna in heaven, though rather as Diana in the woods of [Mount] Latmos; not in the magnificent temple of Ephesus [one of the seven Wonders of the World], but rather in the delicious woods of Caria. Moreover, she speaks like an enamored woman and if, as such, she would have spoken with a sublime phrase, she would have violated verisimilitude [...]⁷⁹

Although Mezzabarba readily confirmed the idea, espoused by Christina, Guidi and others (see above), that “love makes eloquent,” he contended that love “does not give way to the high-flown.”⁸⁰ For love

teaches the expressions to move, and not the well-ordered chatter to deceive: for this purpose [to move] it dictates those thoughts which, accompanied by naturalness, abuse the will, but not those far-fetched statements which, deceptive by art, feed the intellect.⁸¹

Put differently, love could inspire magnificent utterances, but not the kind of conceits Guidi and Christina had put in the mouth of their Endymion.

That Mezzabarba did in effect have Guidi’s version in mind when penning these contentions can be inferred from the following statement:

The birth of the two Endymions, conceived and published at the same time [1692], that is, the one by Erilo Cleoneo [Guidi] on the Tiber riverbanks [Rome], the other by Arezio Gateatico [Lemene] on the flowery banks of the Adda [Lodi], was far from happy. The former enjoyed Bione Crateo [Gravina] as its defender, the latter, which has already been successfully performed on the scenes of Italy and been received with admiration of all those who, tasting its goodness, applauded the author’s merit, appeared to have fled that obstacle over which masterpieces easily stumble, that is, the cursed envy; today, however, another criticism rouses a tempest, from which I hope to have it escape with honor [...]⁸²

⁷⁶ Ibid., 25-6: “Averebbe il Poeta mancato contro il costume, se più gentilmente avesse introdotto Silvano [...]”.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 78: “Silvano quì s’introduce, come un Satiro degli antichi, che deve mischiare il serio col mordace, e giocoso [...]”

⁷⁸ Ibid., 24: “E per verità: non sò come possa avere il parlar sì pulito, & ornato un povero Villano, che altro Ateneo non frequentò, che la sua capanna, & altro circolo non fece, che dall’Ovile al Prato; dal Prato al Fonte; dal Fonte al Tugurio. Silvano è, come lo dinota il nome, figlio delle selve, e della solitudine [...] onde non è da stupirsi, se parla da plebeo [...]”.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 20: “S’avverta dunque, che, se Diana non parla da Dea; il Poeta non la colloca come [21] Luna in Cielo, ma come Diana ne’ boschi del Latmo; non nel magnifico Tempio di Efeso, ma nelle deliziose selve di Caria. Di più: parla da innamorata, e, se, come tale, parlasse con sublimità di frase, pecherebbe contro il verisimile [...]”.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 21: “Amore fà eloquente sì, ma non dà luogo all’enfatico [...]”.

⁸¹ Ibid., 22: “[...] insegna l’espressioni per muovere, non le ben’ ordinate dicerie, per lusingare: detta alla per fine quei pensieri, che, accompagnati dalla naturalezza violentino la volontà, non quelle ricercate locuzioni, che, inorpellate dall’arte, pascano l’intelletto.”

⁸² Ibid., 9-10: “Poco felice ebbero la nascita i due Endimione, concepiti, & usciti alla luce nello stesso tempo, quello, dissi, di Erilo Cleoneo sù le sponde del Tevere, e questo d’Arezio Gateatico sù le fiorite rive dell’Adda. Il primo si meritò per difensore Bione Crateo; il secondo, già recitato con applauso sù le scene d’Italia, e ricevuto con ammirazione da tutti quelli, che gustando del buono, applaudono al merito dell’Autore, sembrava, che ormai

All criticism notwithstanding, Lemene's disarmingly simple characterization seems to have precisely guaranteed the success of the libretto on the operatic stage. Diana's sharply-drawn emotions, and most notably her jealousy and anger, made her easily transformable into an operatic fury, as is illustrated by the following excerpt:

Example 3.2. Giovanni Bononcini *Endimione* (Vienna, 1706):
Diana "Ma tanta ingiuria" (III,2), mm. 5-12.

5 **Presto**

Diana Ma tan-ta in-giu-ria ven-di-che-rò ven-di-che-rò

Violini

[Basso]

8 (tr) can-gia-ta in fu-ri-a t'a-gi-te-rò t'a-gi-te-rò (etc.)

Lemene's *Endymion* too chimed with the demands of operatic composition, for even though he lacked tragic stature,⁸³ at least he took the kind of long naps which composers needed to haul up the *sommeil* topos.⁸⁴

avesse fuggito quello scoglio, nel quale sono facili ad urtar le grand'opre, cioè una maledica invidia; ma ora la critica altrui gli risveglia una tempesta, dalla quale spero di farlo uscire con onore [...]". Lemene himself took only notice of Guidi's *Endimione* in 1693, see LEMENE 1992, xxiii.

⁸³ From this respect, see MEZZABARBA 1699, 23, where he argued: "[...] Endimione si trattiene su'l Monte, non in Palazzo; abita le spelonche, non passeggia il Teatro; calza il socco [i.e. recites comedies], non il coturno [i.e. does not recite tragedies]."

⁸⁴ See Ibid. 73: "[...] il Poeta facendo dormire Endimone alcune scene [in the *princeps*, Endymion is asleep from Act I scene 8 to Act I scene 15, and from Act III scene 1 to Act III scene 3] (e questa è la grande accusa) non si è punto scostato dalla favola, od'Istoria," and 77, that Lemene "Non hà alterata la favola, l'hà modificata, temperando il sonno d'Endimione [...]" – the difference between 'altering' and 'modifying' a legend remains unclear to me.

Example 3.3. Giovanni Bononcini *Endimione* (Vienna, 1706):
Endimione “Sonno placido gradito” (I,7), mm. 4-7.

4 Adagio

Violini, e Schalomaux

Schal: Soli tutti

[Viola]

Endimione

Son - no pla - ci - do gra - di - to se sù l'Al - ba ti scac - cia - i Ne

[Basso]

Still, there was one issue which caused Mezzabarba great concern – the general demand for verisimilitude. Having called for a cherub who flies around (I,1 and III,25), who sits on a plant (I,5 and II,18), gets trapped into the birdcatcher’s nets (II,21) and is locked up like a parrot (III,8), for a goddess who hides behind the moon (III,1) and descends on a cloud (III,2-3), and for a nymph’s metamorphosis into a tree (III,14) and her return to human condition (III,23), Lemene did perhaps compliment his scenographers, but at the same time annoyed the intellectuals of Turin. In response to their criticism, Mezzabarba could only provide a non-conformist definition of verisimilitude:

that which by itself is apt at appearing as such to the majority of the listeners, that is, the civilized population, not too knowledgeable, not too ignorant, not entirely idiotic given its ability to enjoy poetic artifices, and not too scientific in wanting, with philosophical explanations and the rigor of the cathedra, to search its [of verisimilitude] essence and fundamental cause. From the above I want to deduce this very true consequence, saying that the critics are too indoctrinated and too metaphysical when speculating on the pretext of inverisimilitude, which is not to be encountered to that extent among the other listeners of Italy, they being of more moderate intellect.⁸⁵

The latter statement recaptures a vital thread of debate in late-seventeenth-century Italian discourse – should poetry be the exclusive property of a restricted group of readers, or should it cater for a broader mass of spectators? What is ‘true-seeming,’ and to whom? According to Gravina, only *menti saggi* could fully understand poetry and myth, *menti volgari* being led by their fantasy and as such unable to derive truth from fiction.⁸⁶ Lemene and Mezzabarba, on the other hand, catered for the ‘average’ spectator, advocating a type of

⁸⁵ Ibid., 52-3: “Il verisimile poetico, è quello, che per se stesso è atto à parer tale alla maggior parte degli Uditori, quale è il popolo civile, ne troppo dotto, ne troppo ignorante: Non del tutto idiota; perche possa godere, in parte, degli artificij poetici, non troppo scienziato, che voglia, con ragioni filosofiche, e rigore da catedra, ricercarne l’essenza e cagione fondamentale. Da ciò voglio dedurre questa verissima conseguenza, e dire, che i Critici son troppo addottrinato, e troppo metafisici speculano sùl preteso inverisimile, che non è stato trovato tale dagli altri uditori d’Italia, come d’intelletto più moderato.”

⁸⁶ GRAVINA 1973, 208: “Nelle menti volgari, che sono quasi d’ogni parte involte tra le caligini della fantasia, è chiusa l’entrata agli eccitamenti del vero e delle cognizioni universali.” (*Della ragion poetica*, 1708)

poetry that offered both intellectual and sensory gratification. Apart from all the gimmicks, Lemene did indeed implement a basic kernel of Arcadian intellectualism in his intrigue, more particularly in the subplot around Aurilla and Thyrsis. At the onset of the action (Act I scene 2), both characters are fierce enemies of love. Thyrsis promises Diana to avoid Cupid at all costs, and Aurilla swears to combat the ‘blind god.’⁸⁷ All in vain, as will turn out, for in Act I scene 6 Thyrsis becomes physically attracted to Aurilla and begins to experience a most undesirable *je-ne-sais-quoi*.⁸⁸

TIRSI

In questo seno io provo
di novo un non so che.
Sarà forse dolcezza,
che nasce da bellezza;
amor (guardimi il cielo) amor non è.

Eight scenes later, Aurilla duels with Cupid in person but gets hit and falls in love with the first man she perceives – sleeping Endymion. The pathological effects of her burning passion were translated by Bononcini into the kind of *recherchées* harmonies which his Arcadian chamber cantatas stood renowned for:

Example 3.4. Giovanni Bononcini *Endimione* (Vienna, 1706):

Aurilla “Ahi nel cor... disamar non vò.” (I,13), mm. 1-12.

Aurilla

Ahi nel cor m'hai col - pi - ta, cru-del, tu m'hai fe - ri - ta, e poi spa-ris - ti. Co - dar - do o - ve fug-gis-ti in un i -

[Basso]

stan - te? Ahi nel mio se - no en - tras - ti, e per di - fe - sa tu - a te - co por - tas - ti del va - go En - di - mi - o - ne il bel sem -

bian - te. La mia pia - ga mor - ta - le vien da lo scu - do tu - o, non dal tuo stra - le.

Figured bass notation: #6, 6, b7, 6, #, #6, #6, b7, #4, 6, 4, #

⁸⁷ “TIRSI. Amore io fuggirò, / e per fuggirlo avrò, / s’egli avrà l’ali al tergo, io l’ali al piede.”; “AURILLA. Se a caso un dì / trovassi Amore, io gli direi così: / [aria] Vieni pur, vieni, Amor, che ti sfido. / Indarno tu ti stanchi / per ferir il cor mio. / Come tu, son armata ancor io / con l’arco in mano e le saette ai fianchi: / del tuo poter mi rido.”

⁸⁸ The motif is rehearsed by Diana when falling in love with Endymion: “A sì leggiadro aspetto / sento sento nel core / un non più inteso affetto / di gioia e di dolore.” (Act I scene 10).

Aurilla's love for Endymion turns into painful jealousy when finding out that Diana is her rival in love (Act II scene 4). Yet, after a second duel with Cupid, Aurilla begins to grasp the virtues of love, accepts Cupid's friendship and joins with him in a recitative (Act II scene 18):

AMORE & AURILLA *a due*
Non è crudele Amore.
Quindi s'un core incatenato il prega
che lo sciolga, ei nol nega.
Ma l'ostinato core,
schiavo di buona voglia,
non vuol ch'Amor lo scioglia.
Dunque a torto d'Amore il cor si duole:
si duol dei lacci, e libertà non vuole.

Thyrsis too understands the nature of love and acquires the courage to unveil his passion for Aurilla – in more elevated language. When standing up against Diana's tyranny, however, he becomes a martyr.

In sum, Lemene combined operatic convention with (pre-)Arcadian concerns, relying on scenic miracles to propel the action while at the same time portraying love in chaster fashion than was usual. As said earlier on, his option would prove successful on the short term, that is between 1692-1720; still, on a longer term, the scale and requirements of his *favola* would prove less viable. Vulnerable toward the heroic-historical course of opera seria, pastoral frivolities were increasingly expelled to 'occasional' genres like the *serenata* and *azione teatrale*. Thus, after a last appearance at Bologna, in 1729, Lemene's three-act *Endimione* was dropped for the better.

Endymion demythologized

Lemene was fully eclipsed by 'Artino Corasio,' alias Pietro 'Metastasio' Trapassi, who with the two-part serenade *Endimione* made his first move on operatic ground. Written in 1720, Metastasio's *Endimione* was premiered at Naples on 30 May 1721 during the celebrations of Antonio Pignatelli's marriage with Anna Francesco Pinelli di Sangro.⁸⁹ The cast of his version combined Guidi's kernel of Cupid, Diana and Endymion, with Lemene's Aurilla, whom he re-baptized Nysa (Nice).⁹⁰ The latter nymph experiences a *non so che* for Endymion

⁸⁹ The libretto was commissioned in 1720 by Countess Marianna d'Althann, lady-in-waiting to the Austrian Empress, as a gift to her newlywed brother. A modern edition is available in METASTASIO 1953-65, II, 65-88; the letter of dedication can be found there, III, 34-6. Domenico Sarro's (?) original score is presumed lost. As usual, a list of settings is offered in Appendix 1.1, "Endymion".

⁹⁰ Metastasio was personally acquainted with Alessandro Guidi. In a letter to Francesco Algarotti, dated 1 August 1751, he described a meeting at Guidi's house during which poems were improvised.

straight from the beginning. Quite naturally, she is convicted by her sovereign, be it less severely than Aurilla:

DIANA
Più le fere non curi,
Sempre pense e sospiri, e porti impressi
I nuovi affetti tuoi nel tuo sembiante:
O Diana non sono, o Nice è amante.

NICE
Amante!

DIANA
Il tuo rossore,
Più sincero del labbro, accusa il core.

Non ti celar con me;
Un certo non so che
Nel tuo rossor mi dice
Che Nice arde d'amor.
Sei rea, se amante sei;
Ma nel celar lo strale
Fai con delitto eguale
Oltraggio al tuo candor.

Similar to Guidi's version, Cupid (love) and Diana (chastity) directly confront each other. Cupid, disguised as a shepherd called Alceste,⁹¹ kindly requests Diana to join her company of hunters but remains unwilling to respect her law of virginity. Their discussion on the pros and cons of love gives way to bellicose metaphors:

DIANA
Or tu l'armi prepara,
Pronto mi siegui, e le mie leggi impara.

AMORE
E quai son le tue leggi?

DIANA
Chi delle selve amico
Volge a Diana il core,
Siegua le fere e non ricetti Amore.

AMORE
E perché tanto sdegno
Contro un placido nume,
Per cui solo ha la terra ed han le sfere
E vaghezza e piacere?

DIANA
Se de' mortali in seno
Ei versa il suo veleno,
Fra' bellicosi sdegni
Ardono le città, cadono i regni.

⁹¹ The title-character of Metastasio's *Demetrio* (Vienna, 1731) likewise appears as a shepherd with that name.

Since Diana remains – provisionally – untouched by love, it is Cupid, not the goddess, who sings the obligatory *aria di paragone* on the river.⁹² Here, the song is enhanced with a ‘nightingale’ episode and molded into a joyful plea for liberty:

AMORE
 Quel ruscelletto
 Che l'onde chiare
 Or or col mare
 Confonderà,
 Nel mormorio
 Del foco mio
 Colle sue sponde
 Parlando va.
 Quell'augelletto
 Ch'arde d'amore,
 E serba al piede
 Ma non al core
 La libertà,
 In sua favella
 Per la sua bella,
 Che ancor non riede,
 Piangendo sta.

Metastasio's Endymion somehow resembles Lemene's ignorant youngster in that he too is equipped with know-how about catching animals, but not with the slightest notion about love. In his first aria, “Dimmi, che vaga sei,” he for instance bids Nysa not to mention the word love.⁹³ But in contrast to Lemene's blockhead, Metastasio's Endymion leaves his door ajar and assures Nysa that he might eventually forsake hunting in favor of love, if only to please her:

NICE
 Se provassi una volta
 Il piacer che ritrova
 Nell'esser riamato un core amante,
 Ti scorderesti allora
 Fra quei teneri sguardi
 E le selve e le fere e l'arco e i dardi.

ENDIMIONE
 Quando l'arco abbandoni,
 O non pensi alle fere un sol momento,
 D'amar sarò contento.

After the nymph's exit, Endymion invites the waters of the Lethe to wash his face so that he can rest for a while.⁹⁴ Diana beholds the sleeping hunter and instantly feels a “piacer che

⁹² Compare with Cintia's “Il ruscel, che al mar s'invia” (see n. 28) and Diana's “O Meandro gentil” (see n. 63) in Guidi's and Lemene's versions, respectively.

⁹³ “Dimmi che vaga sei, / Dimmi che hai fido il core; / Ma non parlar d'amore, / Ch'io non t'ascolterò. // Sol cacciator son io: / Le fere attendo al varco; / Fuor che gli strali e l'arco, / Altro piacer non ho.”

⁹⁴ “Deh vieni, amico sonno, / E, dell'onda di Lete / Spargendo il ciglio mio, / Tutti immergi i miei sensi in dolce oblio.”)

diletta, ed è tormento.” Roused from his dream by her presence, Endymion too experiences something new, and when Diana lets him speak out for himself, he turns into a true Cherubino, armed with a seductive song:

DIANA
Lascia, lascia il timore,
E se amante tu sei, parla d’amore.

ENDIMIONE
Non so dir se sono amante,
Ma so ben che al tuo sembiante
Tutto ardore pena il core,
E gli è caro il suo penar.
Sul tuo volto, s’io ti miro,
Fugge l’alma in un sospiro,
E poi riede nel mio petto
Per tornare a sospirar.

DIANA
Non più, mio ben: son vinta.

Totally unlike Lemene’s hunter, thus, Endymion does possess the *savoir-faire* to go about with female creatures. And to mark a clear difference with Guidi’s libretto, it is the hunter himself, not Cupid, who is responsible for having Diana fall in love.

Endymion’s song in effect initializes Diana’s transformation from chaste divinity into mortal *innamorata*. As happens in Guidi’s version, her metamorphosis entails a discursive shift, be it not from pastoral simplicity to poetic extravaganza, though rather from the stately to the infantile, as anticipated by Cupid’s “Quel ruscelletto” – note the diminutives and nightingale imagery common to both arias:

DIANA
Semplice fanciulletto
Se al tenero augelletto
Rallenta il laccio un poco,
Il fa voler per gioco,
Ma non gli scioglie il piè.
Quel fanciullin tu [Endymion] sei,
Quell’augellin son io:
Il laccio è l’amor mio
Che mi congiunge a te.

Endymion’s shy, timid utterances subsequently shift to oratorical declarations of love, complete with the ‘love-flame’ metaphor so dominant in Guidi’s libretto. In the opening scene of the second part, for example, he addresses Diana in such beguiling fashion that she readily establishes a legal exception for him:

ENDIMIONE
Ovunque io mi rivolga,
Cintia, bella mia dea,
Sempre di grave error quest’alma è rea.
Se da te m’allontano,

Se al tuo splendor m'accendo,
O la tua fiamma o le tue leggi offendo.

DIANA
Quai leggi, quale offesa?

ENDIMIONE
Condanna le tue leggi
Chi strugge il core all'amoroso foco.

DIANA
Io dettai quelle leggi, io le rivoco.

Cupid mocks Diana's moral hypocrisy and kindles her jealousy by confiding her that Endymion is in love with Nysa. The nymph is in her turn infected by the poison of jealousy when learning that Endymion is Cupid's rival in love. Unaware of the scheming, Endymion dashes Nysa's hopes for a relationship, while Diana reprimands Nysa. Cupid deceives both ladies in one stroke, bringing the *infausta novella* that Endymion lies wounded in Silvanus's (!) cave:

AMORE
Giace vicino all'antro
Dell'antico Silvano,
Pallido e scolorito,
Endimion ferito.

Struck by sadness and pain, Diana promptly rejects her immortal status:

DIANA
Aimè! Qual freddo gelo
M'agghiaccia il sangue e mi circonda il core!
Pietà, spavento, amore
Vengon col lor veleno
Tutti in un punto lacerarmi il seno.
Crudo mostro inumano,
Rendimi la mia vita.
Giove, se giusto sei, lascia che possa
In queste infauste rive
Anch'io morir, se il mio bel sol non vive.

Of course, Endymion returns alive and well, and Diana revokes her law. Now that his power has been established for the better, Cupid addresses the newlywed Neapolitans as the "greatest ornaments" of his victories.

Metastasio's serenade can perhaps be regarded, with Jacques Joly, as an "exercice de style sur les *topoi* du genre," that is, of pastoral poetry.⁹⁵ Yet, the skillful fusion of Guidi's moral purity and textual logic with the scenic power and musicality of Lemene allowed Metastasio to bridge the gap between intellectual and popular demands. His *Endimione* is furthermore unique in its radical transposition of the tale into the realm of humanity. For

⁹⁵ JOLY 1978, 63.

whereas Guidi's scenario involves celestial tableaux and Lemene's flying divinities and miracles, Metastasio's is set in the 'woods of Caria,' a neutral context which could (and can) be re-enacted on any stage, with or without decorations. No less important, his characters are stripped of their supernatural aspects, Cupid appearing in the garb of a *pastorello*, Diana as a passionate but tolerant queen, and Nysa as the archetypal Metastasian nymph.⁹⁶ Endymion may reflect Metastasio's galant self as 'Pastore Arcade,' an enlightening model of decency that set the example to various generations of noblemen and ladies. And so it did, for Metastasio's 'occasional' piece held the stage for the remainder of the century, appearing in innumerable editions.

Endymion in Arcadia

In their search for an antidote to the Baroque,⁹⁷ the Arcadians deployed pastoral myths to explore the nature and effects of love without succumbing to the licences of the past. The kaleidoscopic image they propagated, however, has perplexed modern scholars.⁹⁸ As juxtaposition of the three *Endimione* libretti demonstrates, Arcadianism did contrive univocal aspirations in the field of opera, namely to cleanse the drama from superfluities and immorality; at the same time, it engendered heterogeneous results that co-existed in the best case, or clashed in the worst. Christina and Guidi countered the ironical view of seicento opera with a sophisticated play for intellectuals initiated in hermetic philosophies. Their libretto, however, was read, not performed. Lemene opted for a hybrid equilibrium between operatic convention and Arcadian morality, creating an entertaining libretto that found favor among the 'not too scientific' ones, but displeased the intellectuals of Turin. Metastasio, finally, discovered a compromise between Guidi and Lemene which, by meeting the demands of savants and non-savants alike, scored a brilliant triumph

⁹⁶ Metastasio re-introduced Nice in his Viennese cantatas *La libertà* (A Nice) (1733), *La Danza* (1744), *Palinodia a Nice* (1746), *La ritrosia disarmata* (1759), and *L'ape* (1760).

⁹⁷ The perception of Arcadianism as a "reaction against barocchism" stretches back to Croce's epochal essay "L'Arcadia e la poesia del Settecento" (in CROCE 1971, II, 225-34). Although it was countered by CALCATERRA 1950, 1-34, it has continued to be rehearsed, until recently, see MINOR 2006.

⁹⁸ SMITH 2001, 59, has for instance observed that a number of 'Arcadian' libretti contain the very "elements despised by the Arcadians."



CHAPTER FOUR

FROM *EFFEMINATO* TO *VIRTUOSO*

Few novels can claim both the popularity and controversiality of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (written 1694-8, published 1699) by François Pons de Salignac, Comte de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715). Envisaged by its author as a sequel to Homer's *Odyssey*, *Télémaque* offers the account of a young warrior's quest for his long-lost father, Ulysses. Under the veil of epic myth, Fénelon transmitted models of noble behavior to the *enfant terrible* he was expected to instruct – the Duke of Burgundy (Louis de France, 1682-1712).¹ Unfortunately for him, the dedicatee's grandfather, Louis XIV, was anything but pleased by Fénelon's pedagogical tale; instead, he perceived *Télémaque* as a satire of himself and took measures to prevent it from appearing in print.

Even so, *Télémaque* was distributed in manuscripts, sold in dozens of editions and translated in many languages, thereby sparking a 'Telemacomania' from which few enlightened spirits could escape. Within the year of its first publication, Muratori remarked in a letter to Count Carlo Borromeo Arese that *Télémaque* was *only* a novel, though one with a concept and lay-out he believed to "inspire virtue and teach the true way of governing people."² Encouraging his former patron to take a closer look at the book, and in particular at its provocative depiction of "Louis's ambition and the condition of his reign," Muratori furthermore reported that the Roman authorities too looked suspiciously at its author – a year before, Fénelon's pro-Quietist *Explication des Maximes des Saints* (1697) had been added to the Index Librorum Prohibitorum...³ All in spite of the controversy surrounding Fénelon's

¹ In his *Mémoires* (1723-1750), Saint-Simon remembered the Duke as someone who "naquit terrible et sa première jeunesse fit trembler; dur et colère jusqu'aux derniers emportements, et jusque contre les choses inanimées; impétueux avec fureur, incapable de souffrir la moindre résistance, même des choses et des éléments, sans entrer en des fougues à faire craindre que tout ne se rompît dans son corps; opiniâtre à l'excès [...] livré à toutes les passions et transporté de tous les plaisirs; souvent farouche, naturellement porté à la cruauté, barbare en raillerie, saisissant les ridicules avec une justesse qui assommait." (Quoted from FENELON 1926, 12-3)

² MURATORI 1901-22, II, 462: "E' un romanzo, ma fatto con sommo giudicio, per ispirar la virtù e insegnar la vera maniera di regger popoli."

³ Ibid., II, 462: "Vi troverà V.E. [Vostra Eccellenza, i.e. Count Arese] dipinta a meraviglia bene l'ambizione di Luigi e lo stato del suo regno, il che ha pur dato occasione di far proibire in Francia quel libro e forse ha irritato Sua Maestà contro all'autore, con tanta persecuzione svegliatagli in Roma."

theological aspirations, Muratori did not hesitate to rehearse his appraisal for *Télémaque*, albeit in veiled fashion, in *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (1706). He wrote that

A quite different, but nonetheless most ingenious and mysterious practical philosophy has been presented in prose by a famous man of letters from France in the guise of a novel entitled the Adventures of Telemachus. From it the readers may extract, with unusual delight, the most useful advices to govern well both the self as the others.⁴

Addressing his Italian colleagues, Muratori predicted that

The one who is able to interweave such delightful images of practical philosophy in a similar way, though rather in verse and in a continuous poem [...] will, apart from being to the benefit and great satisfaction to the Republic [of letters], occupy a seat among our poets still left vacant to this very day.⁵

Muratori's words strike a key when confronted with the flock of Italian poets who have in effect applied for the vacancy and taken Muratori's advice at heart, versifying the adventures of Telemachus into a peculiar kind of 'continuous poem' – the operatic libretto.⁶ The earliest such example is the anonymous cantata *Il ritorno di Telemaco in Itaca*, published in Rome during the Summer of 1717.⁷ An allegorical work in any sense, this modest cantata lacks in dramatic action and provides roles for just two soloists, Mentore and Telemaco, who sing alongside a 'Coro del Popolo d'Itaca.' The piece was performed twice in honor of James Francis Edward Stuart, alias the 'Old Pretender,' who enjoyed steady support from Pope Clement XI in his (vain) attempts at seizing the British Crown.⁸ The libretto was quite tellingly published by the Vatican printer and premiered in private at the papal summer residence of Castelgandolfo.⁹ A second performance took place at the Roman Seminar during an academy that made the link between the wanderings of Telemachus and the Stuarts all the more explicit – it bore the pompous title *Il modello d'un'eroica virtù trà le avversità proposto*

⁴ MURATORI 1971, 739: "Una ben differente, ma però ingegnosissima, e misteriosa Filosofia pratica, si è a' nostri giorni rappresentata mirabilmente in prosa da un famoso Letterato di Francia col Romanzo intitolato le Avventure di Telemaco, da cui con rara loro dilettazione possono i Lettori trarre utilissimi consigli per ben reggere se stessi, e per ben governare altrui."

⁵ Ibid., 739: "Chi perciò in somigliante maniera, ma però in versi, e in un Poema ancor continuato [...] sapesse leggiadramente intessere queste vaghe Immagini di pratica Filosofia, oltre al giovare assaissimo alla Repubblica [delle lettere], e apportarle gran diletto occuperebbe ancora fra i nostri Poeti un seggio finora vacante."

⁶ An overview of translations, adaptations and critiques of *Télémaque* is offered in MAUGAIN 1909^b, 27-94. For a (more complete and accurate) overview of libretti based on the novel, see Appendix 1.1 "Telemachus" and "Calypso".

⁷ Contextual details in FRANCHI & SARTORI 1997, 129.

⁸ See CORP 2003.

⁹ The 'Argomento' (p. 4) unveils the work's allegorical purpose as follows: "L'occasione, in cui si fa la presente Cantata, dà chiaramente a conoscere, che con essa intende parlarsi di due gran Principi. Cioè, sotto la figura dell' antico Telemaco, del grand' Ospite [Clement XI], che con la sua Real presenza onora questi luoghi; e sotto quella di Mentore, dell'altro Principe [James III], per la di cui savia non meno, che felice condotta, siccome respira l'afflitta Cristianità dalla minacciata oppressione de' Barbari [the protestant reign of Georg I]: così, per la stessa, può sperarsi un giorno verificato quel tanto, che con questi versi si presagisce."

in persona di Telemaco antico eroe della Grecia (“The model of heroic virtue inbetween the adversities embodied by Telemachus, the ancient hero of Greece”).¹⁰

The Roman operagoer had to wait no more than half a year to witness a full-scale *Telemaco*. In the meantime, theatrical activities in the Holy City had reached a peak with the reopening of two public theaters during the 1717 Carnival season – the Teatro della Pace and Teatro Alibert. More than ever Roman impresarios saw themselves enmeshed in fierce competition and rivalry. The Pace was inaugurated with *La Circe in Italia*, a remake of a Venetian spectacle given six years before.¹¹ During its opening scene, the magician Circe summoned the dark spirits to transform a mountainous seascape into an idyllic garden complete with animals.¹² For all its fanciful simplicity, *La Circe in Italia* was well received and may have sparked a local trend for Homeric plots depicting enamored *femmes fatales* against pastoral backdrops.¹³

Unhappily, the management of another theatrical contender, the Teatro Capranica, in 1717 opted to stage two rather austere operas by Francesco Gasparini, *Il Trince in Catena* and *Pirro*, the first of which was dismissed by a connoisseur, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, as “the most painful bestiality seen in this poor country.”¹⁴ Having learnt a lesson, the new group of impresarios (Bernardo Robatti, Lorenzo Capua and Giuseppe Masini) changed course the following year by adding more variety and spectacle to the playbill.¹⁵ Their first offering, *Berenice regina di Egitto*, dedicated to Ernestina von Dietrichstein, wife to Austrian Ambassador Johann Wenzel von Gallas, featured music jointly composed by Domenico Scarlatti and Nicola Porpora, and a historical libretto based on Antonio Salvi’s *Berenice, regina d’Egitto* (Florence, 1709).¹⁶ *Telemaco*, their second production, merits to be seen as

¹⁰ FRANCHI & SARTORI 1997, 133.

¹¹ *La Circe delusa*, with a libretto by Giorgio Antonio Falier and music by Giuseppe Boniventi. For revivals and adaptations, see Appendix 1.1.

¹² “Spirti orrendi dell’Erebo, / Per cui si fa più fiero, e più temuto / L’Impero formidabile di Pluto ; / Udite di sotterra / D’una vostra Compagna ancor vivente / Le terribili note, / Or che muove la verga, e il Suol percote. Trema il Monte, e s’oscura l’Aria / con tuoni, e lampi. [...]” (I,1)

¹³ The Roman *Avvisi* of 16 January 1717 reported that “[...] solo nel Teatrino della Pace viene applaudita la Pastorale [i.e. *La Circe in Italia*], che vi si recita.” (Quoted from FRANCHI & SARTORI 1997, 134n2)

¹⁴ Letter to Margherita Zeno Pio (16 January 1717), quoted from Ibid., 126: “[...] la più dolorosa bestialità che si sia veduta in questo povero paese.”

¹⁵ Context

tual details in Ibid., 136-7; PAVAN 1922; MOREY 1965, 22-3 & 113-5; GROUT 1979, 87-8; ZANETTI 1981, 264-5; LINDGREN 1985, 41-5 & 53-4; BOYD 1986, 22-9; STROHM 1997, 50-1.

¹⁶ Gallas was appointed Roman ambassador to Charles VI in 1714. A member of a Bohemian family with a rich musical tradition, Gallas became a major catalyst of theatrical and musical affairs in Rome during the five years of his residency (he died in 1719). Among his protégés were the composer Giovanni Bononcini and the poet Paolo Rolli. In 1718, no less than three additional theatrical spectacles were dedicated to Gallas: the Teatro Rucellai gave two pro-Austrian tragicomedies by Giovanni Domenico Pioli, *Erogene in Belgrado overo Il trionfo della gloria* (inspired by Prince Eugene’s siege of Belgrade, 1717) and *La politica per regnare*, while the

both a counterpart to *Berenice* and a response to *La Circe in Italia*.¹⁷ Dedicated to Ambassador Gallas himself, *Telemaco* boasted a spectacular mythological libretto by Carlo Sigismondo Capeci,¹⁸ stunning decorations by Antonio Canevari,¹⁹ and a luscious score by Scarlatti senior, Alessandro.²⁰ Given that the artists involved in the project belonged – or were at least related – to the Arcadian Academy, *Telemaco* may qualify as an ‘Arcadian opera’ (see Chapter Three).

The synopsis learns that *Telemaco* is partly based on Homer’s *Odyssea*, partly invented.²¹ Papal censorship or personal ambitions must have prevented Capeci from quoting Fénelon as his real source of inspiration. To be sure, a quick glance at the list of interlocutors (see Table 4.1) creates the impression that his plot pays greater tribute to the stock conventions of baroque opera than to Fénelon’s *Télémaque*. Rather than following the novel in detail, Capeci recombined elements from various chapters “to leave more elbow-room to the intrigue,” that is, to accommodate a staggering fifty-three arias and ensembles. As a consequence, the divergences between novel and opera are considerable. The title-character does for instance not become infatuated with a nymph called Eucharis, as happens in Book VII of Fénelon’s novel, but instead starts a relationship with Idomeneus’s daughter Antiope.²² Thus an episode located in Salante and told in Books XXII and XXIII of Fénelon’s novel complements adventures situated on Ogygia and related in Books I, IV and VII, with two additional differences, namely that Antiope happens to live as a slave under the name Eriphyle (Erifile), and that Telemachus will actually marry her (instead of eloping her).²³

Teatro della Pace catered for Gallas’s protection through the dedication of Orlandini’s (?) opera *La pastorella al soglio*.

¹⁷ “TELEMACO / *Dramma per Musica* / DI / CARLO SIGISMONDO CAPECI / Da rappresentarsi nella Sala dell’Illustris- / simo Signor Federico Capranica / nel Carnevale dell’anno 1718. / DEDICATO / All’ Ill.^{mo} & Ecc.^{mo} Signore, / IL SIG. CONTE / DI GALASSO / Ambasciatore Cesareo, e Cat- / tolico in Roma, &c. / Si vendono a Pasquino nella Libreria di Pietro Leone / all’Insegna di S. Gio. di Dio. / In ROMA, nella Stamperia del Bernabò. 1718. / *Con licenza de’ Superiori*.”

¹⁸ On Capeci (also ‘Capece’), see CAMETTI 1931; DI MARTINO 1996.

¹⁹ Canevari is today best remembered as the architect of the Arcadian ‘Bosco Parrasio’ in Rome, see PREDIERI 1990; MINOR 2006, 127-69.

²⁰ On 21 September 1717, Scarlatti was granted leave of absence from the royal chapel of Naples without loss of salary. The letter of permission is transcribed in PAGANO & BIANCHI 1972, 223. The autograph of *Telemaco* (A-Wn Mus.Hs.16486) learns that the opera was composed between December 1717 and January 1718.

²¹ *Telemaco* (Rome, 1718), 5: “Le avventure di Telemaco, non meno che quelle di Ulisse suo Padre sono state discritte da Homero nella sua Odissea, e da quelle è stato preso il Tema di questo Dramma in cui si aggiunge a quanto narra quel non mai a bastanza celebrato Autore [Homer], che Telemaco fosse destinato da Minerva a sposar Antiope Figlia di Idomeneo, e che trovandola sotto nome di Erifile nella Regia di Calipso, se ne invaghisse senza conoscerla; Come altresì che l’istessa Calipso si invaghisse di lui ancorche fosse stata da Atlante suo Padre promessa ad Adrasto Principe di Corinto. Si introduce nell’Opera anche il personaggio di Sicoreo, che fù pure figlio di Atlante, per dar maggior campo all’intreccio, fingendosi amante di Antiope da lui fatta schiava; Onde seguono gli accidenti, che possono leggersi, e vedersi nella tessitura del Dramma.”

²² Capeci’s *Tetide in Sciro* (1712) also involves a character named Antiope.

²³ Erifile was probably modeled after the Eriphyle in Racine’s *Iphigénie* (1674), see Chapter Five.

Calypso's love for Telemachus is furthermore envied by a certain Adrastus (Adrasto), who reminds us of the ill-fated Daunian King Adraste from Books XVI to XX (he is killed by Telemachus), though is here presented as a Corinthian prince promised to Calypso. Finally, there is a newly-invented brother for Calypso, Sicoreus (Sicoreo), whose love for Antiope creates a second love triangle wholly absent from Fénelon's account.

On scrutinizing the operatic tradition of *Télémaque* (see Appendix 1.1), I was able to identify an additional, hereto-unknown model for *Telemaco* – Pellegrin's *Télémaque*, a *tragédie en musique* produced at the Académie Royale de Musique in 1714 with music by Destouches. Capeci seems to have either attended a performance of this opera or bought a copy of its libretto while staying in France with his patroness, dowager-Queen Maria Casimira.²⁴ As a matter of fact, conspicuous similarities between the two libretti bear out enough evidence to support the theory that it was Pellegrin's example which provided Capeci with the necessary clues as how to dramatize an epic novel. As regards the cast (see Table 4.1), for instance, both operas are provided with a role for a high priest of Neptune, called Nicandro in Capeci's version. The scenery of both productions is greatly similar (Table 4.2), not to mention the *divertissements* with machinery and ballets, which rarely feature in early opera seria.²⁵ Various intertextualities, finally, confirm the kinship between Pellegrin's and Capeci's libretti (Table 4.3).

Table 4.1. Cast : Capeci versus Pellegrin.

CALIPSO figlia di Atlante, Regina dell'Isola di Ogigia.	CALYPSO
ANTIOPE , sotto nome di Erifile.	EUCHARIS / ANTIOPE
TELEMACO figlio di Ulisse.	TELEMAQUE
ADRASTO Principe di Corinto.	ADRASTE
SICOREO Fratello di Calipso.	
MENTORE Capitano e Compagno di Telemaco.	IDAS, Confident de Télémaque
NICANDRO Sacerdote di Nettuno.	Le Grand Prêtre de Neptune
TERSITE Gentiluomo di Corte di Calipso.	
NETTUNO	
OMBRA di Atlante	
SILVINA Damigella di Calipso.	
MINERVA	MINERVE
	ARCAS, Confident d'Adraste
	CLEONE, Confidente d'Eucharis

²⁴ On Capeci's hypothetical trip to France with Maria Casimira between 1714 and 1716, see BOYD 1986, 25; DI MARTINO 1996, 34n12; FRANCHI & SARTORI 1997, 103n132. Capeci's absence from the Roman theatrical calendar between January 1714 (*Amor d'un'ombra e gelosia d'un'aura* for Maria Casimira) and the 1716 Carnival (the prose comedy *Il vecchio avaro*) offers further evidence supporting his leave.

²⁵ See STROHM 1997, 51, where he argues that "*Telemaco* [...] is peculiar in that its libretto and scenic style are entirely in the French manner, with a mythological prologue and much emphasis on the *merveilleux*, as the subject requires." However, by crediting Campra's pastiche *Télémaque, fragmens des modernes* (1704) a plausible model for *Telemaco*, Strohm overlooked Pellegrin's libretto.

Table 4.2. Set designs: Capeci versus Pellegrin.

	<p>PROLOGUE</p> <p>Le Théâtre représente un lieu que les Arts viennent de construire & d'orner par ordre de Minerve à l'honneur du Roy, qui vient de donner la Paix à l'Europe. On y voit des Trophées.</p>
<p>ATTO PRIMO</p> <p>- Lido di Mare con Ruine cagionate dall'inondazione, e Facciata del Tempio di Nettuno.</p> <p>- Atrio, ò Cortile del Palazzo Regio di Calipso.</p> <p>- Bosco con la bocca dell'Antro del Fato.</p>	<p>ACTE PREMIER</p> <p>Le Théâtre représente l'Isle d'Ogygie; on y voit des Palais renversez par des inondations, & un côté du Temple de Neptune que les flots ont respecté.</p>
<p>ATTO SECONDO</p> <p>- Stanze del Palazzo Reale.</p> <p>- Tempio di Nettuno con l'Ara preparata al Sacrificio.</p> <p>- Bosco ò Deserto orrido, che poi si muta in ameno Giardino.</p>	<p>ACTE SECOND</p> <p>Le Théâtre représente le Temple de Neptune; on voit un Autel au milieu.</p> <p>ACTE TROISIEME</p> <p>- Le Théâtre représente un Desert.</p> <p>- Le Théâtre change & représente un Palais enchanté.</p>
<p>ATTO TERZO</p> <p>- Portico ò Loggie terrene del Palazzo di Calipso.</p> <p>- Sala ò Galleria del medesimo Palazzo.</p> <p>- Porto ò Lido di Mare con la veduta di molte Navi, che poi si mutano in Mongibelli che gettan fuoco.</p>	<p>ACTE QUATRIEME</p> <p>Le Théâtre représente le Temple de l'Amour.</p> <p>ACTE CINQUIEME</p> <p>Le Théâtre représente le Port d'Ogygie; on y voit plusieurs Vaisseaux.</p>

Table 4.3. Intertextualisms between Capeci and Pellegrin, an example.

<p><i>Telemaco</i>, Act I scene 12.</p> <p>CALIPSO</p> <p>Miro ad un cenno mio di questo Bosco Come l'horror già s'abbellisce intorno. <i>La Scena si muta in delizioso Giardino.</i> Che dici?</p> <p>TELEMACO</p> <p>Appena crede Stupido il Ciglio, à quello che pur vede. [...] Altro più dolce incanto Mi lusinga à restar: e pure (oh Dio!) Partir m'è forza.</p> <p>CALIPSO</p> <p>Prencè: tù sospiri? Potrebbe forse Amore...</p> <p>TELEMACO</p> <p>Ben vedo, che tù sai Anch'i secreti penetrar del Core.</p>	<p><i>Télémaque</i>, Act III scene 8.</p> <p>CALYPSO</p> <p>Vous voyez quel heureux azile L'Amour vous offre en ces climats; Pour arrêter ici vos pas, Mon soin sera-t'il inutile?</p> <p>TELEMAQUE</p> <p>Mes yeux sont enchantez; je ne m'en défens pas: Mais pour bien goûter tant d'appas, Mon cœur n'est pas assez tranquile. [...] Hélas!</p> <p>CALYPSO</p> <p>Vous soupirez! par quelque douce chaîne, Seriez-vous retenu dans ce charmant séjour?</p> <p>TELEMAQUE</p> <p>Vous auriez pénétre... Dieux! que lui vais-je apprendre?</p>
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CALIPSO
 Perchè lo sò, ti dico,
 Che tù resti, e che speri:
 Erifile poi meglio
 T'essorrà quali siani i sensi miei.

TELEMACO
 Erifile? (che sento!)

CALIPSO
 A qual fortuna
 Ti destini l'Amor saprai da lei.

CALYPSO
 On pénètre aisément les secrets d'un cœur tendre;
 Prince, ce jour vous fera voir
 Qu'au plus parfait bonheur votre cœur doit prétendre
 Eucharis aura soin de vous le faire entendre.

Yet, to state that Capeci merely translated or adapted an extant libretto would do wrong to his sensitivity to Fénelon's novel. Some of his textual interventions by contrast reveal a closer adherence to *Les Aventures de Télémaque* than to Pellegrin's operatic rendering. Whereas Pellegrin gave far more scope to the events around Calypso, Eucharis and Adraste, thus unnecessarily delaying Telemachus's first appearance until the second act, Capeci focused on the novel's main plot by introducing Telemaco in Act I scene 3. All the more important is Capeci's restoration of the part for Mentor (Mentore), Telemachus's philosophical counselor, who in Pellegrin's version is downgraded to a neutral confidant named Idas.²⁶ Speaking in numbers, Capeci's intervention is astonishing: whereas Idas has a mere seventeen lines of recitative to sing, Mentor is heard in sixty-three lines of recitative plus five arias. A last, all the more remarkable difference testifying to Capeci's acquaintance with Fénelon consists in his treatment of the opening scene. Whereas in Pellegrin's prologue Minerva, Cupid and Apollo make the obligatory plea for peace and the flourishing of the arts under the King's patronship – the chorus exclaims such clichés as “Dans nos jeux, / Mêlons la tendresse” and “Amours, faites voler vos traits, / Plaisirs, faites briller vos charmes, / Triomphez, regnez à jamais” – Capeci's opening scene confirms Fénelon's critical stance toward luxury and voluptuousness, staging a quarrel between Minerva and Neptune over the merits of rationality versus sensuality, and concluding with a duet that advocates calmness and restraint (“Torni dunque il Ciel sereno, / Torni in calma questo Mar.”)

Poetic conceits relating to the sea, shipwrecks and tempests, and alluding to both the Odyssey and amorous desire constitute a basic tenet of Fénelon's novel and its operatic adaptations.²⁷ Calypso is introduced in Fénelon's account as a passionate woman who is torn by grief and melancholy, lamenting her abandonment by Ulysses near the seaside and sharing her tears with the waves. An all too meticulous rendering of Fénelon's text would have

²⁶ There is a confidant with that name in Quinault's *Atys* (1676).

²⁷ The Arcadia favored the image of the sea as a reflection of passion, see also note 29.

resulted in silence, for the latter tells that “Sa grotte ne resonnoit plus de son chant.”²⁸ In Act I scene 3 of his *Télémaque*, by contrast, Pellegrin copied Fénelon’s scene while at the same took a more positively ‘operatic’ direction by having Calypso perform an aria in which she invokes the pity of Neptune, whose cruel waves have robbed her of Ulysses and, as the spectator knows, are about to bring her a new object of affection. The scene is set in a post-diluvial landscape with ruins that appear to reflect Calypso’s inner brokenness and nostalgia. Capeci in his turn retained part of the new image, though omitted the two preceding (redundant) scenes with Eucharis and her confidante, Cleone, thus creating a plot that is more in keeping with the novel.

Table 4.4.

FENELON 1717, 2

Calypso ne pouvoit se consoler du départ d’Ulysse. Dans sa douleur elle se trouvoit malheureuse d’être immortelle. Sa grotte ne resonnoit plus de son chant. Les Nymphes qui la servoient n’osoient lui parler; elle se promenoit souvent seule sur les gasons fleuris, dont un printemps éternel bordoit son Isle. Mais ces beaux lieux loin de moderer sa douleur, lui faisoient rappeler le triste souvenir d’Ulysse qu’elle y avoit vû tant de fois auprès d’elle. Souvent elle demouroit immobile sur le rivage de la mer qu’elle arrosoit de ses larmes, & elle étoit sans cesse tournée vers le côté où le vaisseau d’Ulysse fendant les ondes, avoit disparu à ses yeux.

***Télémaque* – I,3**

Le Théâtre represente l’Isle d’Ogygie; on y voit des Palais renversez par des inondations, & un côté du Temple de Neptune que les flots ont respecté.

CALYPSO

Dieu des Mers, terrible Neptune,
Ah! n’es-tu pas assez vangé?
Tout mon Empire est ravagé,
Rien n’égale mon infortune.
Et le vents & les flots, d’une fureur commune,
S’arment pour me punir de t’avoir outragé.
Dieu des Mers, terrible Neptune,
Ah! n’es-tu pas assez vangé?

***Telemaco* – I,2**

Campagna al lido del Mare con ruine di Fabriche, Alberi diroccati dall’Inondazione, e con la facciata del Tempio di Nettuno.

CALIPSO

Dio del Mar, Giove secondo
Abbi al fin qualche pietà;
Hai sconvolto il sen profondo
De’ tuoi flutti a danni miei,
Vendicato ancor non sei
Dopo tanta crudeltà?

Scarlatti’s setting of “Dio del mar” enhances the sense of royalty combined with distress so apt for the situation and character. The aria features an extremely slow tempo (Lento), dotted *staccato* rhythms and numerous rests in a ternary meter, as if referring to French opera. Ornamental display and cadential delays, which stress the word “pietà” (mm. 14-9), amplify Calipso’s unfulfillable yearning for deliverance.

²⁸ FENELON 1717, 2.

Example 4.1. Calypso “Dio del Mar” (I,2), mm. 7-19.

7 [Lento]

Calypso

Dio del Mar Gio - ve Gio - ve se - con - do, Ab - bi al fin qual -

[Violino I]

f *stacc.* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

[Violino II]

f *stacc.* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

[Viola]

f *stacc.* *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

[Basso]

f *p* *f* *p* *f* *p*

14

che - pie - tà pie - tà qual - che - pie - tà,

f *f* *f*

Calypso is suffering from amorous sorrow, but not for long. On beholding Telemachus from a distance, she immediately recognizes the traits of Ulysses and exclaims: “*mà quel sembiante, / E’ l’istesso, che in sogno / Di vedere in Ulisse, oh Dio! mi parve.*” (see Table 4.5). Her words retain snippets from Pellegrin’s libretto, but the context in which they are uttered has changed in favor of scenic drama. Rather than a simple *récit*, the dream or memory of Ulysses has become a physical recognition in line with Fénelon’s account. The latter reports that, from the very first glance, it became clear to Calypso that Telemachus possessed his father’s character and build. Another similarity between the novel and the Italian libretto consists in the representation of Calypso’s experience of joy, love and unease on perceiving the younger version of her Greek idol. Calypso tries her utmost to conceal the early signs of affection, but – as Fénelon put it – “*la joie de son cœur [...] éclatoit malgré elle sur son visage.*” The blush on her face, which is of course difficult to render on stage, was cleverly manipulated by Capeci into an offside address to her heart, “*Mio cor, se lo sai tu*”.

Table 4.5.

FENELON 1717, 2-3

Il avoit sa douceur & sa fierté,
avec sa taille & sa démarche
majestueuse. La Déesse comprit
que c'étoit Telemaque, fils de ce
Heros [...] Cependant Calypso se
réjouissoit d'un naufrage qui
mettoit dans son Isle le fils
d'Ulysse si semblable à son pere.
Elle s'avance vers lui; & sans
faire semblant de sçavoir qui il
est: D'où vous vient, lui dit-elle,
cette temerité d'aborder en mon
Isle? Sachez, jeune Etranger,
qu'on ne vient point impunément
dans mon Empire. Elle tâchoit de
couvrir sous ses paroles mena-
çantes la joie de son cœur qui
éclatoit malgré elle sur son
visage.

Télémaque – I,3

CALYPSO
Je crains toujours Ulysse, &
toujours son image
Vient se presenter à mes yeux.

Un songe... ah! je fremis quand
je me le rappelle.
Je l'ai vû, ce Heros que
Neptune poursuit;
Je l'ai vû sur ces bords; une
troupe cruelle
L'alloit précipiter dans
l'éternelle nuit.

Telemaco – I,2

CALIPSO
mà quel semblante,
E' l'istesso, che in sogno
Di vedere in Ulysse,
oh Dio! mi parve.
[...] *[a parte]*
(ahi quel già sento
Per un' ignoto oggetto,
Nascermi in sen non conosciuto
affetto!

Mio cor, se lo sai tu,
Dimmi, che mai sarà
Quello, che io sento in me.
Parea prima pietà;
Mà parmi già ben più,
E pur non sò perche.

As regards the music, Calypso's inner shift from pathos to exaltation is exteriorized through sharply contrasting ingredients. "Mio cor, se lo sai tu" is cast in a *Vivace* mold featuring common time, quirky figures played by the violins (mm. 17-8), and numerous textual repeats. On a tonal level, there is a world of difference between its key of A Major and the B flat Major of "Dio del Mar". Again, however, a delayed cadence (mm. 19-25) suggests that Calypso's feelings are not to be reciprocated.

Example 4.2. Calipso "Mio cor dimmi" (I,2), mm. 12-26.

12 [Vivace]

Calipso

Mio cor dim-mi, dim-mi mio cor, mio cor, se lo sai tu, che mai, che mai sa - rà, quel-lo ch'io

[Violino I]

[Violino II]

[Basso]

Example 4.2 (continued).

17 Lento Andante

sen - to quel - lo, quel-lo ch'io sen - to in me, quel-lo, che mai, che mai sa-rà quel - lo ch'io sen - to

22

quel - lo, quel-lo, ch'io sen - to, sen - to, ch'io sen - to in me.

Capeci condensed subsequent events by relocating, as mentioned above, Telemaco's scenic introduction to Act I scene 3, in which the prince encounters the handsome Erifile / Antiope. Her beauty, however, does not occasion joy but prepares the ground for a plaintive aria in which "Tempeste, più funeste / Nel pelago d'Amor" are foreseen.²⁹

Table 4.6.

FENELON 1717, 126-9

Telemaco – I,3

Il sent en lui-même une inquiétude, dont il ne peut trouver la cause. Plus il cherche à se jouer innocemment, plus il se trouble, & s'amolit. [...] il rougissoit sans savoir pourquoi. Il ne pouvoit s'empêcher de parler: mais à peine avoit-il commencé, qu'il ne pouvoit continuer; ses paroles étoient entrecoupées, obscures, & quelquefois elles n'avoient aucun sens. [...] une passion naissante, & qu'il ne connoissoit pas lui-même, faisoit qu'il n'étoit plus le même homme. [...] Toutes ces pensées contraires agitoient tour à tour son cœur, & aucune n'y étoit constante. Son cœur étoit comme la mer qui est le jouet de tous les vents contraires. Il demouroit souvent étendu & immobile sur le rivage de la mer. [...] Ainsi le fils d'Ulysse étoit aux portes de la mort.

TELEMACO
Vacilla, e trema il piede,
Come nel petto il Cor.
E l'Anima prevede
Tempeste, più funeste
Nel pelago d'Amor.

²⁹ Worth mentioning here, if only for its thematic relationship with Telemaco's aria, is Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni's Arcadian sonnet *Il pelago d'amore*, reproduced in, among others, FRUGONI 1812, I, 114.

Telemachus's inner anguish is evoked through an *Andante* with dotted figures in *staccato*, cadential delay (mm. 20-3), modal inflections (lowered subtonic in m. 25), spiraling *siciliano* motives, and chromaticisms on the word “petto” (mm. 21-2), as if love is creeping in his ‘chest’ (see Example 4.3). Inflicted by a yet unknown feeling that overrides his rational comfort and undermines his eloquence, Telemaco thus rehearses the discourse of Calypso’s “Dio del mar.” Tonally speaking, “Dio del Mar” and “Vacilla, e trema” could not be closer related since g minor is the minor relative of B flat Major.

Example 4.3. Telemaco “Vacilla, e trema” (I,3), mm. 19-24.

19 [Andante e staccato]

Telemaco cor. Va cil - la, e tre - ma, co-me nel pet -

[Violino I]

[Violino II]

violoncello tutti

[Basso]

22

- - - to, nel pet - to il cor. (etc.)

[tutti]

Scarlatti's deployment of specific keys not only reflects a profound interest in musical rhetorics, it also helps to define gender patterns in his score. For in his day, the so-called ‘flat-sharp’ principle ensured each tonality to possess its own expressive range and gender.³⁰ The more sharps and flats added to the signature, the more genderized a key was believed to sound. Whereas an increasing number of flats was perceived as being less noble and more pathetic, hence as more appropriate to represent the ‘weak sex,’ an increasing number of sharps was associated with the brightness and vigor appropriate for masculine characters. Such associations between the flat and effeminacy stemmed from semantic connections in Latin and Romance languages, more particularly between the *mollis* or *bemolle* and concepts like *mollitia*, *mollesse* or *mollezza*. Giovanni Maria Bononcini, for example, argued in his

³⁰ Details in WHEELLOCK 1993, 201-21.

manual *Musico pratico* (1688) that the “B molle” was thus called “because it makes the melody *weak*, sad and languid.”³¹ Telemachus’s key of g minor (two flats), furthermore, was associated by contemporaries with (very) pathetic, tender and touching affections, as well as with agitated emotions like frenzy, despair, discontent and unease.³² Calypso’s B flat Major was described as rather noble, but also as pathetic, tender, soft, sweet, effeminate, and amorous.

The rationalist philosophies which emerged in Italy around 1700 used the concept of *mollezza* as a weapon to criticize the alleged ‘effeminacy’ of musical drama. Above all, it was Muratori who in his *Della perfetta poesia italiana* wrecked the reputation of opera through his contention that “the dramatic music of our day” gave “way to excessive effeminacy” and that it was “more apt to corrupt than to purge and improve the souls of the listeners, as did ancient music.”³³ He did not mention the tonal or modal principles underlying *effeminatezza* (as did Plato in the *Republic*), yet he took it for granted that the arias of divas and castrati inspired “a certain weakness and tenderness which secretly serve to make the people ever more weak-kneed and devoted to low loves [...]”.³⁴ His conclusion was that the spectators “never” left “the theaters filled with gravity or noble feelings, but only with a feminine tenderness unworthy of manly souls, let alone of learned and dignified persons.”³⁵

Muratori’s critique can be connected to the tale of Telemachus via the idea, espoused by eighteenth-century operatic criticism, that arias of feminine performers had similar effects on listeners as siren songs. Antonio Planelli for instance observed in his *Dell’opera in musica* (1772) that the ‘abuses’ of feminine song had been anticipated in Homeric epic. “As regards the female singers,” he argued,

it is well known what dominance female song has over the human heart. A catastrophic, daily experience points out how often women make abuse of this profession [of singer]. In the myth of the sirens, who scuttled the incautious sailors [Ulysses and his comrades], antiquity wished to express this dominance and abuse simultaneously.³⁶

³¹ BONONCINI 1688, 35: “[...] perche rende la Cantilena molle, mesta, e languida.”

³² STEBLIN 1983, 108.

³³ MURATORI 1771, 684: “[...] egli non si può negare, che la Musica Teatrale de’ nostri tempi non si sia condotta ad una smoderata effeminatezza, onde ella più tosto è atta a corrompere gli animi de gli uditori, che a purgarli, e migliorarli, come dall’antica Musica si faceva.” Muratori’s ideas on gender and opera have been discussed in HELLER 1998, 568-71.

³⁴ MURATORI 1771, 685: “[...] una certa mollezza, e dolcezza, che segretamente serve a sempre più far vile, e dedito a’ bassi amori il popolo, bevendo esso la languidezza affettata delle voci, e gustando gli affetti più vili, conditi dalla Melodia non sana.”

³⁵ Ibid., 685: “[...] non si partono giammai gli Spettatori pieni di gravità, o di nobili affetti; ma solamente di una femminil tenerezza, indegna de gli animi virili, e delle savie, e valorose persone.” Similar disgust for the “soft and effeminate Musick” of Italian opera was expressed, if from a nationalist angle, by John Dennis in his *Essay on the Opera’s after the Italian Manner* (1706), see GILMAN 1997, 51.

³⁶ PLANELLI 1771, 256-7: “Per ciò, che concerne le Cantatrici, ben si sa qual predominio abbia sul cuore umano il canto donnesco, e una funesta, e giornaliera esperienza fa vedere quanto spesso se ne abusino le donne

No evidence suggests that Fénelon himself envisaged *Télémaque* as an anti-operatic pamphlet. Even so, it is reasonable to assume that rationalist critics applauded his depiction of a young warrior's debasing passion for a singing nymph that leads to passivity, loss of eloquence, vice and effeminacy, and entices him away from the path of rationality and heroism laid out by Minerva / Mentor. For it is Mentor who repeatedly alerts Telemachus to the dangers of being seduced by the "paroles douces & flâteuses de Calypso, qui se glisseront comme un serpent sous les fleurs."³⁷ Eventually, however, not Calypso but Eucharis, Calypso's lower subject, lures Telemachus into Cupid's trappings and causes his masculine self to crumble – a process tellingly denoted in the novel with the verb *s'amolir*.³⁸

In Scarlatti's *Telemaco*, similar ideas emerge scene by scene, pervading the musico-dramatic contributions of the entire cast. The focus is naturally on Telemachus's seduction by Antiope, who is depicted in Book XII of Fénelon's novel as a full-bred diva who "adoucit le travail & l'ennui par les charmes de sa voix, lorsqu'elle chante toutes les merveilleuses histoires des Dieux [...]"³⁹ But whereas Pellegrin fused Eucharis and Antiope into one and the same person who is only discovered to be a princess near the end of the opera, Capeci invested more energy into drawing the 'mollifying' powers of Antiope / Eriphyle. His option was not superfluous, especially since her role was – like all the others in *Telemaco* – sung by a male vocalist, Carlo Scalzi.⁴⁰ The gesture is reflected in three of Antiope's arias, which are in minor keys with flats and ternary meters.⁴¹

As can be expected, Mentor stands on the other side of the bipolar gender spectrum to voice 'virile' virtues such as self-control. Not coincidentally, Allegro tempi, common time, and 'masculine' keys with sharps, especially D Major – connoted in Scarlatti's day with heroic, brilliant, bright, vigorous, cheerful, gay, warlike and triumphant feelings –, figure

di questa professione. Nella favola delle Sirene, che col canto faceano naufragare gl'incauti naviganti, esprimer volle l'Antichità in uno e quel predominio, e quello abuso."

³⁷ FÉNELON 1717, 7.

³⁸ Ibid., 126: "Plus il [Telemachus] cherche à se jouer innocemment, plus il se trouble, & s'amolit."; 130 (Calypso to Mentor): "[...] lui [Telemachus] dont le cœur s'amolit lâchement par la volupté, & qui ne semble né que pour passer une vie obscure au milieu des femmes?"

³⁹ Ibid., 477; see also 485-6, where Idomeneus employs Antiope's voice to keep Telemachus in Salante: "Sa voix douce & touchante pénétroit le cœur du jeune fils d'Ulysse; il étoit tout ému. Idoménée qui avoit les yeux attachés sur lui, jouissoit du plaisir de remarquer son trouble: mais Telemaque ne faisoit pas semblant d'apercevoir les desseins du Roi. Il ne pouvoit s'empêcher en ces occasions d'être fort touché: mais la raison étoit en lui au-dessus du sentiment, & ce n'étoit plus ce même Telemaque, qu'une passion tyrannique avoit autrefois captivé dans l'isle de Calypso. Pendant qu'Antiope chantoit, il gardoit un profond silence; dès qu'elle avoit fini, il se hâtoit de tourner la conversation sur quelqu'autre matiere."

⁴⁰ Scalzi's presence in the cast of *Telemaco* may explain Erifile's nearly *prima donna* status and her eight arias and two duets with Telemaco. Calipso, by comparison, has nine arias but no duets, while Telemaco has 'only' five arias and two duets.

⁴¹ "Lasciami piangere" (II,1: c minor, 3/8); "Cieli tiranni uditemi" (II,3: f minor, 3/8); "Occhi miei, deh non piangete" (III,1: g minor, 3/4).

prominently in his part.⁴² Mentor's key aria, "Alma Dea figlia di Giove" (I,8), is furthermore inscribed in the passion-sea framework which informed Calypso's and Telemachus's laments (see above).⁴³ In it, however, Minerva, not Neptune, is summoned to

Rendi à noi placato il Ciel;
Doppo turbini, e procelle,
Scopri chiare à noi le Stelle,
Fa che il Mar sia men crudel.

Cast in a style characterized by rapid scales, coloraturas, large intervals and a tempestuous 'drum bass,' Mentor's *virtuoso* discourse is miles removed from the laments of Calypso, Antiope and Telemachus:

Example 4.4. Mentore "Alma Dea figlia di Giove" (I,8), mm. 7-13.

7 [Allegro]

Mentore Al - ma Dea fig - lia di Gio - ve ren - di à noi pla -

[Violini]

[Viola]

[Basso]

10 ca - to pla - ca - to il Ciel.

⁴² "Alma Dea figlia di Giove" (I,8: D Major, 4/4), "Io pavento" (II,8: e minor, 4/4), "Quei nodi infami" (III,7: A Major, 4/4), and "Mie Schiere guerriere" (III,12: D Major, 3/8). The sole exception is "Suol doppio notte oscura" (II,5: B flat Major, 3/8), which tellingly refers to the 'dark night.'

⁴³ Also related to this topos is Adrasto's lament "Il Mar de le mie pene / Stà ogn'or in rie procelle, / E non hà calmar" (I,6), which was appropriately set in the hyperpathetic key of f minor. The aria appears to have been modeled after Adraste's "Que l'Amour jaloux dans mon cœur / Cause de funestes ravages! / Neptune avec plus de fureur / Ne desole pas nos rivages: / Et les vents sur les flots excitent moins d'orages, / Que l'Amour jaloux dans mon cœur" (III, 2).

In spite of Mentor's warnings and his own intentions, Telemachus will – like his French forerunners – undergo the tempests of passion and lose his masculinity, albeit temporarily.⁴⁴ In Act II scene 12, he admits to himself: “Yield to the wind, yield to the sea, defeated little ship, which the boatsman no longer navigates.”⁴⁵ The phrase, a commonplace of opera seria, recalls Fénelon's description “Son cœur étoit comme la mer qui est le jouet de tous les vents contraires.”⁴⁶ By escaping Calypso's isle, Fénelon's Telemachus *will* in the end regain his male virtuousness and rehearse the main theme: “Je ne crains plus ni mer, ni vents, ni tempête; je ne crains plus que mes passions. L'Amour est lui seul plus à craindre que tous les naufrages.”⁴⁷ Operatic convention must on the other hand have inspired Pellegrin and Capeci to alter Fénelon's scenario through the invention of a marriage supported by Minerva. Even so, their *lieto fine* ensures Telemachus's love for Eucharis / Antiope-Eriphyle to be transformed from a sensual, effeminate desire into the kind of rationalized, masculine partnership Fénelon idealized in describing Télémaque's love for Antiope:

Non, mon cher Mentor, ce n'est pas une passion aveugle comme celle dont vous m'avez guéri dans l'isle de Calypso [...] pour Antiope, ce que je ressens n'a rien de semblable; ce n'est point amour passionné, c'est goût, c'est estime, c'est persuasion: que je serois heureux si je passois ma vie avec elle!⁴⁸

Although Muratori is likely to have deplored the compromising dénouement of *Telemaco*, he must have championed the re-elaboration – in verse and in a continuous poem – of a plot that had the courage to represent the vicious effects of ‘effeminate sensuality’ on male heroism. Twelve years earlier on, he had still found reason to complain:

Why can't they [poets] represent heroes and noble persons acting on other machinations than those of Cupid? Aren't there so many other Loves, such as those for Virtue, Glory, government, and similar ones, which were and will always constitute a fertile mine for tragic plots? Why restrict oneself so often to the sole love for the senses?⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Compare with FENELON 1717, 7, where Télémaque swears to Mentor “Que les Dieux me fassent périr plutôt que de souffrir que la molesse & la volupté s'emparent de mon cœur. Non, non, le fils d'Ulysse ne sera jamais vaincu par les charmes d'une vie lâche & effeminée.”

⁴⁵ “Cede al Vento, cede al Mare / Combattuta Navicella, / Ne la regge più il Nocchier.”

⁴⁶ FENELON 1717, 129.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 146.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 475-6.

⁴⁹ MURATORI 1971, 713-4: “E perché non possono rappresentarsi li Eroi, e le nobili persone operanti per altre macchine, che per quelle di Cupido? Non ci son'eglino tanti altri Amori, quel della Virtù, della Gloria, del regnare, e somiglianti, che furono, e saran sempre una feconda miniera di Tragici argomenti? Perché ristringersi così sovente al solo amore del senso?”



CHAPTER FIVE

STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF OPERATIC MYTHS: THE CASE OF *L'IFIGENIA*

[...] the question has often been raised why myths, and more generally oral literature, are so much addicted to duplication, triplication or quadruplication of the same sequence. If our hypotheses are accepted, the answer is obvious: repetition has as its function to make the structure of the myth apparent.¹

In his epoch-making article *The structural study of myth* (1955), Claude Lévi-Strauss described myths as linguistic structures comprised of *constituent units* carrying various degrees of semantic complexity. On the lowest level, *phonemes* cluster into particles of meaning called *morphemes* and *semantemes*. These particles in their turn melt together into *gross constituent units* which have the appearance and functionality of *sentences* in that they form the *bundles of relations* whereby myths can acquire their cultural function and significance. Let us clarify Lévi-Strauss's points by way of an example.

Like any other myth, the legend of Iphigenia at Aulis is made up by various 'sentences': Agamemnon kills a stag in a grove sacred to Artemis; the Argonauts see their expedition to Troy suspended by calm; Artemis demands through an oracle that Iphigenia, Agamemnon's daughter, be sacrificed; Agamemnon experiences a dilemma between paternal love and duty, and so on. Quite evidently, no single sentence captures the entire significance of the tale, nor sets it apart from other stories. Instead, it is the combination and interrelatedness of all these sentences which gives the story its defining outlook. Which does not exclude that valuable insights in the structure and socio-cultural background of the Iphigenia at Aulis, and of mythmaking in general, can be gained from deconstruction of its sentences and comparison with related ones. The mere recurrence of violated father-child relationships in Greek mythology, for instance, testifies to the permutative nature of ancient story-telling and to the patriarchal configuration of Greek politics.

¹ LEVI-STRAUSS 1955, 443.

In order to encourage advanced exploration of the structures underlying myths, Lévi-Strauss conceived a two-dimensional reading method which he himself compared to an orchestral score. On the horizontal axis, his paradigm is concerned with the sentences by which myths are constructed; on the vertical axis, it focuses on the ‘harmonic columns’ formed by the story’s proper sentences and those from adjacent myths.² Whereas the horizontal perspective entails the breaking-up of myth on a synchronic level, that is, within the temporal and geographic confines established by the author, the vertical perspective implies a diachronic assessment of the story’s kinship with narratives of both earlier and later date.³

For all its restrictions, Lévi-Strauss’s *modus observandi* has undeniably altered the course of drama studies. Contemporary evaluations of Greek tragedy for instance focus on the ways in which ancient dramatists engaged with epic structures to play on the expectations of their audience.⁴ Although Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides worked in a context different from archaic poets like Homer, still their oeuvre merits to be seen as a *reading-out* of epic whereby the latter’s sentences – the *deus ex machina*, recognition, peripeteia, prophecy, happy ending, etcetera – have been recombined and on doing so revitalized. Structuralist strategies have equally set the tone for studies of French seventeenth-century tragedy. This holds particularly true for Roland Barthes’s *Sur Racine* (1960), the first part of which proposes “une sorte d’anthropologie racinienne” that is allegedly “structurale dans le fond, parce que la tragédie est traitée ici comme un système d’unités (les “figures”) et de fonctions.”⁵ Rather than dissecting the dramas text by text, Barthes sought to elucidate the vertical relationships in Racinian plots. The results of his analysis exerted such an influence on the field that French classicist tragedy came to be looked upon as a network of names and types, linking various tragedies to each other and relocating entire conflicts from plot to plot.⁶

The present chapter will explore a few possibilities of Lévi-Straussian structuralism for the study of the mythological tradition in opera. Deconstruction of the libretto and score to Niccolò Jommelli’s *L’Ifigenia* (Rome, 1751), combined with intertextual comparison, will yield practical insights in the ways in which mid-eighteenth-century composers and librettists manipulated extant structures to negotiate with the *Erwartungshorizon* of their audience.

² Ibid., 432. See also LEVI-STRAUSS 1972, 242.

³ Ibid., 244.

⁴ See, for a recent example, SOMMERSTEIN 2005.

⁵ BARTHES 1993, I, 985.

⁶ See TRUCHET 1975, 70-1; DELMAS 1994, 181-2 and 207-8.

Which Iphigenia?

La figure d'Iphigénie dépasse en dimension celle d'un personnage purement littéraire; elle est enracinée dans l'espace et dans la durée, elle occupe une place dans le fonds commun de l'imagination du peuple grec.

Jean-Michel Gliksohn, *Iphigénie: de la Grèce antique à l'Europe des Lumières* (1985)⁷

Given their rootedness in oral culture, and more particularly in man's desire to modify extant narratives, myths partake of a gigantic *perpetuum mobile* that somehow defies scrutiny in that it disables the modern philologist from pinning down 'authentic' versions. Luckily, it is not absolutely necessary to be acquainted with the primal shape of a story for the examination of adaptations. Overviews unifying available variants, whether 'original' or not, can equally reveal the structure of a given version and the social energy with which it is historically surrounded.⁸

The Iphigenia in Aulis myth, for instance, has since antiquity undergone so many alterations that models are simply no longer discernible from variants.⁹ No less than three parallel traditions have survived, none of which can be safely labeled as 'most authentic.' The first thread, recorded in a lengthy choral episode of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* (ll. 40-257), reports that Iphigenia was sacrificed to Artemis so that the expedition to Troy might be resumed.¹⁰ Although the episode is not included in Homer's *Iliad*,¹¹ it represents the Iphigenia variant that is most firmly embedded in the Epic Cycle. Probably on behalf of its aggressively patriotic, panhellenic undertones, it gained ground in the early fifth century BC, a period in which Athens lived under the continuous threat of a 'barbaric' civilization, the Persians.¹² The eighteenth century, on the other hand, would be appalled by this gruesome story.

A second, far more popular variant tells that Artemis rescued Iphigenia during the sacrifice by replacing her with a deer (or a goat), made her the guardian of her temple at

⁷ GLIKSOHN 1985, 11.

⁸ By 'social energy,' I mean the "capacity of certain verbal, aural, and visual traces to produce, shape, and organize collective physical and mental experiences" (GREENBLATT 1988, 6).

⁹ Comprehensive lists of epic, lyric and dramatic sources pertaining to the Iphigenia myth are given in GLIKSOHN 1985, 16-7 and MICHELAKIS 2006, 21-3.

¹⁰ CONACHER 1967, 251.

¹¹ In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon's daughters are called Chrysothemis, Laodice and Iphianassa, and none of them is sacrificed for the Greek cause. According to MICHELAKIS 2006, 21, the Iphigenia episode, "with all the moral and psychological implications it has for Iphigenia's father" would even "give Homer's Agamemnon a dimension which, given his portrayal and function in the two poems, would look out of place." Still, the *Iliad* contains a strikingly similar episode: namely, the tale of Polyxena, the youngest daughter of Priam and Hecuba who is killed on Achilles' tomb at the end of the Trojan War.

¹² According to GLIKSOHN 1985, 21, this version was very probably adopted by Aeschylus and Sophocles for their lost *Iphigenia* tragedies.

Tauris (Crimea), and raised her to immortality. Archeological findings bear out evidence that Iphigenia was indeed worshipped as a divinity in the fifth century BC, be it in Brauron, at the east coast of Attica, where according to legend Iphigenia had kept the keys to Artemis's temple and was buried. Literary sources adhering to this strand include the collection of *Cypriot Chants* attributed to Stasinus of Cyprus, and Euripides's *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Unfortunately, both sources are supposedly apocryphal in that the former has come down to us in a Latin summary by Proclus, the latter in an unfinished tragedy completed by Euripides's son or nephew. Although rationalist poets may have felt less comfortable with a plot that was solved through the intervention of a *dea ex machina* (see Chapter Two), there were a handful of seria librettists who fell back on this 'miraculous' tradition on account of its spectacular nature and compatibility with a Tauris sequel. Thus Carlo Sigismondo Capeci based the Aulis part of his *Ifigenia in Aulide / Tauri* diptych (Rome, 1713) on an Italian translation of Euripides, concluding it with Iphigenia's escape on a cloud.¹³

A third tradition of the Iphigenia myth, reported by Pausanias in his *Description of Greece*, relates that an illegitimate child of Helen and Theseus, rather than Agamemnon's daughter, was sacrificed for the Greek cause. On the premise that this particular version complied better with the demands for verisimilitude and decorum, Racine adopted it for his masterful tragedy *Iphigénie* (Versailles, 1674).¹⁴ Imagining the 'other Iphigenia' to be Eriphyle, a slave and scorned lover of Achilles, Racine furthermore created an *affaire de cœur* between Iphigenia, Achilles and Eriphyle. His modification would prove quite successful, for more than any other play on the subject, his drama became a box-office success that served many a seria libretto as model. Apostolo Zeno's *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Vienna, 1718) for instance features an Elisena (Zeno deemed that name more mellifluous than Erifile), even more *amoreggiamenti* (Iphigenia has a secret lover in Agamemnon's captain, Teucro), and a preface straightly derived from Racine's.

¹³ *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Rome, 1713), 'Argomento del Dramma,' 4: "[...] Venuta in Aulide con la Madre Clitennestra, Ifigenia, quando credeva di sposare Acchille, fù condotta all'Altare per esser sacrificata alla Dea; ma questa allora placata, occultandola in una Nube, la portò seco per l'Aria, lasciando su l'Altare in suo luogo per il destinato Sacrificio una bianca Cerva. Così ne termina la sua Tragedia Euripide, portata nel nostro idioma dal P. Ortensio Scamacca, e da me seguito nel presente Dramma, in tutti gli Avvenimenti del medesimo, con havervi solo aggiunto l'amor di Pilade verso l'istesso Ifigenia, per servirmene nell'altra Opera [...]".

¹⁴ RACINE 1962, 224-5: "J'ai rapporté tous ces avis si différents, et surtout le passage de Pausanias, parce que c'est à cet auteur que je dois l'heureux personnage d'Eriphile, sans lequel je n'aurais jamais osé entreprendre cette tragédie. Quelle apparence que j'eusse souillé la scène par le meurtre horrible d'une personne aussi vertueuse et aussi aimable qu'il fallait représenter Iphigénie? et quelle apparence encore de dénouer ma tragédie par le secours d'une déesse et d'une machine, et par une métamorphose, qui pouvait bien trouver quelque créance du temps d'Euripide, mais qui serait trop absurde et trop incroyable parmi nous? [...]". Paradoxically, Racine stated in the same foreword that "Le goût de Paris s'est trouvé conforme à celui d'Athènes; mes spectateurs ont été émus des mêmes choses qui ont mis autrefois en larmes le plus savant peuple de la Grèce [...]" (Ibid., 225).

Life would have been simple if the reception of the Iphigenia myth in opera seria were to be reduced to two traditions running parallel to each other. Closer examination of the libretti produced between 1705 and 1787 (see Appendix 1.1, “Iphigenia”) by contrast reveals a picture abounding in intersections and syncretisms, with extant scenarios being enhanced through borrowings from extraneous libretti. A curious illustration is offered by the libretto to Giuseppe Sarti’s *Ifigenia* (Rome, 1776), the alleged work of the “celebrated author” of a homonymous opera performed “two lustra ago” – Franchi’s *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Rome, 1766).¹⁵ The libretto to the latter production is in its turn advertized as “the work of a renowned man of letters who is still alive and also praised for his other fine productions”¹⁶ – Vittorio Amedeo Cigna-Santi (c. 1730-95). Cigna-Santi in his turn based his *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Turin, 1762) on the Euripidean thread, staging a spectacular finale in which Diana herself comes to rescue Iphigenia.¹⁷ Sarti’s opera, however, does *not* involve any deities, but instead stars a (Racinian) Elisena who is eventually spared from the sacrifice.¹⁸ Its Agamemnon part furthermore contains an aria, “E dovrò veder esangue,” that is clearly borrowed from Jommelli’s (Racinian) *L’Ifigenia* (Rome, 1751). To what extent, then, can the libretto to Sarti’s opera be called the ‘work’ of Cigna-Santi, let alone an Iphigenia opera in the Euripidean tradition?

A second case is that of Giovan Gualberto Bottarelli’s *Ifigenia in Aulide* (London, 1768), a ‘new’ production that was apparently received as such.¹⁹ Yet, Ajax’s aria “Ah, di veder già parmi” rehearses an aria for Ulysses from Cigna-Santi’s text (I,2); the chorus to Neptune, “Tu che sulle onde,” is derived from the same source; and entire stretches of recitative and the A sections of two arias, “Vado, ma, oh Dio, lo Sposo” and “Veder quell’alma amabile,” are pillaged from Jommelli’s *L’Ifigenia* but cleverly modified, the latter for example being sung by Eriphyle (rather than Achilles) and directed to Iphigenia (instead of Eriphyle).

Such borrowing and recombining required a great deal of creativity and theatrical experience. That is not to say that commercial issues did not play a vital role in the genesis of

¹⁵ *Ifigenia* (Rome, 1777), ‘Eccellenza’ [Maria Giovanna de’ Medici Chigi], 3: “Torna dopo due lustri sù le Scene Romane a palesare le sue sventure l’Ifigenia Dramma per Musica di celebre Autore.” RINALDI 1978, 1472 and CUMMING 1995, 218 have erroneously ascribed this libretto to Zeno.

¹⁶ *Ifigenia* (Rome, 1766), ‘Alle Dame Romane,’ 3-4: “A Voi Nobilissime DAME, che colla maestosa presenza Vostra il maggior lustro e decoro alle Romane Scene arrecate, riverentemente si dedica Ifigenia, Opera d’insigne Letterato vivente, celebre ancora per altre sue felici produzioni [...]”.

¹⁷ For an elaborate discussion of Cigna-Santi’s libretto and its setting, see BUTLER 2001, 97-148.

¹⁸ In the final scene, Arcades proclaims the following, happy oracle sentence: “Placato io sono / Che la serie fatal di tanti guai / De’ vostri affanni è compensata assai.”

¹⁹ BURNEY 1789, IV, 493, called it a “new serious opera.”

opere serie. Yet, even within the utilitarian context of free impresarial theater, taste was regarded as “a nice discernment of the minuter circumstances that please, [...] *polish and improve the inventions of others*,”²⁰ and as such it was aesthetically, not just economically, desirable to inscribe invention in tradition or to “treat in one’s own way what is common.”²¹ From that respect, the eighteenth-century act of ‘plagiarism’ constituted a bow, be it an implicit one, to the mythopoeic tradition. For as the following analysis will make clear, seria producers too enhanced conventional ‘sentences’ with novelties to play on expectations.

***L’Ifigenia*: sources and authorship**

Niccolò Jommelli’s *L’Ifigenia* is one of those operas of which the dramatic origins are less well circumscribed than is often assumed. Problems already arise from its title, which is generally referred to as *Ifigenia in Aulide*, so as to distinguish it from Jommelli’s *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Naples, 1771), but is in effect *L’Ifigenia*, as can be seen on the frontispieces of the original exemplar (see Plate 5.1) and on libretti for most of its revivals.²² The drama has traditionally been attributed to Mattia Verazi, the reformist poet whom Jommelli collaborated with on a number of projects for the Court of Württemberg.²³ Yet, actually little or no evidence substantiates Verazi’s authorship, unless one relies on a pencilled attribution in a single copy of a libretto for a revival,²⁴ a dubious attribution of another revival,²⁵ or an erroneous observation.²⁶ Careful re-examination of the libretto, by contrast, suggests that *L’Ifigenia* constitutes a bi-authorial effort, four arias and a portion of recitative being marked as obsolete and/or substituted with alternative poetry not composed by the main librettist.²⁷

²⁰ MAINWARING 1760, 162 (emphasis added).

²¹ HORACE 1955, 460, l. 128: “Difficile est proprie communia dicere [...]”.

²² See Appendix 1.1, “Iphigenia”.

²³ Verazi’s oeuvre is assessed in McCLYMONDS 1982 and McCLYMONDS 1995.

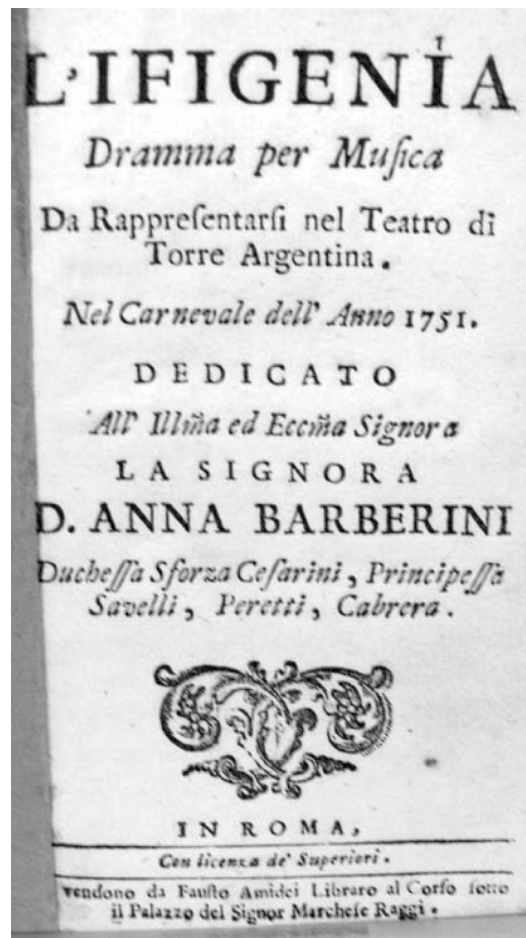
²⁴ The libretto performed at Mannheim on 4 November 1751 and preserved at the Altermuseumverein in Mannheim, see SARTORI 1990-4, III, 396 (no. 12706).

²⁵ The *Ifigenia in Aulide* given at Naples (with four interpolated arias by Traetta) as to which SONNECK 1914, I, 608, argued that “Mattia Verazi, the author, is not mentioned.” Sonneck may have simply been misled by Verazi’s *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Mannheim, 1764), copies of which are described in his catalogue (Ibid., I, 610).

²⁶ McCLYMONDS 1982, 100 and 134n4, has pointed to an (absent) reference to a ‘Romano’ in a copy held at the Brussels Conservatoire. See also RINALDI 1978, 1468, where the libretto is attributed to Zeno and ‘Verazzi.’

²⁷ “Il colle, il pian, il mar, le piante, i sassi” (II,13; omitted), “All’idea del suo bel volto” (II,14; replaced by “Già la Vittima fatale”), “Pria, che di notte oscura” (III,4; replaced by “Pria, che nell’ore estreme”), and the recitative “No, del mio fato... La Ruina di Troja del sangue mio” together with the aria “Padre Addio: Ti lascio o caro” (III,9; replaced by “La Patria, il Mondo... Vendicate la Patria, e il sangue mio” and “Cedi oh Dio... Tergi le ciglia,” respectively).

Plate 5.1. *L'Ifigenia*. Frontispiece of the original libretto.



No less puzzling is the libretto preface, which acknowledges sources like Pausanias, Parthenius and – of all authors – Homer,²⁸ though at the same time conceals its most obvious point of reference – Racine’s *Iphigénie*.²⁹ In fact, the very opening scene alone offers a (less verbose) remodeling of the famous French tragedy:

²⁸ See n. 11.

²⁹ *L'Ifigenia* (Rome, 1751), ‘Argomento,’ [s.n.]: “Bramosi i Principi della Grecia di vendicar contro i Trojani la comune ingiuria sofferta nel Ratto di Elena moglie di Menelao Re di Sparta, fatto da Paride figlio di Priamo Re di Troja, radunarono in Aulide una formidabile armata navale, e ne elessero capo, e condottiere Agamennone Re di Micene, di Menelao fratello; ma non ne poterono mai sciogliere le vele per mancanza di vento favorevole. Calcante lor Sacerdote alfin predisse, che non l’avrebbero mai avuto, se pria non avessero placata la Dea Diana, con offerirle Vittima Ifigenia figlia dello stesso Re Agamennone. Fù l’Oracolo mal’ inteso dal Sacerdote; perchè la Dea voleva la morte d’Ifigenia non già figlia di Agamennone, ma di Teseo (figlio del Re di Atene), che l’ebbe da Elena primachè a Menelao sposata fosse. Perlochè fù tenuta occulta, e le fu anche cangiato il vero nome d’Ifigenia, che ebbe nel nascere, in quello di Erifile. / Achille, prima di unirsi anch’egli in Aulide all’Esercito Greco, soggiogata avea l’Isola di Lesbo, che erasi ribellata a Peleo suo Padre. Quivi avendo fatta sua prigioniera Erifile, l’avea mandata in Micene a Ifigenia sua promessa sposa. Questa chiamata in Aulide dal Re suo Padre per compire con Achille, pria di andare all’assedio di Troja, il promesso Imenèo; seco, amandola teneramente, colà la condusse. Riveduta così dal Sacerdote Erifile, di cui gli erano ben noti i natali, e’l vero nome; tosto egli si accorse dell’Equivoco preso; ed avendo nel vero, e giusto senso spiegato l’Oracolo, Erifile da se medesima si diè la morte. Omer. Parten. Pausan. / L’Azione si rappresenta in Aulide.”

Iphigénie – I,1

AGAMEMNON
Oui, c'est Agamemnon, c'est ton roi qui t'éveille.
Viens, reconnais la voix qui frappe ton oreille.

ARCAS
C'est vous-même, seigneur! Quel important besoin
Vous a fait devancer l'aurore de si loin?
A peine un faible jour vous éclaire et me guide,
Vos yeux seuls et les miens sont ouverts dans l'Aulide,
Avez-vous dans les airs entendu quelque bruit?
Les vents nous auraient-ils exaucés cette nuit?
Mais tout dort, et l'armée, et les vents, et Neptune.

AGAMEMNON
Heureux qui, satisfait de son humble fortune,
Libre du joug superbe où je suis attaché,
Vit dans l'état obscur où les Dieux l'ont caché!

ARCAS
Et depuis quand, seigneur, tenez-vous ce langage?
Comblé de tant d'honneurs, par quel secret outrage
Les Dieux, à vos désirs toujours si complaisants,
Vous font-ils méconnaître et haïr leurs présents?
Roi, père, époux heureux, fils du puissant Atrée,
Vous possédez des Grecs la plus riche contrée.
Du sang de Jupiter issu de tous côtés,
L'hymen vous lie encore aux Dieux dont vous sortez;
Le jeune Achille enfin, vanté par tant d'oracles,
Achille, à qui le ciel promet tant de miracles,
Recherche votre fille, et d'un hymen si beau
Veut dans Troie embrasée allumer le flambeau.
Quelle gloire, seigneur, quels triomphes égalent
Le spectacle pompeux que ces bords vous étalent;
Tous ces mille vaisseaux, qui, chargés de vingt rois,
N'attendent que les vents pour partir sous vos lois?

EURIBATE
Qual mai strana favella,
E forse ingiusta ancor, da' labbri tuoi
Deggio, Sire, ascoltar! Figlio d'Atreo
Potentissimo Rè, Tu le contrade
Più ricche della Grecia in pace godi:
Cinto d'armati, e d'armi arbitro siedi
Del comune destin: Gemme, e tesori
Splendono a Te d'intorno: E alfin di venti
Superbi Regi i Scettri anima un solo
Moto delle tue ciglia.

Why did the poet(s) fail to mention a model that was known to most? Did he (they) intend to present *L'Ifigenia* as an original libretto? Possibly so, for *L'Ifigenia* constituted the Teatro Argentina's second, thus most important offering for the 1750-1 Carnival, the follow-up to a flopped production, Matteo Capranica's *Merope*, and a contender to Galuppi's immensely popular *Antigona*, which was staged at the rivaling Teatro delle Dame.³⁰ Selling *L'Ifigenia* as another remake of a classic may therefore not have been an option to its author(s), let alone to the impresarios endorsing its production.

³⁰ The *Relator Sincero*, an anonymous contemporary reviewer, reported about *Merope* that “Se ne avvide jeri sera, allorché il numeroso Popolo spettatore a verun aria si mosse, e s’ismarì talmente, che ognuno credea, che [Capranica] andasse allo spedale della Consolazione terminata l’opera. / L’Orchestra sceleratissima; il Teatro poco illuminato, le Scene tutte vecchie, gli Abiti risarciti dall’Ebreo Aronne, niuna bella decorazione, ed in una parola tutto cattivo.” (DELLA SETA 1980, 89). Galuppi’s “gran Musica,” on the other hand, “è stata esente da ogni eccezione, e da tutti applaudita, perché ripiena d’invenzioni nuove, di arie armoniose, di stupendi recitativi e di forti scene [...]” (Ibid., 90).

Second, there was the cult surrounding the Iphigenias of Euripides and Racine. The former was thus esteemed that Metastasio observed in his *Osservazioni sul teatro greco* (1768) that this piece alone sufficed to exemplify Euripides's "superior dramatic talent."³¹ Racine's version, on the other hand, had by 1750 appeared in so great a number of translations and operatic renderings that authors of new versions had to come up with strong ideas to succeed.³² While Zeno could still take pride in alerting his indebtedness to the "incomparable Euripides" and the "famous Racine,"³³ Metastasio would not even consider conceiving his own rendering.³⁴

But to what extent did Jommelli and his librettists remain faithful to Racine? Did they too recombine sentences from various sources? A multiple-level reading, spread over the following paragraphs, will answer that question.

A cursory glance at *L'Ifigenia*

The three-movement sinfonia introducing *L'Ifigenia* at once reveals Jommelli's contribution to orchestral music in general, and to the classical symphony in particular.³⁵ The opening Con spirito for instance contains two fully-articulated themes (*Examples 5.1 and 5.2*), the first of which suggests a 'Mannheimer' crescendo while the second displays a differentiated texture and intricate phrasing.

³¹ METASTASIO 1953-65, II, 1140: "Basterebbe questa sola tragedia per far conoscere il superior talento drammatico di Euripide."

³² I am wary to agree with HEARTZ & BAUMAN 1990, 3, that "A more serious preoccupation with the Iphigenia legend awaited the mid-century" (Appendix 1.1, "Iphigenia" testifies to the contrary), though fully agree with CUMMING 1995, 222, that "Racine's authority was so great that every libretto on the subject had to come to terms with his version."

³³ *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Vienna, 1718), 'Argomento,' s.n.: "l'argomento è stato trattato dall'incomparabile Euripide, e [...] del famoso Racine, ambedue imitati in più luoghi di quest'Opera." The phrase was repeated in Giacomelli's setting (*Achille in Aulide*, 1739) for the Teatro Argentina.

³⁴ The subject remains tellingly absent from his annotated list of themes, see METASTASIO 1953-65, II, 1279-86. Metastasio also refused to elaborate on the similar subject of *Jephtes*, writing to Stelio Mastraca (Vienna, 21 March 1738): "Altre sono le difficoltà ch'io incontrerei in questo soggetto: in primo luogo il numero considerabile degli scrittori che l'hanno trattato; in secondo luogo la somiglianza col sacrificio d'*Ifigenia* posto in iscena da Racine con esito sì felice che molti dotti si sono ingratemente dimenticati delle prime sorgenti [Euripides] dond'egli ha derivate le più eccellenti bellezze di codesta sua tragedia: ne hanno fornito la nostra lingua ed il nostro teatro, ed a forza di replicate rappresentazioni ogn'uno ha quasi in memoria tutti i più teneri incontri di questa azione." (My emphases).

³⁵ HELL 1971, 306-440, offers an extensive assessment of Jommelli's contribution to the symphony. That Jommelli's style already attained symphonic proportions prior to his contacts with Mannheim and Stuttgart has been emphasized in ABERT 1991, 247; McClymonds 1980^b; HENZE 1982. Still recently, however, LIPPMANN 2003, 267, has rehearsed the 'Mannheim myth,' arguing – without further explanation – that "anche i *Mannheimer*, per parte loro, abbiano avuto qualche influenza su Jommelli."

Example 5.1. Sinfonia, I. Con spirito, first theme, mm. 1-7.

= Con spirito =

Example 5.2. Id., second theme, mm. 15-9.

The curtain opens on a royal palace (*Reggia*),³⁶ in which the messenger Eurybates (Euribate) is awoken by his master, Agamemnon (Agamennone). On his visit to Diana's temple, the Greek King has learnt that Iphigenia (Ifigenia) is to be sacrificed to placate the goddess.³⁷ Wishing by all means to save his daughter from such a horrific end, Agamemnon urges Eurybates to prevent the princess from arriving at Aulis, to which she is currently traveling in order to celebrate her marriage with Achilles. He commands Eurybates to deceive Iphigenia by telling her that Achilles loves another woman. The deception causes the loyal servant considerable concern, expressed in the aria "Vado: ma oh Dio... lo Sposo."³⁸ Active violin and viola parts, dynamic contrasts and frequent pauses convey the nervousness and *parlante* character of the piece.

³⁶ The *relator sincero* had little praise for the scenes and costumes deployed in *L'Ifigenia*, dismissing them as "Scene cattive, e vecchie, alcune delle quali risarcite alla peggio. / Abiti tra vecchi e nuovi di sufficiente apparenza, avendo qualche merito quello della sola Ifigenia." (DELLA SETA 1980, 96).

³⁷ The oracle's words are in italics (as in Racine's version), though not set in an accompagnato, as is the case in Graun's *Ifigenia in Aulide* (see Chapter Six).

³⁸ "Vado: ma oh Dio.... lo Sposo / Dirle dovrò, ch'è infido! / Ah, di dolor l'uccido / Dicendole così. // Quanto per noi penoso, / Quanto per lei funesto / Prevedeo il fin di questo / Tetro infelice dì."

Example 5.3. Euribate “Vado: ma oh Dio... lo Sposo” (I,1), mm. 16-20.

Left alone, Agamemnon begins to doubt his decision in the light of his responsibility toward the Greeks. And when Achilles (Achille) enters the scene, the King quickly resumes his pose as leader of the Trojan expedition, even going as far as to forbid Achilles to ponder his approaching wedding with Iphigenia, and such on the premise that love and warcraft do not blend.³⁹ Achilles responds fiercely to Agamemnon’s words. In the aria “L’adorato mio tesoro” he contrasts his unwavering love for the princess (A section) with his jealousy and suspicion towards the King (B section).⁴⁰ Both sections of the aria are indeed contrasted in matters of tempo (Andante versus Allegro), key (G Major vs. modulation to C Major), orchestration (strings, oboes and horns vs. strings only), and meter (3/8 vs. 4/4). Its fifty-two-bar (!) opening ritornello involves an orchestral dialogue with *divisi* viola parts and no fewer than three different techniques to suggest dynamic increase.⁴¹ Love, pride and sincerity, however, prevail in the broad melodic contour of the *cantabile* vocal line, the performance of which calls for wide arm gestures.

³⁹ “D’amor non mai languisce / Chi vanta in seno un cor audace, e fiero; / Sconviene ad un Guerriero / Il sospirar d’amor.”

⁴⁰ “L’adorato mio Tesoro / Involar chi a me desia, / Non me’l può rapir, se pria / Non mi svelle il Cor dal sen. // Dal velen di gelosia / Tormentata l’alma mia: / Parmi già, che venga men.”

⁴¹ 1) First violin, mm. 24-9 and 32-9: stepwise crescendo, i.e. through a sequence of indications (*p* in m. 24; *pf* [*poco forte*] in m. 26; *più f* in m. 27; *f.mo* in m. 29); 2) first violin, m. 43: straightforward *cres.*; 3) viola, m. 27, *rinf.*.

Example 5.4. Achille “L’adorato mio tesoro” (I,2), mm. 53-67.

53 All: moderato

Achille

L'a - do - ra - to mi - o te - so - ro in - vo - lar chi a me de - si - a

In the following scene, Ajax (Ajace) lends his ear to Agamemnon’s sorrows but advises the King to lend absolute priority to the Greek cause. Not even when Eurybates announces that Iphigenia has already landed in Aulis does Ajax show the least sign of empathy. Instead, he dismisses Agamemnon’s doubts as

AJACE
 Deboli sensi inver, degni d’un alma
 Nata a servir, non a regnar. Chi regna
 Serve al pubblico ben. Questa gloriosa
 Nobile servitù, del Regio Serto
 Forma il pregio maggior.

The King yields to Ajax’s rationale (“Ceda al publico ben il mio riposo”) and is about to leave when, all of a sudden, he comes to a halt (“Ma...”) and gives free rein to his anguish. The music to his ensuing aria, “Ma dovrò vedere esangue,” made a great impression during the premiere.⁴² Similar to Eurybates’s “Vado: ma oh Dio... lo Sposo,” there is a dense string texture the viola part of which ‘sings’ inbetween the violin parts and drum bass. Fickle dynamics, moreover, suggest a continuous alternation between expression and restraint. Subtle word-painting, finally, concurs with the falling ninth after “cader” (“to fall”).

Example 5.5. Agamennone “Ma dovrò vedere esangue” (I,5), mm. 1-6.

Andante

Agamennone

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

[Basso]

⁴² The “aria di molto strepito, e di azione, cantata da Agamennone con arte, e spirito” was according to the *relator sincero* the highlight of the first act (DELLA SETA 1980, 95).

Example 5.5 (continued).

2

All of this orchestral movement freezes in the B section as Agamemnon evokes his “dire circumstances” through haunting sustained notes:

Example 5.6. Id., mm. 63-7.

That emotional motivations are equally important to Ajax’s doings can be learnt from the sixth scene, in which the self-declared statesman turns out to be... Iphigenia’s secret worshipper. The very idea of Iphigenia’s sacrifice under her own father’s hands makes the rejected lover mad with joy and triumph. This is reflected in “Non sempre giova, o Belle,” a D Major aria with triumphal melodic gestures.⁴³

Example 5.7. Ajace “Non sempre giova, o Belle” (I,6), mm. 40-5.

⁴³ “Non sempre giova, o Belle, / Volger sprezzante il ciglio; / Sentite il mio consiglio: / Belle non tanto ardir. // Un disprezzato amore / Spesso si cangia in sdegno: / Ne nasco poi l’impegno, / L’oltraggio di punir.”

The set transforms after Ajax's exit into a *Galleria* where Iphigenia appears escorted by Eriphyle (Erifile), Eurybates, ladies-in-waiting, and pages. Eriphyle tells Iphigenia – and the spectators – about her princely origins on Lesbos, her abduction by Achilles, and her current state of abandonment. Iphigenia does not commiserate the lady, quite the contrary, she holds her directly responsible for her cancelled marriage with Achilles. Iphigenia initially confines this anger to asides, but eventually, she cannot prevent herself from bursting into a direct confrontation with Eriphyle to accuse her of betrayal. The rhetorical devices shaping her verbal assault exemplify the subtleties of simple recitative.⁴⁴ The exclamations “ingrata” (m. 71) and “Oh Dio!” (m. 79), for instance, are conveyed through falling thirds in the high register, the question “... la dovuta mercè?” (m. 73) through a falling fourth followed by a rising second, and the increasing emotional tension on “Tutto si scuopro ... quanto me stessa” through a semi-sequential phrase that modulates stepwise from F to A Major (mm. 74-6).

Example 5.8. Ifigenia “Ingrata... al fianco mio!” (I,7), mm. 71-81.

71
Ifigenia In-gra-ta: e' ques tà de' be-ne-fi-cj miei la do-vu-ta mer-cè? Tut-to si scu-o-pro l'in-ter-no del mio cor:
[Basso]

75
di te mi fi-do: t'a-mo quan-to me stes-sa: tu m'o-di, ta-ci, me-co fin-gi:
6 6

78
e in-tan-to il cor d'A-chil-le mi se-du-ci? Oh Di-o! U-na ri-va-le ho dun-que al fian-co mi-o!
5 6

Iphigenia's ultimate expression of anger is reserved for scene eight, in which she fends off Achilles's declaration of love – she believes him to be unfaithful – with a stormy aria. This piece, “Tu digli in vece mia,” is characterized by an adventurous vocal line punctuated by rests and martial interventions by the winds.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Various such devices are explained in DOWNES 1961 and MONELLE 1978.

⁴⁵ “Tu digli in vece mia, / Ch'è un' Amator fallace, / Che il labro suo mendace / Mai più m'ingannerà. (Poi se così ti piace, / Tutto gli dona il cor.) // (Ma renderti non dee / Simil conquista altera) / Quell'alma è mensogniera: / Cangia sovente amor.”

Example 5.9. Ifigenia “Tu digli in vece mia” (I,8), mm. 1-8.

[Senza tempo]

Oboè

Corni

Ifigenia

Tu di-gli tu di-gli in ve-ce mi - a ch'è un a-ma-tor fal - la - ce ch'è un a-ma-tor fal - la - ce

Violini

[Basso]

In her turn infuriated by such unfairness, Eriphyle promises Achilles to reveal the reasons behind Iphigenia’s anger on the condition that he returns her liberty. Unfortunately, Achilles prefers to expand his amorous nature in a conventional exit aria, “Veder quel ciglio amabile.”⁴⁶ Left alone, Eriphyle expresses her inner distress in an accompagnato of modest proportions (twenty-two bars) followed by a more elaborate aria, “Serbo il mio cor dolente.”⁴⁷ Several traits of this galant piece – the majestic key of C Major, stately ternary meter and splendid orchestral interchanges – exhibit Eriphyle’s princely identity and innocence. The prominent location of the aria, at the closing of the first act, furthermore underscores her importance to the plot and status vis-à-vis *prima donna* Iphigenia (see also below).

⁴⁶ “Veder quel ciglio amabile / Meco sdegno = e fiero / Sentirmi dire ingrato, / Perfido menzognero: / Questo è un dolor sì barbaro, / Che il cor soffrir non sa. // Qualche funesto inganno / Mi priva del suo amore: / Che mai non ebbe il core / Macchia d’infedeltà.” We are unable to assess the music since it is missing from the manuscript copy consulted for our analysis of Acts I and II (I-Nc Rari 7.8.8).

⁴⁷ “Serbo il mio cor dolente / Sempre innocente in seno: / E pur languisco, e peno, / Vivo in contuno affanno. // Destin così tiranno / Dite chi può soffrir? // Dalle sciagure [I-Nc manuscript: ‘sventure’] e reso / Questo mio sì oppresso, / Che disperata spesso / Desidero morir.”

Example 5.10. Erifile “Serbo il mio cor dolente” (I,10), mm. 1-10.

Andante

Oboè

Corni

Trombe

Violini

Viola

[Basso]

6

soli.

f

p

f

p

f

p

The second act commences with a confidential discussion between Agamemnon and Ajax in the *Appartamenti Reali*. Given the King’s reluctance to inform his daughter of the pending sacrifice, Ajax advises him to unveil it through a letter. Their conversation is interrupted as Eurybates comes to tell his master that Iphigenia wishes to see him. This constitutes the sign for Agamemnon to overcome his last doubts and to make haste with the letter. The resulting scene (in simple recitative) is worth quoting for the way in which both Agamemnon’s and Ajax’s hidden thoughts intermingle with the actual writing of the letter:

AJACE
(Ecco il cimento estremo. Ah s’ei resiste
Io son felice appien.)

AGAMENNONE
Figlia (scrive

AJACE
(Incomincia:

Giova il resto sperar.)

AGAMENNONE

Pe'l comun Bene

Dunque morir conviene = Ah qual di pianto (*interrompe*

Densa nube alla Ciglia

Fura improvvisa il dì

AJACE

(La man sospende!

Temo che ceda, aimè.)

AGAMENNONE

Povera Figlia! (*ripiglia subito*

AJACE

(Per brevi istanti ancor propizia sorte

Seconda il mio pensier.)

AGAMENNONE

Condanna a morte.

AJACE

Non solo a venti Regi

Sotto i Vessilli tuoi quì radunati,

Ma a cento Regni, e cento

Meriti assiso in Soglio

Gran Re di comandar.

AGAMENNONE

Eccoti il foglio.

Ecco la Grecia vendicata, ed ecco

Che pe'l pubblico bene

L'esser di Padre ancor pongo in oblio.

Agamemnon's words are still warm as Iphigenia enters with Eurybates to declare that she has definitively broken with the unfaithful Achilles. Given her desire to learn more about the suspended mission to Troy, Agamemnon reveals Diana's wish but refrains from unveiling the victim's identity. Iphigenia begs her father to accompany this person during the sacrifice, but Agamemnon makes a quick exit with the aria "Figlia, qualor ti miro," combining visions of death with paternal feelings.⁴⁸ His gorgeous F Major *cantilena* represents the 'pre-Mozartian' facets of Jommelli's art (*see Appendix 5.1*). After a bar of declamatory *accompagnato*, a *Larghetto* in 6/8 emerges in which a moving vocal line – note the intervallic leaps on "gelo d'orror" in measures 7 to 10 – floats on top of a sobbing string accompaniment. Pairs of violas (*divisi*), oboes and horns intervene only when Agamemnon's string of coloraturas (on "parlar") transforms into a sustained note (g') which in its turn resolves into a climactic, almost searing cadence (mm. 22-30).

⁴⁸ "Figlia, qualor ti miro, / Involta nel mio fato, / Gelo d'orror, sospiro, / Tremo nè sò parlar. // (Numi a pietà vi muova / Il mio Paterno affetto) / Figlia mi sento in petto / L'Anima lacerar."

Still resentful, Ajax is quick to hand over Agamemnon's letter to Iphigenia. On reading it aloud, Iphigenia is struck by the words and lashes out at everyone she holds responsible for her wicked situation: Achilles, Agamemnon, Eriphyle and, of course, the gods.⁴⁹ The character's emotional turbulence inspired Jommelli to conjure up a abundantly rich obbligato accompaniment.⁵⁰ Iphigenia's reflective stance is for instance introduced by the following theme:

Example 5.11. Ifigenia "Dunque dovrò morir... io meritai?" (II,6), mm. 1-3.

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Basso

Thoughts of a cloud pouring with rain and abandonment are suggested as follows:

Example 5.12. Id., mm. 11-8.

11

Ifigenia

Ah qual di af - fan - ni nem-bo or - ri - bil m'op - pri - me!

Violin 1

Violin 2

Viola

Basso

⁴⁹ "Dunque dovrò morir! Ingrato Achille / Sarai contento appien: Colla mia morte / Togli un noioso inciampo / Al tuo rovello Amor. (*rimane pensosa.* / Ah qual di affanni / (*si alza da sedere smaniosa* / Nembo orribil mi opprime! / Il Padre mi abbandona al fato estremo! / L'Amica è mia rivale! / Lo Sposo traditor! / Ma giusti Numi / In che vi offesi mai? (*torna a sedere* / Perchè tanti martiri io meritai?"

⁵⁰ MATTEI 1987, 92, hailed the motivic inspiration in Jommelli's obbligati as follows: "Ei vi sceglie un motivo; e questo non ve lo replica noiosamente ad uso di barcaruola, ma lo va dividendo, e spargendo secondo richiede il dialogo, e poi unisce quelle divisioni, e ne impasta un altro motivo con una meravigliosa energia." McClymonds 1980, 331, has in her turn argued that "The power and effectiveness of Jommelli's obbligato recitative derives from motivic unity, harmonic control, a sense of timing, and an ability to get the maximum effect from a minimum of music, so as not to interrupt the singer for more time than it takes for a breath or two, except when a change of thought or mood is taking place." HEARTZ 2003, 468, finally, did not hesitate to call Jommelli's accompagnati "small orchestral tone poems."

Example 5.12 (continued).

2

15 **Un poco Andante** (etc.)

Il Pa - dre

Iphigenia's address to Heaven, finally, is treated in 'numinous' fashion (see Chapter Two), offering intriguing tonal moves from E Major to e, c, f and (again) c minor:

Example 5.13. Id., mm. 29-36.

()

29

Ifigenia

Mà gius - ti Nu - mi in che vi of - fe - si ma - i? Per - chè

[Violin 1]

[Violin 2]

[Viola]

[Basso]

32

tan - ti mar - ti - ri tan - ti mar - ti - ri io me - ri - ta - i?

Eurybates arrives just in time to reveal to Iphigenia that Achilles's alleged unfaithfulness was only contrived by Agamemnon as a ruse to keep his daughter away from Aulis. The message fulfills a pivotal function in the plot. Not only does it restore the amorous relationship between Iphigenia and Achilles, it also helps Iphigenia transform from a victim of divine vengeance into an icon of patriotic virtue. For rather than continuing her sorrows, she voluntarily renders her well-being to the Greek cause and so exclaims:

IFIGENIA
 Mia gloria sia
 Per la Patria morir. Il Ciel l'impone
 L'impone il Padre, il Re. Lo Sposo a torto
 Al padre s'opporla: La lor contesa
 Sol m'ingombrerebbe di spavento,
 Che della morte alcun orror non sento.

She is quite naturally allowed to expand this new, patriotic alter ego in an aria. "Se sollevare bramate," which she seems to direct to the audience, comforts future "unfortunate souls" by setting her own "tyrannical fate" as a model.⁵¹ Although some inquietude prevails in the aria's gloomy g minor tonality, there is the suggestion of positive, upward motion on "sollevar" (to lighten):

Example 5.14. Ifigenia "Se sollevare bramate" (II,6), mm. 16-20.

[Allegretto] 17

Ifigenia

Se sol - le - var bra - ma - te per un mo - men - to al - me - no,

Eurybates in his turn reflects on the vicissitudes of destiny. Typically for a secondary (or tertiary) character, however, *his* recitative is unaccompanied, while his stormy aria, "Chi Superbo di se stesso," is of the distant, moralizing type. It states that haughty fools are bound to meet the rigor of fate.⁵²

⁵¹ "Se sollevare bramate, / Per un momento almeno, / Da vostri affanni il core, / Che ogn'or vi geme in seno, / Anime sventurate / Me rammentate = allor. // Al mio destin tiranno / Se voi rifletterete / Vedrete, oh Dio, vedrete / Che del mio crudo affanno / Il vostro è assai minor."

⁵² "Chi Superbo di se stesso / Tutto sprezza audace e forte / Il rigor di avversa Sorte / Quindi impari a paventar. // Se la cieca e stolta Dea / Lo vuol misero ed oppresso / Il volersi è folle idea / Dal dilei furor salvar."

Example 5.15. Euribate “Chi Superbo di se stesso” (II,7), mm. 21-5.

21 [Allegro]

Corn. e Trombe

Euribate

Chi su - per - bo di se stes - so tut - to sprezz - za au - da - ce e for - te.

Violini

[Basso]

+ oboes

The eighth scene introduces a *Delizioso Giardino nel Real soggiorno, con Viali ornati di Statue, Grotteschi, Fontane* (‘Delicious garden in a royal residence with avenues embellished with statues, grotesque figures and fountains’). As can be expected from such a picturesque setting, more intimate aspects of the story will be unfolded, to begin with a conversation between Ajax and Eriphyle in which the arrogant warrior turns out to be... Eriphyle’s former lover. In fact, we learn that he eloped her to conquer the hand of Iphigenia – in vain, as we know.⁵³ Put in his proper place by Eriphyle, Ajax raises the argument that Iphigenia is to die soon, so that he will be again at her disposal. Anything but soothed, the Lesbian princess throws off the “vicious chain” that connected her to Ajax and sings an aria in ternary meter, “Restò spezzata.”⁵⁴ The piece features a thirty-eight-bar opening ritornello and a lilting vocal line. Again (*compare with Example 5.10*), we hear a gracious *soubrette*, and so, apparently, did Jommelli’s contemporaries.⁵⁵

Example 5.16. Erifile “Restò spezzata” (II,8), mm. 39-44.

[Allegro]

39

Erifile

Res - tò spezz - za - ta la re - a ca - te - na la re - a ca - te - na

⁵³ “Come potea / Tradirmi, abbandonar? Meco impegnata / Egli avea la sua fe: giurato avea / A me tutto il suo amor. Se vivo ei fosse / Fra gl’Uomini saria / Il più spergiuro indegno, / Perfido traditore, / Senza fè, senza legge, e senza onore.”

⁵⁴ “Restò spezzata / La rea catena: / Del nome appena, / Con mio tormento, / Sol mi rammento / Di quell’ ingrato / Che mi tradi. // Quando lo vidi / L’alma detesta, / L’ora funesta, / L’infausto dì.”

⁵⁵ The *relator sincero* reported: “Giuseppe [*recte* Giovanni] Belardi in figura di Erifile prigioniera di Achille rappresenta bene il suo carattere [...] cantando *con molta grazia* [my emphasis], che a tutti soddisfa.” (DELLA SETA 1980, 95).

Ajax clears the space after a few contemptuous remarks on the ‘weak sex.’⁵⁶ What follows is an encounter between Iphigenia and Achilles in which the princess apologizes for her unjust accusations (scene 10). Reluctant to invoke Achilles’s fury towards her father, however, Iphigenia leaves quickly, but is held back. In response, she performs the aria “Tacer mi conviene”⁵⁷ which like Eriphyle’s “Serbo il mio cor dolente” (*Ex. 5.10*), is treated in colorful fashion: it displays vivid dialogues between the strings, flutes, trumpets and horns (*see Appendix 5.2*).⁵⁸ Dotted rhythms, a syllabic setting and martial rhythms, convey the portrait of a heroine who suppresses her self-interest for the sake of patriotism.

Ajax amuses himself by listening to Achilles’s “M’ama il bell’Idol mio,” another amorous aria with an oboe solo and a fair number of coloraturas, but little musico-dramatic relevance.⁵⁹ On beholding Eriphyle talk with Achilles, Ajax reacts jealously with an aria on the foolishness of young lovers and the talkativeness of women.⁶⁰ His statement that “the woman’s mouth is unable to keep silent” holds true for the following scene, in which Eriphyle unveils the secret of Iphigenia’s self-sacrifice to Achilles. Fearing punishment for her indiscretion, Eriphyle begs Achilles not to betray her to Agamemnon, after which she leaves without an aria.⁶¹ It is up to Achilles to close the second act with another sample of Jommelli’s compositional imagination.⁶² The soliloquy begins with a simple recitative in which the knight accuses the King of disobedience to the ‘laws of nature’; yet, as soon as he recalls Iphigenia’s sacrifice, the strings introduce a suspenseful theme:

⁵⁶ “Facile è il debil sesso / All’odio, ed all’amor: presto ci toglie / Il cor che ci donò, presto ce’l rende. / Ma il Re ne corse al Tempio, e là mi attende.”

⁵⁷ “Tacer mi conviene, / Mi opprime il dolor. / Il pianto, le pene: / Son prove d’amor. / Ahi Sposo adorato / L’affanno mi uccide / Il barbaro fato / Da te mi divide; / Più tua non sarò. // Ma dubiti in vano... / Ma senti... Ah tacere / Io deggio l’arcano. / De Numi il volere / Fedel seguirò.” It is the first of four substituted arias in *L’Ifigenia*. The original text was a Metastasian double quatrain: “Ah mio ben se tu sapessi / Qual’affanno ascondo in seno / Dal dolor verresti meno / Piangeresti per pietà. // Senti. (ah nò). Và ti consola / Ma di questo estremo addio / Ti sovvenga almen Ben mio / Nelle tue felicità.”

⁵⁸ For a contemporary copy of this aria, transcribed without winds but containing the tempo mark ‘Moderato’ (absent from I-Nc Rari 7.8.9), see I-Nc Arie 58, ff. 81r-88r.

⁵⁹ “M’ama il bell’Idol mio / Per me sospira e geme, / Ma, oh Dio, la dolce speme / Mancar già sento in me. // Ah se’l Tiranno pensa / Deludere il mio amore, / Farò con suo rossore / Che impari a serbar te.”

⁶⁰ “Giovani amanti / Non vi fidate, / Sempre il segreto / Nel cor serbate; / Di Donna il labbro / Tacer non sà. // Finchè palese / Tutto non rese, / In seno l’anima / Si sente fremere, / Pace non ha.”

⁶¹ The following exit aria was cut in the performance: “Il colle, il pian, il mar, le piante, i sassi / I voti tuoi vorrei / Scorger pietosa al lido: / Ma temo il mar infido, / Temo di naufragar. // Parmi veder, oh Dei, / Per l’aer nero, e mesto, / Nembo crudel funesto, / Che mi fa palpar.”

⁶² The *relator* wrote: “Il 2° [act] cresce per le diverse arie buone, che vi sono, e per l’ultima scena di azione, che dà gran credito al Maestro di Cappella.” (DELLA SETA 1980, 95).

Example 5.17. Achille “E ‘l Padre istesso... dal rio periglio” (II,14), mm. 5-12.

Then follow forty-five bars of orchestral interaction in which Achilles conjures up dark visions of his beloved's fate and swears to wage war upon the perpetrators. In the ensuing aria, “Già la Vittima fatale,” he discards the amorous atmosphere of his previous numbers – as well as of the aria originally provided in this instance⁶³ – to evoke Iphigenia's pending sacrifice in striking words and sounds.⁶⁴ On perceiving a “sorrowful and mournful sound close to the altar, in the middle of the temple” (m. 21), for instance, oboes, horns and a bassoon anticipate the actual sacrificial march that will be heard in the third act (*compare with Example 5.23, mm. 7-10*).

Example 5.18. Achille “Già la Vittima fatale” (II,14), mm. 21-7.

⁶³ “All’idea del suo bel volto / Il mio cor sospira, e langue [...]”.

⁶⁴ “Già la Vittima fatale / Si prepara al crudo scempio: / Odo il suon mesto, e ferale / Presso l’Ara, in mezzo al Tempio... / Ah! mio ben, mio dolce pegno / Non temer; vedrai lo sdegno / Del mio brando fulminar. // Se crudele il Genitore / Può soffrire il tuo periglio, / Non potrà d’Achille il core / La tua morte rimirar.”

The third act begins in identical fashion as the former two: with a royal conversation in a palatial space (*Gran Sala destinata alle pubbliche udienze; ed a' Consigli di Guerra. Trono da un lato, e sedili*). Agamemnon insists to see Achilles so that he can inform him that Iphigenia's sacrifice is prescribed by heaven. Achilles for his part seeks to talk the King into rescuing his daughter, but irritates him to such extent that Agamemnon sings a fierce aria, "Superbo, ancor non cedi?"⁶⁵ The references to 'haughtiness' (*superbia*) in the text inspired Jommelli to rehearse the stormy idiom of Eurybates's "Chi *Superbo* di se stesso" (see *Example 5.15*) – hence the D Major key, Allegro tempo, common time, and active oboes, trumpets and horns. In its omission of the long opening ritornello and deployment of a more declamatory idiom, however, the aria constitutes more of an emotionally involved expression of anger rather than a neutral, distanced reflection. While Eurybates takes the time – twenty bars, to be precise – to strike his pose, Agamemnon cannot wait more than three bars to spit out his inner thoughts.

Example 5.19. Agamennone "Superbo, ancor non cedi?" (III,1), mm. 1-6.

Allegro con spirito

Oboè
Trombe
Corni

Agamennone

Violino I

Violino II

Viola
[Basso]

Su-per-bo, su-per-bo, an-cor non ce-di?

Unwilling to give up his beloved, Achilles orders Eurybates to prepare a boat for him so that he can escape with Iphigenia. As both princesses arrive, the warrior vents his anger about Agamemnon's stubbornness. Although the passage is set in simple recitative, he makes a journey through the circle of fifths, moving into such distant fields as G flat and D flat/C sharp Major:

⁶⁵ "Superbo, ancor non cedi? / Io così voglio, e taci. / Que' sensi contumaci / M'empiono di furor. // (Figlia tu forse credi, / Che teco io sia severo; / Ma Figlia non è vero. / Ah, Mi vedessi il cor.)".

Example 5.20. Achille “Nume d’Amor... io non intendo.” (III,3), mm. 29-36.

Achille

29

Le mie pre - ghie-re re - se va-ne il cru - del: E al-fin, in ve-ce a pro d'u-na sua Fi-glia di ren-der-si pie-

[Basso]

b₆ +4 b₆

32

to-so dis-cac-ciom-mi se - ve-ro, ed or-go-glio-so. Ah, non s'in-du-gi più: vie-ni, t'af-fret-ta, vie-ni me-co mio ben

+4

In Fénelonian fashion (see Chapter Four), Iphigenia dismisses Achilles's *molli accenti* and persuades him not to carry out his emergency plan. Achilles thus resumes his amorous pose and performs a variation on “L’adorato mio Tesoro” (*compare with Example 5.4*).⁶⁶

Example 5.21. Achille “In prova del mio amore” (III,3), mm. 39-46.

Achille

39 [Andante]

In pro - va del mio a - mo - re chie-di-mi, o ca - ra, o ca - ra il san-gue

In what follows next, Iphigenia begs her former rival farewell while Eriphyle argues that her sadness over Iphigenia's fate will kill herself as well – a correct prophecy, as will be seen. She promises Iphigenia to meet again in the “dark wave” of the Styx in an utterly moving aria, “Pria, che nell’ore estreme” (*see Appendix 5.3*),⁶⁷ the words of which (“Before the frost of death captures you in the final hours, before merciless fate unites us, embrace me, my dear, as a token of your love”) are conveyed through a ravishing melody with a genuinely symphonic accompaniment: the second violins play an undulating ostinato in sextuplets, the bass is muted on the first and third beats, and pairs of oboes and horns fill up the harmony as well as add a touch of pastoral airiness through sustained chords.

Abandoned by all, Iphigenia has no energy left to sing and leaves the scene without an aria.⁶⁸ Ajax celebrates his victory:

⁶⁶ “In prova del mio amore / Chiedimi, o cara, il sangue / Tutto al tuo piè, dal core, / Cara lo verserò. // Ma, ch’io ti lasci, oh Dei! / Correr’io in braccio a morte / Perdonami; sì forte / In petto il cor non hò.”

⁶⁷ The aria constitutes an improvement over the obsolete text: “Pria, che di notte oscura / Ne ingombri eterno velo, / Pria, che di morte il gelo / Ne agghiacci in seno il cor, / In pegno del tuo amor / Dammi un amplesso. // Di Lete all’onda appresso / A te lo renderò.”

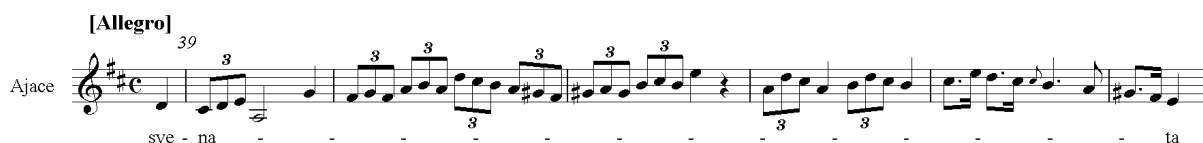
⁶⁸ The following two scenes (5 and 6) are missing from the autograph (B-Bc 2182) but present in I-Nc 7.8.9, ff. 168r-178r.

AJACE
 Vanne crudel, vanne a pagare il fio
 Del mio schernito amor: Sull'orme tue
 Vengo ancor io, per appagar la sete,
 Ch'ha il mio cor del tuo Sangue.
 Alfin godrò de' miei disegni il frutto,
 Fra il pianto universal con ciglio asciutto.

Al suolo svenata
 Cadrà quella perfida,
 Quell'anima ingrata,
 Che amor mi negò.
 Più dolce di questa
 Vendetta funesta,
 Contento quest'anima
 Giammai non provò.

“Al suolo svenata” again confirms the idea that Jommelli connoted haughtiness with Allegro, D Major, common time, pompous motives and wind accompaniments (*compare with Examples 5.7, 5.15 and 5.19*), as well as that he systematically assigned longer ritornelli – twenty-five bars in this case – to distanced, less involved reflections (*compare with Example 5.19*). The setting of “svenata” (slain), with its multiple coloraturas, furthermore represents an apex in the portrayal of the ruthless, bloodthirsty villain:

Example 5.22. Ajace “Al suolo svenata” (III,6), mm. 39-44.



The seventh scene displays the coast with part of the Greek camp, people on the shore preparing the funeral pyre, and the altar with Diana’s simulacrum and vases containing perfumes (*Lido del Mare con veduta di una parte dell’Accampamento Greco. Gente sul medesimo Lido occupata in preparare il Rogo, e l’Ara col Simulacro di Diana, e vasi di profumi sulla medesima*). Eurybates has prepared a boat for Achilles, but unhappily, he expected the sacrifice to take place in the temple, rather than close to the sea. Ajax explains that the actual location has been thus chosen so that the fulfilment of the oracle can be immediately observed. On Eurybates’s exit, a ‘lugubrious symphony’ is heard on the sound of which royal guards close order near the harbor and servants proceed to the sacrifice carrying a double axe, blindfold and urn.⁶⁹ Iphigenia appears last, dressed in white cloth, crowned with flowers and escorted by a large retinue of ladies-in-waiting and pages.

⁶⁹ “Si ode lugubre Sinfonia, al cui suono si avanzano le Guardie Reali, che si squadronano verso il Porto. Vengono dopo, i Ministri del Sacrificio, chi colla Bipenne, chi conlla [sic] Benda, chi coll’Urna, che dee poi

Example 5.23. Marcia (III,8), mm. 1-11.

Larghetto

Oboè
Corni
Violino I
Violino II
Viola
[Basso]

Iphigenia lays her fate in the hands of Diana’s servants, but Achilles rushes in with his comrades to cancel the ceremony and to invite Iphigenia to follow him. Ajax, chased away together with the servants, returns with Agamemnon and his guards, which results in some verbal and physical violence, until Iphigenia snatches Achilles’s sword to defend her father (“Ah! scelerato / A me quel ferro. Ardisci il Genitore / Ancora d’insultar?”). Unable to resist the pressure of paternal love, Agamemnon’s royal façade collapses in front of all:

AGAMENNONE
 Oh Dio! Non più: tacete:
 Che immenso voi rendete
 L’acerbo mio dolor. I suoi trasporti *a Ifig.*
 A lui per te condono. Il Ciel volesse,
 Ch’io potessi così dal Fato estremo
 Te liberare ancor; ma non lo posso,
 Figlia, per mia sventura. Un Nume irato
 Vuol la tua morte: Il comun bene esige
 Il tuo sangue da me. S’io ti salvassi,
 Ah, diverrebbe allor la Patria illustre
 L’opprobrio universal. D’Ifigenia
 Fora la rimembranza in ogni etade
 Delle Greche Donzelle
 La vergogna, il rossor. Ed io sarei
 Degl’Uomini il ludibrio, e degli Dei.

servire per racorre le Ceneri della Vittima. Vien finalmente Ifigenia in bianca veste, coronata di fiori, con numeroso corteggio di Damigelle e Paggi.”

Iphigenia, still under the spell of *la patria*, rejects her father's pleas in an elaborate address which the 'second poet' prolonged from thirty to forty-three lines and intensified in content. In the definitive version, the fall of Troy is connoted with the first drop of blood escaping from Iphigenia's veins (ll. 25-8), as well as with the flames of the pyre illuminating the sky (ll. 28-31):

	Definitive lyrics	Obsolete lyrics	
	IFIGENIA	IFIGENIA	
	Nò, caro Genitor: L'età future	Nò, caro Genitor: L'età future	
	Sapran che Ifigenia fu degna Figlia	Sapran che Ifigenia fu degna Figlia	
	Della Grecia, e di Te.	Della Grecia, e di Te.	
	La Patria, il Mondo	No, del mio fato	
5	Sapranno, che il mio sangue	Non sento alcun'orror. Tema la morte	5
	Tolse quanto di orribile, e funesto	Quell'alma vil, che ignora	
	Minacciava il Destin...	Della gloria il sentier. Vissi abbastanza,	
	Ahi Padre... Ahi Sposo...	Se gloriosa io moro	
	Deh non cedete, oh Dio!	Per la Patria morendo.	
10	All'affanno, al dolor. Ordina il Cielo,		
	Ch'io mora; e che voi siate		
	Felici al mio morir... Padre quel pianto (<i>ad Ag.</i>		
	Inutile raffrena; e ti sovvenga,		
	Che a te scema la forza, e a me il coraggio		
15	Pensa, che forte e saggio		
	Tu sempre fosti: Or di costanza armato		
	Cedi alle Stelle, ed ubidisci al Fato...		
	Caro Sposo rammenta, <i>ad Ach.</i>		
	Che in questo dì fatale		
20	Va congiunta la tua con la mia gloria.		
	Deh per l'ultima volta		
	Dammi l'ultimo addio... Ohimè! Richiama		
	Nel tuo cor generoso		
	La primiera virtù. Va pur, trionfa,		
25	Adopra il tuo valor... Ecco, che appena		
	Esce dalle mie vene		
	La prima stilla del mio sangue; al suolo		
	Cade Troja superba... Ecco, che in alto		
	S'erge appena il dolente		
30	Rogo tetro, e feral; che l'aria oscura		
	Di splendor si riveste... In grembo al mare		
	Biancheggiano le spume,		
	Si desta il vento, ed è placato il Nume.		
	Su si adempia il destin. Olà Ministri	Olà Ministri (<i>s'accende il Rogo.</i>	10
35	Suscitate la fiamma.	Suscitate la fiamma, e si compisca	
		Il Sacrificio alfin.	
		ACHILLE	
		Addio mio bene,	
		Resister più non posso. (<i>in atto di partire</i>)	
		IFIGENIA	
		Ah ferma, o caro; (<i>lo trattiene</i>	15
		Per pochi altri momenti	
		Deh non mi abbandonar. Dammi l'estremo	
		Pegno dell'amor tuo	
		L'ultimo a me rendendo	

		Officio di pietà. Con quella mano, Che stringer'io dovea tua fida Sposa Quando estinta sarò, chiudi i miei lumi!	20
		ACHILLE Che barbaro dolor! soccorso o Numi. ⁷⁰	
	ACHILLE Ahi Sposa!	AGAMENNONE Ah Figlia...	
	AGAMENNONE Ahi Figlia!	ACHILLE Ah Sposa amata	25
40	IFIGENIA Questi vani sospiri Cessino per pietà. La mia costanza Nova forza, e virtù vi desti in seno... Di Genitor, di Sposo Ogni tenero amor vada in oblio. Vendicate la Patria, e il sangue mio.	IFIGENIA Questi congedi estremi Tronchiamo per pietà. Lieti vivete Serbatevi alla gloria, Vendicate la Patria, e paghi il fio La Ruina di Troja del sangue mio.	30

Whether or not Jommelli had his hand in the modification remains to be seen. What is certain, though, is that it provided him with a welcome opportunity to exemplify his mastery over the obbligato recitative (*see Appendix 5.4*).⁷¹ Iphigenia's appeal to her father and future spouse (l. 8 / mm. 1-3), for example, is preceded by an elegant theme in Larghetto and E flat Major – the pace and key of Eriphyle's "Pria, che nell'ore estreme" (*compare with Appendix 5.3*). Her request to Agamemnon to moderate his sobbing (ll. 9-10 / mm. 10-2 and 16-8) corresponds with imitative gestures in the violins and continuo, contrasted with a syncopated pedal note in the viola, the whole of which is dynamically enforced (*rinforzando*). Iphigenia's address to Achilles (ll. 18-20) corresponds with a vivid theme in B flat and F Major (mm. 24-37), her begging for an "ultimate adieu" (l. 22) with a falling minor sixth and a rising semitone (mm. 40-1 and 51-2), both of which are modified (mm. 53-4) in favor of modulations from c to f minor, and interspersed with a triumphal motif in Allegro (mm. 44-50). Most impressive, finally, is the moment on which a massive orchestral crescendo evokes the flaming pyre, effervescing sea and return of the winds (ll. 28-34 / mm. 59-66).

⁷⁰ This line is erroneously assigned to Agamemnon in the libretto.

⁷¹ See the remark by the *relator sincero*: "Il 3° [act] è comportabile per la 9ª scena, che è forte, e ben accompagnata dagli stromenti." (DELLA SETA 1980, 95).

Iphigenia's ensuing aria, "Cedi oh Dio," was equally substituted. Perhaps the 'second author' deemed it opportune to sustain the declamatory atmosphere and 'virtue' of Iphigenia's recitative, because of which he added phrases like "Va fastosa a trionfar" ("goes to triumph opulently") and "Lieta corre in braccio a morte" ("Happily I run into the arms of death"), both of which lay heavier claims on patriotism and bravery than, for example, "Non resisto al rio dolor" ("I do not resist the wicked sadness").

Definitive lyrics

Cedi oh Dio... (*ad Ach.*) Tergi le ciglia
 (*ad Ag.*)
 Ah! che il cor mi trafigete...
 La tua Sposa... (*ad Ach.*) La tua Figlia...
 (*ad Agam.*)
 No, non varca il nero Lete;
 Ma fra l'alme più felici
 Va fastosa a trionfar.
 Lieta corre in braccio a morte
 Per placare il vento irato.
 Va contenta di sua sorte
 L'aure eterne a respirar.

Obsolete lyrics

Padre Addio: Ti lascio o caro (*ad Ach.*)
 Vado a morte... Aime, piangete!
 Deh quel pianto nascendete
 Nascondete alle mie ciglia:
 Son tua Sposa, (*ad Ach.*) son tua Figlia (*ad Ag.*)
 Non resisto al rio dolor.
 Da voi parto, è ver, ma quando
 Chiuse avrò le luci al giorno,
 Ombra ancor verrovvi intorno
 Regionando al vostro Cor.
 (*Dopo l'ultima replica della prima parte, Euribate
 l'interrompe dopo quelle parole*)
 Son tua Sposa...

In the absence of a setting for the original text, we are not to assess the musical effects of these alterations, but what can be learnt from the score is that Jommelli suggested Iphigenia's hectic situation through interactive violin and bass parts:

Example 5.24. Ifigenia "Cedi oh Dio..." (III,9), mm. 1-4.

[Senza tempo]

Ifigenia

Ce - di oh Di - o...

Violino I

Piano sempre

Violino II

Viola [Basso]

Piano sempre

Neither to be missed are Iphigenia's triumphal shouts:

Example 5.25. Id., mm. 29-32.

[Senza tempo]

27

Oboe

Corni

Ifigenia

Violini

[divisi] Viola

[Basso]

f *p*

In the tenth and last scene, Eurybates rushes in, gasping for air, to declare that Diana demands the life of “another Iphigenia.” Eriphyle in her turn storms onto the shore under the violent sound of an orchestral tempest:

Example 5.26. Erifile “Ministri... io fui l’oggetto” (III,11), mm. 1-3.

Allegro assai

(etc.)

[Violin 1]

[Violin 2]

[Viola]
[Basso]

She presents herself to the stunned crowd as the ‘other Iphigenia’ and curses her cruel fate. From her obbligato recitative emerges an *arietta*, “Ma qual’è il fallo mio,” which counts no more than fourteen bars and abounds in motivic and dynamic contrasts:⁷²

⁷² “Ma qual’è il fallo mio? / Numi, che crudeltà! // Come un Destin sì rio / Non desta in voi pietà?”

Example 5.27. Id., mm. 22-3 and “Ma qual’è il fallo mio?”, mm. 1-5.

The musical score for Example 5.27 is presented in three staves. The top staff is for the vocal part, Eriphyle, in treble clef. The middle staff is for the Violini, in treble clef. The bottom staff is for the Viola and Basso, in bass clef. The time signature is 2/4, and the tempo is marked 'Larghetto'. The vocal line includes the lyrics: 'Ab-ba-stan-za fin' or io fui l'og-get-to. Ma ma qua-le è il fal-lo mi-o?'. The instrumental accompaniment features a piano section and a rinforzando section. The score is marked with 'Segue subito' and 'piano assai'.

None of the characters can prevent Eriphyle from ending her life herself by jumping into the sea. All stay meekly behind and watch the gruesome spectacle, with the exception of Ajax, who does not want to recognize his defeat and leaves. The remaining characters wipe off their tears and join in a *tutti*, “Deh tergi omai le lagrime.”⁷³

Horizontal-synchronic reading

There can be little doubt about the expertise of Jommelli and his poet(s). The libretto reveals, as Marita McClymonds has noted, a “definite tendency to amplify the horrifying aspects of the plot.”⁷⁴ This is accomplished through a concentration of aural-visual coups in such awe-inspiring scenes as Iphigenia’s sacrificial march (III,8) and Eriphyle’s suicide (III,11). Jommelli’s score, on the other hand, displays cutting-edge techniques like thematic differentiation (*see Examples 5.11-13 and 5.17*), asymmetrical phrasing (5.2), dynamic gradation (5.3, 5.5, 5.17), timbral stratification (5.3, 5.11),⁷⁵ extended deployment of the winds (*see Table 5.1*), and the insertion of declamatory, recitativic episodes in arias (5.5, 5.19, 5.27). To be sure, the composer held dear to the ideals of the galant style, providing his singers with a preponderance of *cantabile* (5.4, 5.7, 5.10, 5.14, 5.15, 5.16, 5.21) and moments of sheer virtuosity (5.22), as well as favoring major keys with restricted numbers of accidentals and moderate paces between *Larghetto* and *Allegro*. Nonetheless, several numbers (5.6, 5.11-13, 5.17, 5.18, 5.23) reveal a certain ‘ecclesiastical graveness’ that contemporaries

⁷³ “ACH. Deh tergi omai le lagrime / Mio caro amato bene. AGA. Dopo si amare pene / Figlia deh non più piangere. / TUTTI. E’ già sparito il fulmine. / Il Ciel già si placò. IFIG. Caro in te sol la calma (*ad Achille* / Spera trovar quest’alma, / Che ancor trovar non può. TUTTI. E’ già sparito [...] AGA & EUR. Lieto Imenèò discenda / E unisca i vostri cuori. IFIG. & ACH. Ah le nostr’alme accenda / Di dolci, e casti amori; / Ch’altro bramar non sò. TUTTI. E’ già sparito [...]”.

⁷⁴ McClymonds 1982, 101.

⁷⁵ Meant here is the layering of various, independent orchestral voices on top of each other.

may have found inappropriate for opera and which Jommelli himself ascribed to his recent lessons with Padre Martini and activities as *maestro* to San Pietro cathedral.⁷⁶

Also noteworthy about Jommelli's score is its large-scale tonal planning as revealed through the "technique of alternating either closely related keys, or the same keys within an act or scene group."⁷⁷ The overall framework of the opera (*see table 5.1*) circles around D Major, the key of the overture and closing Tutti in addition to five arias (nos. 5, 13, 15, 20 and 23). In Acts I and III, D Major and its relatives, A and G Major, are furthermore 'symmetrically interlocked' in that they are linked to each other and alternated by more distant keys with flats:⁷⁸

Act I: D/A/D	A	G		D	G		G	C ⁷⁹
				B flat		[flat?] ⁸⁰		
Act III: D	A		D				G	D
	E flat		E flat	E flat	E flat		F	

Act II, by contrast, reveals an 'arch form' whereby the constellation of F Major – with C and B flat Major, and its minor relative, g – is mirrored across the act and interpolated by a D Major episode:⁸¹

F						F	F
	B flat	g		C	B flat		
			D	G	D		

More parameters than formal articulation should of course be considered when analyzing Jommelli's deployment of keys. First, there were the technical limitations of eighteenth-century wind instruments which dictated a substantial number of choices. Telling from this respect is the consistency with which D Major appears together with trumpet (nos. 1, 5, 13, 15, 20, 23 and 29) and horn accompaniments (nos. 1, 5, 13, 20 and 29), or with which keys featuring two or more accidentals call for strings alone (nos. 2, 4, 11, 12 and 17).

⁷⁶ See MATTEI 1987, 84, where he reported that "Or egli [Jommelli] confessava, che si era così immerso nel [17]50. in questi studi gravi e severi, che dovendo nel [17]51. scriver l'*Infigenia* [sic] per [Teatro] Argentina, si trovò così intorpidita la sua fantasia teatrale, che non sapea più produrre un motivo brillante, un espressione gaja, ma sentivasi sempre trasportato ad una certa Ecclesiastica gravità." The correspondence between Padre Martini and Girolamo Chiti in the 1740s and 1750s in effect reveals some fuzz about the issue whether Jommelli could adapt his theatrical style to the Church, and vice versa. See SCHNOEBELEN 1979, 181 (no. 1478), where Chiti calls Jommelli the 'second Pier Luigi [Palestrina] of the Vatican' though adds that the church is not the theater; 183 (no. 1497), where he hopes that Jommelli will adapt his style to the Vatican; 196 (no. 1576), where he reports that the 'theatrical Jommelli' messed up the Vatican chapel.

⁷⁷ McClymonds 1980, 299. On the functions of tonality in Jommelli's operas, see Eadem, 275-302.

⁷⁸ A comparable example is the first act of *Achille in Sciro* (Vienna, 1749): D/G/D A D E flat D C G E flat G.

⁷⁹ On the C Major key of Eriphyle's "Serbo il mio cor dolente," see below.

⁸⁰ See n. 46.

⁸¹ McClymonds 1980, 300-1.

Equally noteworthy is the fact that all numbers in E flat call for horns in *elafà*, a tuning obtained in Jommelli's day through the use of a two-coil crook.⁸²

Table 5.1. Schematic overview of Jommelli's score.

1	Sinf.	Ob, trp, hrn ⁸³	4/4 – 3/8	D	(A)	Con spirito - [Andante] - Allegro di molto
2	I,1	Eur. Strings only	4/4		A	Allegro moderato
3	I,2	Ach. Ob, hrn	3/8 – 4/4		G	Andante – Allegro
4	I,5	Aga. Strings only	4/4 – 2/4		B flat	Andante
5	I,6	Aja. Ob, trp, hrn	3/8	D		Moderato
6	I,8	Ifi. Ob, hrn	2/4 – 3/8		G	[senza tempo]
7	I,9	Ach. ⁸⁴				
8	<i>I,10</i>	<i>Eri. Strings only</i>	<i>4/4</i>		G	<i>Allegretto – Larghetto</i>
9	Eri.	Ob, trp, hrn	3/4	C		Andante
10	II,4	Aga. Ob, hrn	6/8		F	Larghetto
11	II,6	<i>Ifi. Strings only</i>	<i>4/4</i>		B flat	<i>[senza tempo] – Un poco Andante</i>
12	Ifi.	Strings only	4/4		g	Allegretto
13	II,7	Eur. Ob, trp, hrn	4/4	D		Allegro
14	II,8	Eri. Ob, hrn	6/8		G	Allegro
15	II,10	Ifi. Fl, trp, hrn	2/4	D		[Moderato]
16	II,11	Ach. Ob solo	4/4	C		Un poco Andante
17	II,12	Aja. Strings only	3/4		B flat	Allegro
18	II,13	<i>Ach. Strings only</i>	<i>4/4</i>		F	<i>[senza tempo] – Andante</i>
19	Ach.	Ob, hrn, bsn	4/4		F	Allegro
20	III,1	Aga. Ob, trp, hrn	4/4 – 3/4	D		Allegro – Larghetto
21	III,3	Ach. Strings only	3/8		A	Andante
22	III,4	Eri. Ob, hrn	4/4 – 3/8	Es		Larghetto – Andante
23	III,6	Aja. Ob, trp	4/4	D		Allegro
24	III,8	Mar. Ob, hrn	2/2	Es		Larghetto
25	III,9	<i>Ifi. Ob, hrn</i>	<i>4/4</i>	Es		Andante – Larghetto – Allegro – Con spirito
26	Ifi.	<i>Ob, hrn</i>	<i>2/4 – 3/8</i>	Es		[senza tempo]
27	III,11	<i>Eri. Strings only</i>	<i>4/4</i>		G	Allegro assai
28	Eri.	Strings only	4/4		F	Larghetto
29	Tut.	Ob, trp, hrn	3/8	D		[senza tempo]

Numbers in *italics* = accompanied recitatives.

In addition, there are the relationships between key and other parameters like tempo and meter, testifying to compound parametric units. Both C Major arias (nos. 9 and 16) are for instance in Andante, while most D Major numbers are either in Allegro coupled with common time (nos. 1, 13, 20, 23), or Moderato (nos. 5 and 15). Three out of four E flat Major pieces, finally, involve Larghetto and binary meters (nos. 22, 24 and 25). Third and last, there is the correspondence between musical and semantic-affective registers. As has been explained, anger about haughtiness for instance correlates with D Major, Allegro, common time and

⁸² DE BROSSES 1858, II, 380, regarded the use of E flat Major as a unique feature of opera seria, writing: “Ils [Italians] ont de très-beaux tons dont nous ne faisons guère d’usage; un entre autres en *mi* majeur à trois *bémols*, qu’ils appellent *Re-la-fa* [sic], d’une beauté et d’une noblesse singulière.”

⁸³ String accompaniment is standard to *L’Ifigenia* and mid-eighteenth-century operatic practice in general.

⁸⁴ See n. 46.

orchestral pomp (nos. 13, 20, 23); grief about the vicissitudes of destiny with B flat Major and sparser accompaniments (nos. 4, 11, 12);⁸⁵ and imminent death with E flat Major, oboes and horns (nos. 22, 24, 25, 26).⁸⁶

On the basis of these features, one is tempted to break up the opera into various *gross constitutive units* (see above) that can be paralleled to other readings of the Iphigenia at Aulis myth. The most plausible way to do so would consist in distinguishing the various characters or ‘voices.’ Let us begin with **Agamemnon**. From the very beginning, Agamemnon vacillates between his paternal self and his public role as commander-in-chief to the Greeks. His ambiguous attitude already prevails in Euripides’s tragedy, which has him initially accept the sacrifice and the deployment of a deceptive letter to spur his daughter, not to stay away from Aulis, though rather to make haste with the voyage. On the other hand, Euripides has him dispute the legitimacy of the Trojan War and try his utmost to rescue his daughter. Pantelis Michelakis strikes a point when wondering “how convincing” this “transformation” is

from an opportunist politician to a loving father? From a father determined to save his daughter to a leader persuaded that the sacrifice is inevitable, and that he is in no position to avert it? Is he a realist or a fatalist? The [Euripides’s] play leaves these questions unresolved.⁸⁷

Racine envisaged Agamemnon as a ‘marital despot’ who deceives his wife, daughter and future son-in-law to uphold his *gloire* amidst the passions.⁸⁸ At the same time, though, his Agamemnon too is a puppet of conflicting powers that are personified by Iphigenia’s mother Clytemnestra (paternal love) and Ulysses (the Greek cause).

Somewhat the same ambivalence characterizes Jommelli’s Agamemnon. Not by chance, the operatic version interrupts various of his utterances by *Oh (Dio)*, *Ah* or *Aimè*, repeatedly begs Ajax for advice and assistance,⁸⁹ and makes self-pitying allusions to the price of glory and destiny.⁹⁰ Even his anger about Achilles’s stubbornness, in “Superbo, ancor non cedi,” is contrasted with an apologetic B section toward his daughter *in absentia*:

(Figlia, tu forse credi,
Che teco io sia severo;
Ma Figlia non è vero.
Ah, mi vedessi il cor.)

⁸⁵ See McClymonds 1980, 280, where it is observed that “Arias in B flat are often coupled with profoundly negative situations, ones so hopeless, impossible, and unbearable that death seems the only alternative.”

⁸⁶ The twelve numbers in flat keys of *L’Ifigenia* offer an exception to the ‘rule,’ as established by Eadem, 299, that “In [Jommelli’s] operas before 1760, flat keys make up only a quarter to a third of the total.”

⁸⁷ Michelakis 2006, 34.

⁸⁸ Geoffrey 1819, 100; Gliksohn 1985, 92.

⁸⁹ “Tu dimmi, oh Dio, / Senza affliggermi più, che far degg’io. / In questo amaro stato / Di Padre sventurato, / E d’infelice Rè, tu mi consiglia.” (I,3); “In sì grand’Opera [sacrifice] / Deh non mi abbandonar.” (II,1).

⁹⁰ For example in “Ma dovrò veder esangue”: “Dite pur, se mai vedeste / Più infelice Genitor.”

The same weakness prevails in Agamemnon's lyrical reflections. "Ma dovrò veder esangue" and "Figlia, qualor ti more" are tellingly set in B flat and F Major, flat keys connoted with *mollezza* (see Chapter Four). The exception offered by the D Major of "Superbo, ancor non cedi?" is merely superficial, its B section being set in d minor (one flat), rather than the sharp subdominant (G Major), dominant (A Major) or relative minor (b minor). Moreover, Agamemnon is incapable of performing a full Allegro: the tempi of his arias are Andante (no. 4), Larghetto (no. 10), and Allegro-Larghetto (no. 20). His inner self is in a continuous state of agitation, as made clear through lacking introductory ritornelli, declamatory vocal lines and wide intervals. Quite naturally, these traits may also be seen as portrayals of the original performer, Letterio (or Litterio) Ferrari,⁹¹ still they leave the image of a man who lacks power and self-control.

Plate 5.1. Pier Leone Ghezzi *Il bravo tenore che cantò nel Teatro di Aliberti nell'anno 1752* (probably Letterio Ferrari).⁹²



⁹¹ About Ferrari, the *relator sincero* reported that the singer had "poca voce" (DELLA SETA 1980, 88), but also that "Egli canta le arie di maggiore strepito, obbligate dalla forza del Dramma, che lo porta ad una grande agitazione per dover condannare a morte la propria Figlia." (Ibid., 95).

⁹² Reproduced from ROSTIROLLA 2001, 236 (no. 317).

Although **Eurybates** is Racine's invention, the confidant resembles Euripides's old attendant (or slave) in that his dramatic function consists in learning from others about impending incidents⁹³ and in informing the others of things due to happen (or wished for).⁹⁴ Serving both Agamemnon, Iphigenia and Achilles as confidant, Eurybates is somehow positioned on the side of the spectator, whose emotions he incessantly voices. Thus he addresses Agamemnon in most tearful fashion ("Di calde amare lagrime / Sento inondar le ciglia. / Deh, rifletti Signor, ch'Ella è tua Figlia."), gets involved as the moralist applauding Iphigenia's virtue and bewailing her destiny ("Anima grande! Empio destin!" – II,7), or dismisses the haughtiness of those who fail to recognize the power of fate (no. 13).

Ajax could have been easily described as the personification of the *raison d'état* which safeguards Agamemnon's absolute power from indecisiveness, if only he had been present in the plays of Euripides and Racine. In the former, it is Menelaus, Agamemnon's jealous brother and Helen's scorned husband, who – after a long quarrel – spurs Agamemnon to seal Iphigenia's fate, though in the end yields to familial affection. Racine avoided the indecorous instances caused by two fighting brothers and replaced the ambiguous Menelaus by Ulysses, a more straightforward representative of the Greeks' vengeful voice.⁹⁵ Jommelli's librettist(s), on the other hand, incorporated elements of the Euripidean Menelaus, depicting Ajax as a treacherous warrior whose *schernito amor* inspires expressions of revenge (nos. 5 and 23), jealousy, and disdain (no. 17). In musical terms, his part is notated in alto clef even though it was performed by a soprano, Giuseppe 'Gioseppino' Guspelt(i), who must have been a great actor, given the enormous opening ritornelli (fifty-two bars in no. 5, thirty-two in no. 17, twenty-five in no. 23) he was to fill up with gestures, as well as the virtuosity and display with which he intimidates Agamemnon (see *Examples 5.7 and 5.22*).

⁹³ In Act I scene 1, for instance, it is Eurybates (rather than Arcas, as in Racine's version) who learns about the oracle from Agamemnon.

⁹⁴ E.g. "Già in Aulide Signor [Agamemnon] giunta à tua Figlia. [...] Signor, qual deggio / Risposta a lei [Iphigenia] recar?" (I,4); "Signor tua Figlia / Impaziente a te chiede l'ingresso." (II,2).

⁹⁵ GEOFFROY 1819, 92, offers another hypothesis for the substitution of Menelaus by Ulysses: "Un mari, tel que Ménélas, eût été ridicule sur la scène française, où l'infidélité conjugale est toujours comique; mais chez les Athéniens, qui n'y voyaient pas le plus petit mot pour rire, ce même Ménélas était dans la tragédie d'*Iphigénie* un personnage plus intéressant qu'Ulysse, et surtout plus intéressé à l'action. Racine, comme français, a bien fait de préférer Ulysse; mais Euripide, comme français, a eu raison de choisir Ménélas."

Plate 5.2. Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Signor Gioseppino* (17 July 1742).⁹⁶



Typical for Roman all-male casts (see also Chapter Four), **Iphigenia** was sung by another ‘Giuseppino,’ Giuseppe Ricciarelli, whose demanding part undergoes a spectacular metamorphosis. In Act I scene 7, Iphigenia appears as an ill-fated virgin, chaperoned by damsels and living within intimate galleries and apartments. By Act III scene 9, however, she delivers a patriotic speech to the Greek *popolo* near the seacoast.⁹⁷ Jommelli’s Iphigenia thus outperforms her Euripidean and Racinian counterparts. Being isolated from the rest of the cast, she lacks the protection and comfort of a mother, and instead represents a mature noblelady who teaches Achilles lessons in love (no. 6), reacts stoically to her martyrship (nos. 12 and 15), and begs her father and lover not to shed tears over her death (nos. 25 and 26). Her musical role is equally versatile, to say the least. It explores both the sharp (nos. 6 and 15) and flat regions (nos. 12 and 26) of the tonal spectrum, both moderate (nos. 12 and 15) and faster tempi (no. 25), and both restrained (no. 12) as more opulent (nos. 15 and 25) accompaniments. Considerable space, finally, was provided for Ricciarelli’s interpretation, two numbers (6 and 26) lacking prescribed tempo.

⁹⁶ ROSTIROLLA 2001, 200 (no. 242). The subscript reads: “Signor Gioseppino musico soprano che canta nella chiesa del Gesù di Roma, et anche canta nella mia accademia; il medesimo è un bonissimo figliolo, il quale è tutto contrario al ceto della canaglia virtuosa, fatto da me cav. Ghezzi il dì 17 luglio 1742.”

⁹⁷ The *relator sincero* wrote that Iphigenia was “prima amante, poi gelosa, ed infine ripiena di coraggio e di eroismo nell’andare al Sacrifizio.” (DELLA SETA 1980, 95).

Plate 5.3. Pier Leone Ghezzi *Giuseppino figlio della mammana, che cantò al Capranica l'anno 1742, fatto da me cav. Ghezzi il dì 24 gennaio 1742.*⁹⁸



And yet, Iphigenia's *prima donna* status is contested on quantitative grounds by **Eriphyle**'s contribution, which counts four arias and two accompagnati, originally performed by the soprano Giovanni Belardi.⁹⁹ Racine had unearthed the maiden from Greek legend in order to create a figure who "mérite en quelque façon d'être punie, sans être pourtant tout à fait indigne de compassion."¹⁰⁰ The fruit of an illegitimate relationship between Theseus and Helen, Eriphyle is even more abandoned than Iphigenia, lacks perspectives and as such offers a paradigm of human suffering. Moreover, the whole misunderstanding on which Iphigenia's tragedy rests, the misinterpreted oracle, comes at the cost of this *être refusé*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ ROSTIROLLA 2001, 197 (no. 237). The *relator sincero* found Ricciarelli's performance "soffribile," moreover: "Stupireste il vedere la sua vivezza, quando esprime le passioni, di cui molto ben si veste; [...]". However: "non finisce, perché ritiene in alcune parole l'uso dell'urlo, non sa perfettamente intonare, e carica bestialmente l'azione." (DELLA SETA 1980, 95).

⁹⁹ The odd equality between her part and Iphigenia's is explainable in the light of Barthes's idea that both princesses constitute symmetrical opposites: "Liée à Eriphile par une similitude de situation, Iphigénie en est le contraire symétrique: Eriphile n'est rien, Iphigénie a tout; fille d'Agamemnon, elle participe comme lui au monde de l'Avoir total; elle est pourvue de parents glorieux, d'alliés innombrables, d'un amant dévoué; elle a la vertu, la séduction, la pureté." (BARTHES 1993, I, 1060).

¹⁰⁰ RACINE 1962, 225.

¹⁰¹ BARTHES 1993, I, 1059-60: "[...] cet être refusé [Eriphyle] est peut-être aussi le seul être libre du théâtre racinien: elle meurt *pour rien*, sans alibi d'aucune sorte."

Not by chance, Eriphyle is the first character to confine her distress to heaven in an *accompagnato* (no. 8). Her first aria, “Serbo il mio cor dolente,” in which she juxtaposes her innocence (“Sempre innocente in seno”) and “Destin così tiranno,” does not merely round off the first act, it also helps – through its key of C Major – to shift the tonal center from D to F Major (*see Table 5.1*). Her following contribution, “Restò spezzata,” shows her in a more courageous mood, throwing off the amorous chains with Ajax. So far Eriphyle’s galant image. In “Pria, che nell’ore estreme” (no. 22), she commiserates Iphigenia’s sacrifice and announces the E flat atmosphere of the sacrifice. Her last performance, the miniature aria “Ma qual’è il fallo mio?” (no. 27), lacks all indications of stability: there is no opening ritornello, no wind accompaniment, no ternary meter, let alone a cantabile feel.¹⁰²

Sixth and last, **Achilles** embodies the Homeric warrior in that he advances rational arguments to cancel an ‘immoral’ or ‘unnatural’ sacrifice, but in reality acts out of love (or lust) for Iphigenia, whom he is eventually unable to save. Racine upgraded the character to a galant knight whose blind passion gives way to ruthless *fureur* and a murderous plan.¹⁰³ Jommelli and his poets tailored an elaborate *primo uomo* part (five arias and an *accompagnato*) to the (weak) voice of Pasquale Potenza, retaining enough details for the listener to suppose a passionate nature.¹⁰⁴ Thus in “L’adorato mio tesoro,” an ‘amorous’ section in 3/8 and Andante is contrasted with a ‘jealous’ section in common time and Allegro (“Dal velen di gelosia”); in “M’ama il bell’Idol mio” (no. 16), Un poco Andante and a gentle oboe solo are opposed – two scenes later – to an agitated *accompagnato* and a horrific aria, “Già la Vittima fatale,” only to result in another amorous expression (“In prova del mio amore”) in A Major, ternary meter and Andante.

¹⁰² It can be objected that the A section of “Pria, che nell’ore estreme” is in common time; still, the sextuplets in the second violin convey a ternary rhythmic feel (*see Appendix 5.3*).

¹⁰³ In Act V scene 2, he shouts at Iphigenia: “Une juste fureur s’empare de mon âme: / Vous allez à l’autel; et moi, j’y cours, madame. / Si de sang et de morts le ciel est affamé, / Jamais de plus de sang ses autels n’ont fumé. / A mon aveugle amour tout sera légitime: / Le prêtre deviendra la première victime; / Le bûcher, par mes mains détruit et renversé, / Dans le sang des bourreaux nagera dispersé; / Et si, dans les horreurs de ce désordre extrême, / Votre père frappé tombe et périt lui-même, / Alors, de vos respects voyant les tristes fruits, / Reconnaissez les coups que vous aurez conduits.”

¹⁰⁴ In Act I scene 2, Agamemnon raps Achilles’s knuckles for his love: “D’amor non mai languisce / Chi vanta in seno un cor audace, e fiero; / Sconviene ad un Guerriero / Il sospirar d’amor.”

Plate 5.4. Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Signor Pasqualino Musico Napolitano assai noto* (c. 1747-51).¹⁰⁵

This drawing was either made during a rehearsal of Jommelli's *Didone abbandonata* (1747), in which Potenza sung Araspe, or during *L'Ifigenia*. On hearing him perform in London in 1753, Burney described Potenza as "an uncertain singer, and an affected actor, with more taste than voice".¹⁰⁶



Euripides's *Iphigenia at Aulis* has often fallen victim to criticism on behalf of its 'inconsistent' characterization. Aristotle for instance remarked that the sudden reversal of Iphigenia's stance from passive victim to active heroine was most unlikely.¹⁰⁷ Possibly informed by Aristotle's comment, Racine erased some of the plot's ambiguities by replacing Menelaus by Ulysses and turning Achilles into a galant lover. Jommelli's poets further sharpened the opposition between Good and Evil, turning Ulysses into the villain Ajax and isolating Iphigenia from the remaining characters. Still, not everyone agreed with Aristotle's judgment. Thus Metastasio took it into account on discussing Euripides's tragedy in his *Osservazioni sul teatro greco*,¹⁰⁸ though at the same time rebutted the accusation from the point of view that "The continuous fluctuation of Agamemnon's mind, the pitiful state of

¹⁰⁵ ROSTIROLLA 2001, 242 (no. 328).

¹⁰⁶ BURNEY 1789, IV, 468.

¹⁰⁷ ARISTOTLE 1972, 1454a32-3.

¹⁰⁸ See METASTASIO 1953-65, II, 1141: "Ifigenia al verso 1368 cambia improvvisamente carattere; era stata sempre sommamente timida ed abbattuta sino a segno di dire: *E' meglio viver mal, che ben morire*, E in un punto senza motivo visibile diventa coraggiosa eroina; non vuole che Achille la difenda, e va volontaria ad offrirsi all'ara per l'onore della Grecia." (The quotation in italics was originally indented)

Iphigenia and Clytemnestra, Achilles's character, and the skilfulness with which fears and hopes succeed each other" precisely represented the "traits of a masterful hand."¹⁰⁹ Metastasio's comments offer a key to understanding the opera seria way of reading the Iphigenia in Aulis. 'Inconsistencies' in fact corresponded to Italy's appreciation for eclectic evenings filled with delights of various kinds. As Charles de Brosses noted, "Les Italiens veulent avoir des airs de toutes sortes d'espèces, qui rendent les diverses images que la musique est capable de représenter."¹¹⁰ *L'Ifigenia* offers such a *polyphonic* entertainment. Its focus shifts continuously from Agamemnon's dilemma and the question whether or not he will sacrifice his daughter, to Ajax's villainous plotting, Achilles's love and hatred toward Agamemnon, Eriphyle's solitude, Eurybates's fidelity and, most obviously, Iphigenia's psychological transformation. Such variation overcame the tedium latent among most spectators.

Vertical-diachronic reading

What mid-century audiences found equally important were moments sparking genuine *Aha-Erlebnisse* – situations (or 'sentences') that had been tried before and were typically scooped from Metastasian drammi per musica.¹¹¹ Metastasio's treasure trove indeed furnished Jommelli and his poets with an inexhaustible well and multiple points of departure, to begin with Eurybates's first aria, "Vado: ma oh Dio... lo Sposo." Its text is obviously a reincarnation of Dido's swansong in *Didone abbandonata* (Naples, 1724) – note the dominant *o* vowel common to both lyrics:

L'Ifigenia – I,1

EURIBATE
Vado: ma oh Dio.... lo Sposo
Dirle dovrò, ch'è infido!
Ah, di dolor l'uccido
Dicendolo così.

Didone abbandonata – III,20

DIDONE
Vado... Ma dove?... Oh Dio!
Resto... Ma poi, che fo?
Dunque morir dovrò
Senza trovar pietà?

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 1140: "La continua fluttuazione dell'animo di Agamemnone, lo stato compassionevole d'Ifigenia e di Clitennestra, il carattere d'Achille, e l'artificio col quale si succedono i timori e le speranze, sono tratti di mano maestra."

¹¹⁰ DE BROSSES 1858, II, 369.

¹¹¹ That Jommelli and Metastasio were each other's admirers can be inferred from the poet's letters to the master himself (14 March 1750; 8 April 1750; 2 July 1764; 1 April 1765), to Anna Francesco Pignatelli di Belmonte (30 August and 13 December 1749, on *Achille in Sciro* and *Didone abbandonata*, respectively), to Farinelli (in particular 8 January 1750, in which he calls Jommelli "il miglior maestro ch'io conosca per le parole"), to Gioacchino Pizzi (14 April 1757), to Leopoldo Trapassi (13 July, 15 and 20 September 1750; 9 July 1753; 24 April 1763; 13 May 1765), and, finally, to Jommelli's friend and biographer Saverio Mattei (17 October 1774). The latter stated that Jommelli listened to the ideas of Metastasio as the magic spells of a guru (MATTEI 1987), 78-82.

Other ‘Metastasianisms’ include the incipit of Eurybates’s second aria, “Superbo di se stesso,” which sounds suspiciously like Megacle’s “Superbo di me stesso” from *L’Olimpiade* (Vienna, 1733 – I,2), and the A section of Achilles’s “L’adorato mio Tesoro,” which recalls “Involarmi il mio tesoro,” an aria sung by the homonymous character in *Achille in Sciro* (Vienna, 1736):¹¹²

L’Ifigenia – I,2

ACHILLE
L’adorato mio Tesoro
Involar chi a me desia,
Non me ‘l può rapir, se pria
Non mi svelle il Cor dal sen.

Achille in Sciro – I,3

ACHILLE
Involarmi il mio tesoro!
Ah dov’è quest’alma ardita?
Ha da togliermi la vita
Chi vuol togliermi il mio ben.

Metastasio’s *Ipermestra* (Vienna, 1744), an opera about a princess’s (Hypermnestra, one of the fifty Danaids) break-up with her groom (Lyncaeus or ‘Linceo’) on her father’s order, furthermore appears to have stood model for the scene in which Iphigenia shoves off Achilles on their reunion:¹¹³

L’Ifigenia – I,8

ACHILLE
Giunse alfin quel momento
Che tanto sospirai. Da Lesbo a queste
Sponde volai per prevenirti: Alfine
Ti riveggo mio ben. Fra l’ire e l’armi
Tra i furori di Marte, alla mia mente
T’ebbi, bell’Idol mio, sempre presente:

IFIGENIA
(Che mensognier!) (*volgendosi altrove*)

ACHILLE
Che miro! I tuoi bei lumi
Sfuggono i miei! Congiuri
Col Genitore a tormentarmi? Oh Dei,
Forse cangiasti affetto?
Parla: Che fu? Mi svela
Di tal freddezza la cagion qual sia.¹¹⁴

Ipermestra – I,3

LINCEO
Giunse pur quel momento
Che tanto sospirai. Chiamarti mia
Posso pure una volta. Or sì che l’ire
Tutto io sfido degli astri, o mio bel sole.

IPERMESTRA
(Oh Dio! Non so partire,
Non so restar, non so formar parole).

LINCEO
Ma perché principessa in te non trovo
Quel contento ch’io provo? Altrove i lumi
Tu rivolgi inquieta e sfuggi i miei?
Che avvenne? Non tacer.
[...] Cangiasti affetto?
Dell’amor di Linceo stanco è il tuo core?

¹¹² The borrowing to some extent affected the musical level as well, “Involarmi il mio tesoro” being in Jommelli’s *Achille in Sciro* (Vienna, 1749) in a key with sharps (D versus G Major), with identical orchestration (strings and pairs of oboes and horns), and similar contrasts in tempo (Adagio-Allegro spiritoso versus Andante-Allegro) and meter (3/8-4/4).

¹¹³ Interestingly, the premiere of Jommelli’s *Ipermestra* took place in Spoleto on 9 October 1751, precisely eight months after that of *L’Ifigenia*.

¹¹⁴ The second line of Ipermestra’s ensuing aria “Ah non parlar d’amore,” “Sappi... (Che fò?) Dovrei...”, appears to be leading a second life in utterances of Agamemnon (“Sappi... (Ma oh Dio, che fò?)...” – II,4) and Iphigenia (“(Più non resisto) / Sappi... (che fò?)” – II,10).

The final scene of *L'Ifigenia* testifies all the more to the authors' knowledge of Metastasian poetry. In it, Eriphyle rushes in with her hair all tangled, presents herself as the 'real' sacrificial victim, asks the gods what made her deserve such an end, and eventually jumps into the sea. Marita McClymonds has argued that this particular scene, with its "major aria without subsequent exit [...] tragic, staged suicide, and [...] extensive final ensemble all represent significant *departures* [my emphasis] from established practice."¹¹⁵ Marina Mayrhofer has maintained that it "seems to prelude the experiments which Verazi, together with Jommelli, will carry out, on a vaster scale and in more radical fashion, in Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg."¹¹⁶ Both scholars have missed a point: namely, that this episode constitutes an unmistakable tribute to *the* mythological libretto of the century, *Didone abbandonata* (see Introduction). In fact, many details of Eriphyle's suicide, from the formal organization up to the last words, are anticipated in Metastasio's finale:

***L'Ifigenia* – III,11**

ERIFILE
Ministri, Ostia novella
Io vi presenti in me.
[...]
Tacete, oh Dei,
Scostatevi, fuggite, un'infelice
Lasciate al suo destin; Ah! dividete
Quest'anima dolente
Barbare Stelle alfin da questo petto;
Di vostra crudeltade
Abbastanza fin'or io fui l'oggetto.

Ma qual'è il fallo mio?
Numi, che crudeltà!
Come un Destin sì rio
Non desta in voi pietà?

Ma folle! A chi ragiono! E' reso il Cielo
Sordo alle mie querele.
Più non si tardi dunque. Ov'è la Scure?
Ov'è la Sacra Benda?
[...]
Ancor tardate?
Io sarò dunque, io stessa
Vittima, e Sacerdote: Un sol momento
Al mio morir non si fraponga, e sia
Il Sen di questo Mar la Tomba mia.
và furiosa a precipitarsi nel Mare.

***Didone abbandonata* – III,20**

DIDONE
Ah che dissi, infelice! A qual eccesso
Mi trasse il mio furore?

Oh Dio, cresce l'orrore! Ovunque io miro,
Mi vien la morte e lo spavento in faccia;
Trema la reggia e di cader minaccia.
Selene, Osmida! Ah, Tutti
Tutti cedeste alla mia sorte infida;
Non v'è chi mi soccorra o chi m'uccida.

Vado... Ma dove? Oh Dio!
Resto... Ma poi... Che fo?
Dunque morir dovrò
Senza trovar pietà?

E v'è tanta viltà nel petto mio?
No no, si mora; e l'infedele Enea
Abbia nel mio destino
Un augurio funesto al suo cammino.
Arda la reggia; e sia
Il cenere di lei la tomba mia. (*Dicendo l'ultime parole
corre Didone a precipitarsi disperata e furiosa nelle
ardenti ruine della reggia [...]*)

'Staged suicides' may not have constituted the core business of opera seria, still they were far from unusual nor considered too horrendous in Italy. In another, oft-revived Metastasian

¹¹⁵ McClymonds 1982, 102. See also McClymonds's entry on "Verazi, Mattia" in GROVE 2001.

¹¹⁶ MAYRHOFFER 2001, 846.

libretto, *Issipile* (1732), Learco comes to his end in this particular way. According to the traveler Charles de Brosses, suicidal plunges into the sea even represented “une manière douce de se tuer sans coup férir.”¹¹⁷ All the same, the visualization of Eriphyle’s death is unique when paralleled to Racinian tradition. As mentioned in Chapter One, classicist tragedians like Corneille and Racine took care not to shock the audience with horrid spectacles and instead entrusted these incidents to vivid narrations. Thus in *Iphigénie*, Ulysses relates Eriphyle’s suicide in a *récit* (V,6).¹¹⁸ Italian Iphigenia libretti prior to 1751 followed this pattern,¹¹⁹ or even evaded tragedy altogether by resorting to a *lieto fine*.¹²⁰ Jommelli’s librettists, on the other hand, must have deemed it more effective to visualize Eriphyle’s suicide in a “manière douce,” using Metastasian vocabulary, and so they revitalized tradition through structural permutation.¹²¹

Another staple of Metastasian drama is the scene in which a parent bewails a child that is (falsely) presumed dead. The classic example is Cosroe’s “Gelido in ogni vena” from *Siroe* (Venice, 1726 – III,5), an opera in which a Persian king is haunted by the shadow of the son whom he unjustly sentenced to death.¹²² Although Jommelli never had the chance to set *Siroe*, many fragments of his oeuvre approach the aria’s emotional register and gory details of blood coagulation, trembling, sighing and paralysis. Both Agamemnon’s “Ma dovrò veder esangue” and “Figlia, qualor ti miro” should be named here:

L’Ifigenia – I,5

Ma dovrò veder esangue
Cader vittima una Figlia?
Ah, nel sol pensarlo, il sangue
Mi si gela intorno al Cor!

L’Ifigenia – II,4

Figlia, qualor ti miro,
Involta nel mio fato,
Gelo d’orror, sospiro,
Tremo, nè sò parlar.

Siroe – III,6

Gelido in ogni vena
Scorrer mi sento il sangue.
L’ombra del figlio esangue
M’ingombra di terror.

¹¹⁷ DE BROSSES 1858, II, 376.

¹¹⁸ “Elle [Eriphyle] était à l’autel, et peut-être en son cœur / Du fatal sacrifice accusait la lenteur. [...] Furieuse, elle vole, sur l’autel prochain / Prend le sacré couteau, le plonge dans son sein. / A peine son sang coule et fait rougir la terre, / Les Dieux font sur l’autel entendre le tonnerre, / Les vents agitent l’air d’heureux frémissements, / Et la mer répond par ses mugissements.”

¹¹⁹ E.g. Zeno’s version.

¹²⁰ E.g. Capeci’s and Cigna-Santi’s versions.

¹²¹ Similar instances are the *Ifigenie in Aulide* by Bottarelli (see above: “*si getta in mare*,” last scene) and Moretti (Milan, 1787: “*si uccide*,” last scene).

¹²² De Brosses heard Gaetano Latilla’s *Siroe* during the 1740 Carnival and remarked that “Gelido in ogni vena” “me fit quasi dresser les cheveux à la tête, la première fois que je l’entendis. Chosroës, au moment qu’il vient de faire mourir son fils, découvre qu’il est innocent; il tome dans une frénésie où il lui semble voir l’ombre de son fils qui le poursuit. Au milieu de l’air, sur un demi-temps de la mesure, s’élève une trompette qui accompagne seule et représente le spectre poursuivant Chosroës. On ne peut [s’imaginer] rien de plus lamentable ni de plus effrayant; c’est la trompette du jugement dernier.” (DE BROSSES 1858, II, 372-3)

Recitativo stromentato offered a superbly adequate tool to give listeners the creeps. In Achilles's soliloquy, for instance, Jommelli drew the image of Iphigenia's pale, bloodstained corpse through traditional techniques – repetitive notes in semiquavers and descending ladders – in his favorite *ombra* tonality, E flat Major:¹²³

Example 5.28. Achille “E’l Padre istesso... dal rio periglio” (II,14), mm. 33-7.

33

Achille

Di cal-do san-gue a-sper-so il cal-do sen. Ah me

[Violino I]

[Violino 2]

[Viola]

[Basso]

Yet, thoughts of death could as easily give way to pastoralism, as happens in Eriphyle's *adieu* to Iphigenia, “Pria, che nell'ore estreme” (see Appendix 5.3). Like representations can be encountered in earlier scores of Neapolitan breed. In, for instance, Pergolesi's oratorio *La fenice sul rogo, ovvero La morte di San Giuseppe* (Naples, 1731?), Saint Michael comments in a recitative that “Dying and life are the same, it is happiness” (“E' l'istesso morir vita, è contento”), after which he sings an aria that foreshadows the texture, harmony and yearning atmosphere of Eriphyle's song:

Example 5.29. Pergolesi *La morte di San Giuseppe* (?Naples, 1731):
San Michele “Appena spira aura soave” (Part One), mm. 1-4.

Allegro ma non presto

Oboe

Corni

Violino I

Violino II

[Basso]

¹²³ Compare with Vinci's and Vivaldi's settings of “Gelido in ogni vena” as analyzed in STROHM 1976, I, 51-5.

Example 5.29 (continued).

2

The precise extent of a composer's acquaintance with the music of a forerunner is always difficult to fathom;¹²⁴ even so, more Pergolesian fingerprints can be found in "Pria, che nell'ore estreme," more particularly in mm. 27-9, when Eriphyle amplifies her request for a last embrace ("Dammi, o cara; dammi un abbraccio") through a descending motif contrasted with bass moving upwards from the third to the sixth grade, and pedal notes in the oboes and horns. In Pergolesi's *La morte di San Giuseppe*, the title-character deploys the same musical language on begging, not for a least embrace, though rather for pardon and mercy:

Example 5.30. Id., San Giuseppe "Se a un sì bel foco" (Part One), mm. 42-5.

Yet, if death inspires pastoral music in "Pria, che nell'ore estreme," it depicts a nightmarish landscape in E flat Major, precedents of which can be found in Jommelli's earlier *oeuvre*. In his second version of *Eumene* (Naples, 1747), for instance, there is the same key, flowery violin parts, pedal notes in the bass, sustained chords in the winds, and harmony in an accompagnato for Artemisia:

¹²⁴ Jommelli may have conducted Pergolesi's masterpieces either during his tenure at the Ospedale degli Incurabili (c. 1745-7) or as *maestro di cappella* to San Pietro (1750-3).

Example 5.31. *Eumene* (Naples, 1747):
Artemisia “Ah! qual idea mi funesta il pensier” (II,10), mm. 1-2.

Adagio assai

The musical score is for the first two measures of the aria. It features six staves: Oboe, Corni (Horns), [Violino I], [Violino II], Viola, and [Basso] (Bass). The tempo is marked 'Adagio assai'. The Oboe part has a 'tenute' marking. The Violino I and II parts have a complex rhythmic pattern with triplets and sixteenth notes, marked with 'f' and 'p'. The Viola part is marked 'divisi' and plays a simple eighth-note pattern. The Bass part plays a simple eighth-note pattern, marked with 'p' and 'f'.

The precedent to “Pria, che nell’ore estreme,” however, is present in the *Didone abbandonata* which Metastasio considered the best he ever heard: Jommelli’s version for the Viennese Court (1749).¹²⁵ In Act II scene 6, the Moorish King Iarba confesses in a soliloquy that he does no longer grasp the whole situation, upon which he sings the aria “Fosca nube il sol ricopra” in which he imagines a “cloud” that “obscures the light of day and covers the serene sky.”¹²⁶ The score of this moving piece leaves no doubt as to its role played in the incubation of “Pria, che nell’ore estreme” (see Appendix 5.5).

A minute survey of Jommelli’s earlier production would undoubtedly yield numerous additional intertextualisms. We will restrict ourselves to a last example: “Cedi oh Dio” (Example 5.24), in which Iphigenia asks Agamemnon and Achilles not to weep over her. The aria merits to be compared with Marzia Calfurnia’s “Padre, Sposo, io vado a morte” from *Cajo Mario*, especially as regards the situation (princess who leaves to die), meter (A section in 2/4, B section in 3/8), key (E flat Major), texture, declamatory style and lacking opening ritornello:

¹²⁵ On 13 December 1749, Metastasio wrote to Anna Francesco Pignatelli di Belmonte, the dedicatee of the first *Didone abbandonata*, that Jommelli’s music “ha giustamente sorpresa ed incantata e la città e la Corte. È piena di grazia, di fondo, di novità, d’armonia, e soprattutto d’espressione. Tutto parla, sino a’ violini e contrabassi. Io non ho fin ora in questo genere inteso cosa che m’abbia più persuaso.”

¹²⁶ “Fosca nube il sol ricopra / O si scopra il ciel sereno”.

Example 5.32. *Cajo Mario* (Rome, 1746): Marzia Calfurnia “Padre, Sposo, io vado a morte,” mm. 1-7.

Andantino

In same fashion, *L’Ifigenia* has itself engendered a great number of precedents ranging from literal self-borrowings to conceptual paraphrases. An example of the first kind is offered by Matusio’s “E’ soccorso d’incognita mano” in *Demofoonte* (Milan, 1753 – II,4), a revamping of Ajax’s “Giovani amanti” to different words. To the second category belong Act II scene 7 of *Talestri* (Rome, 1752), Act III scene 9 of *Lucio Vero* (Milan, 1754), and Act II scene 9 of *Demofoonte* (Stuttgart, 1764), all of which rehearse the ‘march gimmick’ of Achilles’s “Già la Vittima fatale” (see Examples 5.18 and 5.23).¹²⁷

Conclusion

L’Ifigenia constitutes both a unique moment in operatic history and a vital link in a historical chain. Offering a striking illustration of the way in which opera seria borrowed, curtailed and restructured the *gross constituent units* engendered by mythological tradition, it represents, in equal fashion as epic stories and classical tragedies, a set of structural units from which bundles of relations emerge in both horizontal-synchronic as vertical-diachronic direction. The score reveals careful internal organization (or coordination) through the repetition of specific phrases, keys, motives and forms, all of which increase in significance when confronted with the various traditions in which the opera is ingrained – the Iphigenia in Aulis myth and its characters, Metastasian drama, and, of course, Jommelli’s operatic production. Through his skillful manipulations Jommelli managed to convince his spectators and please the impresarios. On 10 February 1751, it was reported that

Son vivi gl’Impresarii di Argentina all’esito, che ha avuto la 2^a Opera, vedendo tornato nel suo primiero Credito un Teatro avvilito per l’infelice incontro della prima; e si professano riconoscenti al signor Jommella Maestra di Cappella, che fortunato per lo più nelle sue composizioni *ha saputo corrispondere al loro desiderio ed insieme all’aspettazione di Roma* [my emphasis].¹²⁸

¹²⁷ On *Demofoonte*, see TOLKOFF 1974, 212-3 and 410-1.

¹²⁸ DELLA SETA 1980, 95.



CHAPTER SIX

FREDERICK'S ATHENS

La Grèce, je l'avoue, eut un brillant destin;
Mais Frédéric est né: tout change; je me flatte
Qu'Athènes quelque jour doit céder à Berlin;
Et déjà Frédéric est plus grand que Socrate.

Letter from Voltaire to Frederic II, March 1737¹

One of the decisive events in eighteenth-century history was the rise to power of Frederick the Great, on 31 May 1740. More than any other absolutist ruler, Frederick II (1712-1786) reformed his state along the lines of enlightened thought. A letter written in the month of his accession reveals that he skipped all crowning ceremonials, transformed the Prussian army into the most dreaded battle-force on the Continent, and re-established the *Académie Royale des Sciences et des Belles-Lettres*, once a blossoming institution under Leibniz but now in a deplorable state.² The letter's addressee, François-Marie Arouet alias Voltaire (1694-1778), must have wept tears of joy over such glorious deeds. The philosopher had once foretold that Frederick's Berlin would come to resemble Athens and now saw his prediction accomplished.³

Quite without saying, Friderician Prussia did not fully revive Voltaire's utopia. Still, it was responsible for proclamations of religious equality and such provocative projects as the construction of the Catholic Hedwigskirche in the heart of protestant Berlin. What it also brought forth was a mythological revival in the arts. After a period of forced oblivion, Ovidian myths resurfaced on the ceilings and walls of Prussia's palaces, and then in

¹ FREDERICK 1805^b, XII, 79.

² FREDERICK 1750, XIII, 296-7: "J'ai d'abord commencé par augmenter les forces de l'Etat de seize bataillons, de cinq escadrons de hussards & d'un escadron de gardes-du-corps. J'ai posé les fondemens de notre nouvelle académie. J'ai fait acquisition de Wolf [Christian Wolff], de [Pierre Louis Moreau de] Maupertuis, d'Algarotti [Francesco]. [...] J'ai établi un nouveau collège pour le commerce & les manufactures; j'engage des peintres & des sculpteurs, & je pars pour la Prusse pour y recevoir l'hommage, &c. *sans la sainte Ampoule & sans les cérémonies inutiles & frivoles que l'ignorance & la superstition ont établies* [my emphasis], & que la coutume favorise." (27 June 1740).

³ See Voltaire's letter of November 1736: "Berlin sera sous vos auspices l'Athènes de l'Allemagne, & pourra l'être de l'Europe." (FREDERICK 1805, XII, 34). On 7 April 1737, Frederick wrote: "Que Berlin devienne Athènes, j'en accepte l'augure; pourvu qu'elle soit capable d'attirer M. De Voltaire, elle ne pourra manquer de devenir une des villes les plus célèbres de l'Europe." (Ibid., XII, 86).

experimental opere serie which created the blueprint for operatic reform elsewhere in Europe. The present chapter will unveil a number of aspects of this remarkable, but underestimated phenomenon.

“Ecraser l’infâme”

If Berlin became an Athens, it could not do so overnight. The liberal arts had fared anything but well under Frederick’s predecessor, Frederick William I (1688-1740). Besides the singing and playing of chorales, *Tafel-* and *Jagdmusik*, no honor had been bestowed by the *Soldatenkönig* on a costly frivolity like music. Operatic performances remained wholly absent from the Prussian calendar between 1714 and 1741, and such not only on account of economical considerations. Most of all, it were Pietists who kept opera away. In vociferous sermons like Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann’s *Das in unsern Opern-Theatris und Comœdien-Bühnen siechende Christenthum und siegende Heidenthum* (1728), preachers cautioned their parish that the “Lebens-Art” of operatic musicians and actors was to be dreaded.⁴ In 1729, Fuhrmann even specifically addressed Telemann’s spectators in Hamburg, alerting them to stagings of “Huren-Teufel *Cupido*” and “Sauf-Teufel *Bacchus*, mit andern unsaubern Geistern.”⁵ As hilarious the title of his pamphlet may seem today, as aggravating its contents must have been for Telemann and his colleagues at the Gänsemarkt Oper:

Die an der Kirchen Gottes gebauete Satans=Capelle; Darin dem Jehova Zebaoth zu Leid und Verdruß, Und dem Baal-Zebub zur Freud und Genuß, (1.) Die Operisten und Comœdianten mancher Orten ihren Zuschauern eine *Theologiam Gentilium* aus den Griechischen und Lateinischen Fabel-Mäßen, und eine *Moral* aus der verlohrnen Sohns *Catechismo* vorbringen; und (2.) Die Menschliche Welsche Wallachen und *Amadis-Sirenen* aus dem hohen Lied *Ovidii de Arte amandi*, liebliche *Venus*-Lieder dabey singen; und (3.) Die Jubalisten [instrumentalists] mit Geigen und Pfeiffen nach des alten Adams Lust und Wust darzu klingen; und (4.) Sylvester mit seiner *Herodias*-Schwester, und *Arlequin* in einem Französischen Kälber-Tanz herum springen [...]⁶

Orthodox views exerted more influence on German minds than would be readily presumed. In fact, it took librettists like Christian Heinrich Postel great pains – ten pages of preface to *Der geliebte Adonis* (Hamburg, 1697), to be precise – to convince their readers of the fact that “fine gold and silver” could be refined from a “raw piece of ore” like pagan mythology.⁷ At no avail, it seems, for Barthold Feind reported in 1708 that the Hamburger

⁴ FUHRMANN 1728, title page.

⁵ FUHRMANN 1729, 64.

⁶ Ibid., title page.

⁷ *Der geliebte Adonis, In einem Singe-Spiel Auff dem Hamburgischen Schau-Platz vorgestellt* (Hamburg, s.d. [1697]), iii: “Die jenigen welche die heidnischen Fabeln von ihren Göttern vor unnütze Währlein ansehen gleichen denen welche ein rauhes Stück Ertz welches doch feines Gold und Silber in sich hält deßwegen verachten weil es schmutzig aussiehet und der schöne Glantz des theuren Metalls von denen Schlacken noch

had become “gantz *degoutirt* für die heydnische Götter-Fabeln”.⁸ Even worse, authors not specifically connected to Pietism joined the battle, contending, as Johann Christoph Gottsched did in his *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst* (1730), that opera stimulated lasciviousness:

Die zärtlichsten Töne, die geilesten Poesien, und die unzüchtigsten Bewegungen der Opernhelden und ihrer verliebten Göttinnen bezaubern die unvorsichtigen Gemüther, und flößen ihnen ein Gift ein, welches ohnedem von sich selbst schon Reizungen genug hat.⁹

Frederick William I did his best to pass on similar thoughts to Frederick. In 1718 he issued a public *Instruktion* to advise his son not to spend a thaler on “operas, comedies, and other follies of the laity.”¹⁰ Ironically, though, Frederick William’s teachings had a contrary effect, alienating Frederick “from Christian belief” and driving him “into the arms of the French Enlightenment.”¹¹ Frederick became a talented writer and musician, a self-acclaimed Freemason and the founder of lodges at Rheinsberg and Berlin.¹² In the wake of the *lumières*, he became increasingly hostile to priests, calling them “imbécilles revêtus de la pourpre”.¹³ In his legendary essay *De la superstition et de la religion* (1748) he even went as far as to *lament* the disappearance of paganism under the rod of christianization, writing that

Les Chrêtiens détruiraient par zèle les Idoles du Paganisme, de sorte qu’il ne nous en est presque resté aucun vestige; les niches de ces Idoles vacantes furent remplies de Saints de toute espece; & de nouvelles erreurs succederent aux anciennes.¹⁴

The Reformation, by contrast, had not wiped out the ‘errors,’ for

quoiqu’elle eut ouvert les yeux du Peuple sur une infinité de superstitions, il s’en conserva encore beaucoup d’autres; tant la pente de l’esprit humain pour l’erreur est inconcevable. Luther, qui ne croyoit point au Purgatoire, admettoit les Revenans & les Démons dans son Système; il soutint même que Satan lui apparut à Wittemberg, & qu’il l’exorcisa en lui jettant un Cornet d’encre à la tête.¹⁵

None other than Voltaire furnished the philosophical soil for Frederick’s views. From the year they started exchanging “trésors d’esprit,”¹⁶ 1736, both men had entered into a treaty to combat “le monstre de la superstition et du fanatisme, ce véritable ennemi de la divinité et

nicht abgesondert is. Und weil sie nun mit dergleichen scharff-sinnigen Erfindungen die alten Poetischen Schrifften so wol der Griechen als Lateiner (der Morgenländischen vor itzo nicht zu erwähnen) angefüllet finden in ihre vier-ekkigte Köpffe solches aber nicht bringen können auch die Mühe nicht nehmen wollen anderer gelährter und geschickter Leute vortrefliche Schrifften davon zu lesen; so wollen sie lieber das Gold mit den Schlacken verwerffen und das Kind mit samt dem Bade ausschütten [...]”.

⁸ FEIND 1708, 85.

⁹ GOTTSCHED 1973, II, 368. Of particular note is the fact that Gottsched was the German translator of Fontenelle’s *De l’origine des fables*.

¹⁰ SCHIEDER 2000, 12.

¹¹ Ibid., 32.

¹² On 3 June 1740, Baron Keyserlingk wrote to Algarotti that “Le Roi s’est déclaré maçon, et moi de même, à la suite de mon héros.” (FREDERICK 1846-56, XVIII, 17).

¹³ FREDERICK 1805, II, 34 (*Histoire de mon temps*, 1775).

¹⁴ FREDERICK 1750^b, 429.

¹⁵ Ibid., 437.

¹⁶ FREDERICK 1805^b, XII, 11 (Frederick to Voltaire, 8 August 1736).

de la raison.”¹⁷ In September 1740, Frederick invited Voltaire to Berlin and discovered in him the peer of Cicero, Plinius and Agrippa.¹⁸ Voltaire returned to Potsdam in 1750, shortly after the death of his mistress Emilie du Châtelet, to serve Frederick as court chamberlain. By March 1753, however, Voltaire’s esteem for *le philosophe de Sans-Souci* had dropped so far below freezing point that he left in anger.¹⁹ Still, he remained loyal to Frederick and was posthumously remunerated for his service by way of a royal *Eloge* (1778).²⁰

Voltaire deployed pagan mythology as a tool for imparting anticlerical thoughts. On the one hand, he paid lip service to Bayle and Fontenelle (see Chapter One), summoning up repulsive visions of priestly impostors who indoctrinated the masses through ridiculous fables. Thus, in an early letter to Frederick (27 September 1737), he noted that

L’autorité des prêtres du paganisme venait de leurs oracles trompeurs, de leurs sacrifices ridicules, & de leur impertinente mythologie. C’était un conte bien grave que celui de Daphné changée en laurier; des vierges enceintes par Jupiter, & qui accouchaient de dieux; un Jupiter, dieu qui quitte le ciel, son tonnerre & sa foudre, pour venir sur la terre, sous la figure d’un taureau, enlever Europe; la résurrection d’Orphée qui triomphe des enfers; & enfin, une infinité d’autres absurdités & de contes puérils, tout au plus capables d’amuser les enfans. Mais les hommes, charmés du merveilleux, ont de tout temps donné dans ces chimères, & révérent ceux qui en étaient les défenseurs. Ne serait-il pas permis de disputer la raison aux hommes, après leur avoir prouvé qu’ils sont si peu raisonnables?²¹

In his *Philosophie de l’histoire* (1765), a deist revision of Bossuet’s *Discours sur l’histoire universelle* (see Chapter One), Voltaire on the other hand declared monotheism a ‘natural religion’ from which he did not preclude paganism; quite the contrary, he contended that heathens too recognized a *Dieu suprême* among the “ramas de contes qui n’ont d’autre mérite que d’avoir fourni de beaux vers à Ovide & à Quinault, & d’avoir exercé le pinceau de nos meilleurs peintres”.²² The Romans, for example, had worshipped Jupiter as their *dieu maître*, a being superior to all the other ‘saints.’

On attacking the monster of fanaticism, Frederick and his courtiers adopted both attitudes to myth. Opera thereby provided them with an efficient medium of propaganda. For opera was the very ‘immoral’ art form which the priggish Pietists had castigated. In addition,

¹⁷ Ibid., XII, 82 (Voltaire to Frederick, March 1737).

¹⁸ After their meeting, Frederick reported to his librarian that Voltaire “a l’éloquence de Cicéron, la douceur de Pline, et la sagesse d’Agrippa; il réunit, en un mot, ce qu’il faut rassembler de vertus et de talents de trois des plus grands hommes de l’antiquité. Son esprit travaille sans cesse; chaque goutte d’encre est un trait d’esprit partant de sa plume.” (FREDERICK 1846-56, XVII, 76 – 24 September 1740).

¹⁹ From a letter to Algarotti dated 12 September 1749 it appears that the King had already been ill-disposed toward Voltaire *before* the man had joined his circle: “C’est bien dommage qu’une [Voltaire’s] âme aussi lâche soit unie à un aussi beau génie. Il a les gentilleses et les malices d’un singe. [...] cependant je ne ferai semblant de rien, car j’en ai besoin pour l’étude de l’élocution française. On peut apprendre de bonnes choses d’un scélérat. Je veux savoir son français; que m’importa sa morale?” (Ibid., XVIII, 74). On Frederick’s fickle relationship with Voltaire, see MOENCH 1943; MERVAUD 1985; STRACHEY 1997.

²⁰ FREDERICK 1805^b, IV, 120-46.

²¹ Ibid., XII, 146.

²² VOLTAIRE 1765, 164-5.

opera allowed myth to be cast in twofold ways: as a philosophical *objet manqué* as wicked and irrational as bigotry, or as an icon of religious pluralism and liberty of thought. Belonging to the former category is an episode from Carl Heinrich Graun's *Cleopatra e Cesare*, the inaugural opera for the Königliches Opernhaus (7 December 1742). Giovan Gualberto Bottarelli derived the libretto in large measure from Pierre Corneille's tragedy *La mort de Pompée* (Paris, 1638) and Bussani's libretto *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (Venice, 1677). But the six scenes closing the second act seem to have been the King's own invention – they are strikingly absent from Corneille's and Bussani's examples.²³ They depict the marriage of Caesar and Cleopatra in a temple devoted to Serapis. All of a sudden (scene 17), the ceremony is interrupted by Caesar's enemies, the Arabian prince Arsaces (Arsace), Cleopatra's brother Ptolemeus (Tolomeo), and her lieutenant, Achillas (Achilla). The latter chafes at Serapis and his priests while soldiers wreck religious paraphernalia:

ACHILLA
 O stolto Dio d'Egitto?
guarda la statua di Serapi con Scherno.
 Tu secondi un Roman? --- ah che ne' Numi
con risoluzione.
 è follia confidar. --- Voi rei ministri,
 » Voi siete che co' sogni e le chimere
 » Di religion col manto agl'ignoranti
 » Sovvertite la mente. Olà Compagni,
 » Adesso che sull'atrio
 » Tra gli Arabi Soldati, e tra' Romani
 Siegue l'accesa pugna, quel profano
I Ministri fuggono impauriti. I Soldati gettano a Terra e riducono in pezzi la statua del Nume, rovinano la pira, roversciano i vasi, spengono il fuoco; e tutto pongono in confusione, e fuori lo trasportano.
 Stuolo di gente vil, fuori cacciate.
 Quegl'incensi, quel fuoco,
 Quella sognata Deità, quell'ara,
 Estinguete, atterrate. E cada in fine,
 » Per non più udito sì, ma giusto scempio,
 Co' Rei Ministri il sacerdote, e Tempio.

» Nulla importa a me vedere
 » Se nel ciel si trovin Numi;
 » A me basta di sapere,
 » Che il lor culto dalla plebe
 » Si trovò per vanità.
 » Ogni saggio che buon uso
 » Vuole far di sua ragione,
 » Deve sempre calpestarne
 » Detestarne la pietà.²⁴

²³ Frederick claimed part of the authorship of *Cleopatra e Cesare* in a letter to Jordan dated 21 September 1742: "Je souhaite que l'opéra réussisse mieux [than a laudatory poem]; du moins le poëte [Bottarelli] a-t-il été instruit de l'idée que j'ai sur ce sujet." (FREDERICK 1846-56, XVII, 268).

²⁴ Most of the scene was cut in the performance (note the *virgolette*), probably not too delay the plot.

Although the vengeful scene bears reminiscences of the *scherno degli dei* in seicento opera and the iconoclasm in Corneille's *Polyeucte* (see Chapter One), it is Voltaire's pejorative notion of priesthood, as expounded in the 1737 letter, that is here transformed into a visually compelling act. Achilles's assault against the "dreams and chimeras" of Egyptian paganism does not chant the Counter-Reformist warcry for 'true religion'; instead, it casts a stone at all those clerics who imbued superstition among the masses.

The second option for Frederick and his allies consisted in rehabilitating pagan religion from the deist point of view, that is, from the idea that it too could be regarded as a natural religion. Johann Philipp Heinius, one of the members of the Berliner Academy, for instance questioned the dogmatism with which pagan culture was usually refuted, arguing in a paper *Sur les idoles d'Epicure* (1745) that

Ceux qui rejettent la Philosophie Payenne, par la seule raison qu'elle vient des Payens, & sous prétexte qu'elle est aussi incompatible avec le Christianisme, que la lumière avec les ténèbres, raisonnent avec peu de justesse. La Raison, principe de toute lumière, a été le partage du Gentil, comme elle l'est du Chrétien [...]²⁵

It was pointless, Heinius added, to either condemn or apologize for the "opinions fausses et bizarres" of the pagans; after all, these mistakes were solely ascribable to poor socio-intellectual contexts.²⁶ On the premise that modernity fared better both economically as intellectually, another academician, Samuel Formey, contended in his *Réflexions sur les spectacles* (1761) that pagan imagery could do no harm to contemporary minds:

Il est évident que ce premier âge des Spectacles [antiquity] n'a rien de commun avec ceux qu'on représente aujourd'hui; & que les Pièces où il regne encore des idées empruntées du Paganisme, comme *Amphitryon* & presque tous les Opéra, bien loin de favoriser cette Religion, la décréditent de plus en plus, & en découvrent toutes les absurdités.²⁷

Frederick deduced the logical conclusion from these observations. In *De l'utilité des sciences et des arts dans un état* (1772), he showed little understanding, let alone forgiveness, for the fervor with which Frederick William and the Pietists had excoriated art and mythology:

Dans ce siècle philosophe où nous vivons, on n'a pas seulement voulu dénigrer les hautes sciences, il s'est trouvé des personnes d'assez mauvaise humeur, ou plutôt assez dépourvues de sentiment et de goût, pour se déclarer les ennemies des belles-lettres. [...] Ils proscriroient les fictions anciennes, ces fables ingénieuses et allégoriques qui renfermoient tant de vérités. Ils ne veulent pas concevoir que si Amphion, par les sons de sa lyre, bâtit les murs de Thèbes, c'est-à-dire que les arts adoucissent les mœurs des sauvages humains, et donnèrent lieu à l'origine des sociétés.²⁸

²⁵ HEINIUS 1746, 78.

²⁶ Ibid., 78.

²⁷ FORMEY 1768, 424.

²⁸ FREDERICK 1805, IV, 355-6.

The opera that put these ideas into practice was *Montezuma* (1755), a *tragedia per musica* by Giampietro Tagliazucchi after a French prose drama by Frederick himself.²⁹ The flagrantly anticlerical terms with which *Montezuma* recounted the conquest of Mexico must have irritated Catholics and protestants alike. For rather than staging Hernàn Cortès as the herald of salvation, as Alvise Giusti had done in his *Motezuma* for Vivaldi (Venice, 1733),³⁰ it shows the Aztec Emperor Montezuma (Moctezuma) teaching the Spaniard a lesson in natural religion and tolerance.³¹ In Act II scene 7, the protagonists exchange the following ideas:

CORTES

Noi per legge abborriam l'empio Idolatra,
Ch' offre a barbari Dei vittime umane.
Più che di far conquiste,
Cerchiam di farvi noto il nostro Dio,
E stabilir fra voi quella perfetta
Religion, che a questo Nume è accetta.

MONTEZUMA

Ah, qual idea potrà formar d'un Nume,
Che il delitto t'impone?
D'una Religion, che ti costringe
A detestare ogn'altro, che l'ignori,
O, che a' tuoi non accordi i suoi pensieri?
Che le perfidie meco usate alfine
Legitimar può in te?

CORTES

Degno non sei

Di conoscere questa
Religion, che oltraggi.

MONTEZUMA

E' sì la nostra

Santa e perfetta appieno. Ella c'impone
D'amare, e di servire ogni mortale;
C'insegna a compatir chiunque pensa
Altrimenti da noi.

On providing Francesco Algarotti with the scenario of the opera, in October 1753, Frederick made no secret about his intentions:

j'intéresserai pour Montézuma, [...] Cortès sera le tyran, et [...] par conséquent on pourra lâcher, *en musique même* [my emphasis], quelque lardon contre la barbarie de la R.[eligion] Cr.[étienne]. Mais j'oublie que vous êtes dans un pays d'inquisition; je vous en fais mes excuses, et j'espère de vous revoir bientôt dans un pays hérétique où l'opéra même peut servir à réformer les mœurs et à détruire les superstitions.³²

²⁹ More ample analyses of *Montezuma* are offered in KLUEPPELHOLZ 1986 and BOURGEON 2001.

³⁰ See D'ANTUONO 2006, in particular 274, where Giusti's preface is cited.

³¹ Frederick was thereby inspired by Voltaire's *Alzire, ou Les Américains* (1736), a spoken play on the conquest of Peru which he praised in his very first letter to the philosopher (8 August 1736): "Alzire ajoute aux grâces de la nouveauté, ces heureux contrastes des mœurs des sauvages & des européens [sic]. Vous faites voir, par la caractère de Gusman [the Spanish conqueror] qu'un christianisme mal entendu, & guidé par le faux zèle, rend plus barbare & plus cruel que le paganisme même." (FREDERICK 1805^b, XII, 13).

³² Ibid., XVIII, 101.

The aria ensuing from the above-mentioned quarrel, Cortès's “Benchè superbo e vano,” gives an idea as to how Christian barbarity could be rendered in music. It portrays Cortès as an arrogant tyrant who demands to have the last word for himself – note the *fiero* indication, pompous rhythms and staccatos on “lascia” (mm. 27-8).³³ It furthermore suggests, through a biting *f* double sharp appoggiatura on “error” (mm. 31-2) – *musica ficta* by mid-eighteenth-century standards – that it is Cortès, not Moctezuma, who gets the point wrong.

Example 6.1. Carl Heinrich Graun *Montezuma* (Berlin, 1755):
Cortès “Benchè superbo e vano” (II,7), mm. 20-34.

20 [Poco largo e fiero]

Cortès

e del tuo cul-to in - sa - no e del tuo cul-to in - sa - no la-scia il fal - la - ce er-

[Violini]

[Viola]

[Basso]

26

ror la- scia, la- scia, la- scia il fal - la - ce er - ror, la- scia il fal - la - ce er - ror.

poco f

f

Of course, as Daniel Heartz has justly remarked, “Frederick’s kingdom was [...] not ‘heretic.’ Only he was. In the mentality of absolute monarchy the king was the country. Only in this light did his claim make sense.”³⁴ The account Frederick wished to settle with the Pietists was of a personal kind. He himself, not his courtiers or citizens, eagerly sought to blemish their reputation simply because they had blemished his youth, both mentally as physically. But whomever launched the attack, it crushed the *infâme* in full sight of the Prussian community.

³³ I disagree with BOURGEON 2001, 261, where she describes the aria in terms of ‘seduction’ and ‘douceur.’

³⁴ HEARTZ 2003, 367.

Apollonian temples

Viens à mon secours, Dieu de l'Hélicon, prête-moi ta lyre, inspire-moi tes plus doux accens. Je ne veux pas chanter les charmes victorieux d'un bel œil noir, ni l'aimable désordre d'une chevelure. C'est toi que je célèbre, puissant Apollon, toi qui descendu du céleste séjour, parois ici sous la figure du jeune héros qui donne des lois à la Prusse, & fait le bonheur du monde. Ce n'est pas à tes cheveux flottans, à ta guirlande d'or que je te reconnois; c'est au sacré transport que ta présence m'inspire; c'est à tes aimables traits, à ton noble maintien, aux nouveaux vers que tu chantes sur la lyre sonore pour l'instruction & le plaisir des hommes.

Francesco Algarotti, *Epître à sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse*³⁵

What Frederick also sponsored was the return of pagan myths to the façades and interiors of Prussia. Apollo stood thereby central as an icon of his artistic fervor and talent. Already in 1735, he had Georg Wenceslaus Knobelsdorff (1699-1753) re-arrange the gardens around his residential houses at Neuruppin, a secluded garrison town eighty kilometers north of Berlin.³⁶ A remarkable feature of this project was its garden house, which was shaped into a monopteros (round temple) as a homage to the English picturesque, and topped by an Apollo statue that was more than ornamental.³⁷ In a letter to his sister Wilhelmine, Frederick confessed that the structure would house sacrifices to the arts.³⁸

In July 1740, Frederick laid out the plans for a more ambitious Apollonian construction – the Königliches Opernhaus at avenue Unter den Linden. This project constituted but one piece in a larger, unfinished concept called the *Forum Fridericianum* and consisting in a royal palace, an academy of the sciences and a ball house, all of which were to be located on Berlin's old vestiges as a tangible statement of Frederick's wish to transform Berlin from a bulwark of militarism into an artistic capital.³⁹ Drawn by Knobelsdorff after sketches by the King himself, the southern façade of the opera house was dominated by a “grand Portique Corinthien à la facon d'un temple de l'Antiquité dedie à Apollon.”⁴⁰ The scheme was modeled after the Roman Pantheon but reduced from eight to six pillars and repeated onto the three remaining façades, as a tribute to Palladio.

³⁵ ALGAROTTI 1772, VII, 120-1.

³⁶ The garden project was baptized 'Amalthea,' after the 'Amaltheum' estate of Cicero's friend Atticus and the Oceanide who gave birth to Zeus.

³⁷ GIERBERG 2000, 163 shows the temple in its actual, altered shape.

³⁸ The letter, dated 24 August 1735, is given in Ibid., 164. Curiously Wilhelmine would conceive the scenario for an opera entitled *Amaltea* – it was versified in Italian by Luigi Stampiglia and premiered as a *pasticcio* in Bayreuth on 10 May 1756. However, its plot, a romanced story centering around a Mauretanian queen, has nothing to do with the Greek goddess, see MUELLER-LINDENBERG 2005, 156-60 and 183-4.

³⁹ For an elaborate discussion of the project, see ENGEL 2001.

⁴⁰ Quoted from Ibid., 104.

Plate 6.1. *A Perspective View of the Theater at Berlin* (c. 1750).
Anonymous engraving after a drawing by G.F. Schmidt.⁴¹



Although the exterior resembled the Pantheon and Villa Rotonda, the Ovidian imagery with which it was decorated made it stand apart from such models. In his *Beschreibung der königliche Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam* (1769), Friedrich Nicolai gave the following account of the statues and bas-reliefs that adorned the four façades:

Auf dem Giebel stehen die Bildsäulen des Apollo, der Melpomene und der Thalia von Nahl [Johann August, 1710-1781, Frederick's *Directeur des Ornements*]; am Giebelfelde ist ein Opfer des Apollo von ebendemselben halb erhoben vorgestellt; am Borten sieht man die Aufschrift: Fridericus Rex Apollini et Musis [King Frederick to Apollo and the Muses]. Innerhalb der Säulenlaube sind oben an der Mauer vier Basreliefe, die Geschichte des Apollo vorstellend [the pursuit of Daphne, Apollo instructing the shepherds, and the competition with Marsyas and Midas]. Unter denselben stehen in Blenden die vier Statuen des Sophokles, Aristophanes, Menander und Euripides. [...] Die Seite nach der Bibliothek [eastern front] hat im Erdgeschosse einen gleichen Eingang und über demselben eine zweiseitige Freitreppe, auf welcher man zu dem obern Eingange nach dem Amphitheater steigt; dieser ist mit sechs gereiften korinthischen Wandpfeilern gezieret, auf welchen sechs Statuen der Musen stehen [Euterpe, Terpsichore, Calliope, Clio, Erato, and Polyhymnia]. Zwischen den Pfeilern sieht man Basreliefe [depicting Pan in pursuit of Syrinx and playing the flute, the competition between the Muses and the Pierians, and the metamorphoses of Echo] und unter denselben Bildsäulen in Blenden. Die gegenüberstehende Seite nach dem Graben ist auf gleiche Weise verzieret. Die Hinterseite [...] hat nur einen Eingang im Erdgeschosse, der nach dem Theater führet. Über demselben siehet man sechs gereifelte korinthische Wandpfeiler, welche einen Giebel tragen. Auf demselben stehen die Bildsäulen der drei Grazien, und am Giebelfelde, halb erhoben, Orpheus, welcher mit seiner Leier Tiere und Steine bewegt. Zwischen den Pfeilern sind vier Basreliefe, die Geschichte des Orpheus vorstellend.⁴²

⁴¹ Reproduced from ENGEL 2001, plate no. 63.

⁴² NICOLAI 1987, 167-9. For an exhaustive description with images, see ENGEL 2001, 109-11 and plates 74a-b. Lessing gave an unfavorable account in his *Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Theaters in Berlin* (1750), reporting that the lower sculptures "sind zwar nur von Leim, Gips, Stroh und Drath zusammen

The interior too was ‘Ovidian,’ to say the least. Deities and satyrs bore the ceiling of the foyer, which was aptly nicknamed *Apolloaal*, like caryatids. And the stage curtain was dominated by Apollo and the Muses in Watteau’esque poses and brushes.⁴³

Plate 6.3. Antoine Pesne *Apollo and the Muses* (c. 1742).
Design for the curtain of the Königliches Opernhaus. Oil on canvas.⁴⁴



Remarkable in all respects, the Opernhaus attracted the attention of foreign visitors even prior to its completion. On 26 May 1742, Frederick’s librarian Charles-Etienne Jordan reported that

Il passe ici tous les jours des comédiens, des musiciens, des artistes, des peintres qui vont à Moscou. Les artistes vont voir Knobelsdorff. Le fameux Valeriani [1690-1761, the set designer of the first opera in Russian, *Tséfal i Prokris*] lui a rendu visite, & a été extrêmement content des dessins qu’il lui a montrés de l’Opéra, etc. Cet Italien convenoit que tout y resentoit l’antique, & le goût du Palladio.⁴⁵

gesetzt: man hoffet aber doch, daß sie in ihren Schwiebögen, worinnen sie stehen, der Zeit und dem Wetter eine Weile widerstehen werden; obgleich einer und der andere schon einen Fuß oder Arm verlohren hat.” (LESSING 1968, XXII/1, 149-50).

⁴³ Additional locations in Brandenburg were dominated by Apollo and the Muses. In 1742, they surfaced on Pesne’s ceiling at Frederick’s new music room in Charlottenburg (the famous dancer Barbarina stood model for Terpsichore); between 1745 and 1750, they appeared on the temple front (by Johann Gottlieb Heymüller) and auditorium ceiling (by Charles Amédée Philippe Vanloo) of the new theater that was constructed in the eastern wing of the Potsdamer Stadtschloss.

⁴⁴ Reproduced from BARTOSCHEK 2000, 238.

⁴⁵ FREDERICK 1846-56, XVII, 234.

1741-6: the attraction of Dresden

[...] de l'Opéra de Dresde, envoyez-moi, s'il se peut, par le souffle de Zéphire, quelques bouffées des roulements de la Faustine.

Frederick to Algarotti, undated letter (1742)⁴⁶

Frederick eagerly anticipated the return of opera to Prussia. Already on 27 October 1740, the *Vossische Zeitung* announced the construction of an improvised stage at the Berliner Stadtschloss.⁴⁷ Eventually, only Graun's *Rodelinda Regina de' Langobardi* would be staged at this venue.⁴⁸ The thirty-five-piece orchestra starring on the opera's premiere, on 12 December 1741, must have enchanted those many who had not heard the like in decades. The vocal cast, by contrast, was meager; there was no chorus or ballet, and the set designs (by the Venetian vedutist Jacob 'Giacomo' Fabris) were but dim precedents to the scenic wizardry conjured up in later years.⁴⁹ Constructing an opera house was one thing, assembling a troupe and a repertoire were different matters, apparently.

In those years of trial and error, Frederick made continuous bows to Dresden, the orchestra and opera ensemble of which had enraptured his heart ever since the winter of 1727-8, when he visited the Saxon Court with his father. Vying to outdo the Saxon-Polish Elector by all means, Frederick acquired copies of the scores of *il caro Sassone*, Johann Adolf Hasse, and had several of them revived at Berlin. Thus *La Clemenza di Tito* (1738) and *Arminio* (1745) were mounted complete with the original music, while *Caio Fabrizio* (1734) and *Lucio Papirio dittatore* (1742) were presented with new music by Graun (*see table 6.1*). The influence of Dresden even sparked a number of slightly embarrassing anecdotes. One was that the aria that moved most listeners to tears in Graun's *Demofoonte Re di Tracia* (1746), "Misero pargoletto," was actually by Hasse.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ FREDERICK 1846-56, XVIII, 35. 'Faustine' or Faustina Bordoni was the famous *prima donna* and wife of Johann Adolf Hasse.

⁴⁷ After SCHNEIDER 1852, 57: "Dem Vernehmen nach wird ein grosser Saal in der oberen Etage des Schlosses zurecht gemacht, um in demselben so lange Opern zu halten, bis ein eigenes Gebäude, wovon bereits der Entwurf gemacht sein soll, dazu wird erbaut sein."

⁴⁸ The so-called 'Alabastersaal' in the Stadtschloss continued to be used after 1742 for rehearsals and stagings of French spoken plays. It found little favor with Lessing (he found it "für die Menge der Zuschauer viel zu klein." – LESSING 1968, XXII/1, 145) and was dismantled in 1805. In 1950, its last remnants were torn down together with the Stadtschloss.

⁴⁹ See the scenario in SCHNEIDER 1852, 69-70.

⁵⁰ See KRAUSE 1752, 260 ("Diese Arie, deren Graunische Composition [sic] den Zuhörern Thränen auspressete [...]") and HILLER 1784, 90 ("In dieser Oper bewog die Arie: Misero pargoletto, die meisten Zuhörer zu Thränen.").

Table 6.1. Friderician opera between 1741 and 1746: all libretti are based on historical incidents.

Premiere	Title (genre)	Composer	Librettist
12 Dec 1741	<i>Rodelinda Regina de' Langobardi</i> (dpm)	Graun	Bottarelli < Rolli
7 Dec 1742	<i>Cleopatra e Cesare</i> (dpm)	Graun	Bottarelli
11 Jan 1743	<i>La Clemenza di Tito</i> (dpm)	Hasse (Dresden 1738)	Metastasio
2 Dec 1743	<i>Artaserse</i> (dpm)	Graun	Metastasio
6 Jan 1744	<i>Catone in Utica</i> (dpm)	Graun	Metastasio
21 Dec 1744	<i>Alessandro e Poro</i> (dpm)	Graun	Metastasio ⁵¹
28 Dec 1744	<i>Lucio Papirio</i> (dpm)	Graun	Zeno (Dresden 1742)
7 Jan 1746	<i>Adriano in Siria</i> (dpm)	Graun	Metastasio
4 Feb 1746	<i>Demofonte Re di Tracia</i> (dpm)	Graun	Metastasio
27 Mar 1746	<i>Il sogno di Scipione</i> (dc ⁵²)	Nichelmann	Metastasio
2 Dec 1746	<i>Caio Fabrizio</i> (dpm)	Graun	Zeno (Dresden 1734)
30 Dec 1746	<i>Arminio</i> (dpm)	Hasse (Dresden 1745)	Pasquini
dc = <i>drammatico componimento</i> ; dpm = <i>dramma per musica</i>			

As a predictable side effect of Saxon influence, the heroes and plots of early Friderician opera were Metastasian, and thus had historical identities. Typically, the only pieces in which deities appeared were the two encomiastic prologues that were added for princely weddings.⁵³ On 6 January 1742, a cantata entitled *Venere e Cupido* preceded the revival of *Rodelinda* for the marriage of Prince August William with Louise Amalia of Brunswick; on 18 July 1744, a *Festa del Imeneo* served as introduction to the *Catone in Utica* revived for the wedding of Princess Ulrike with Adolph Frederick of Sweden. Neither of these cantatas, however, made a significant contribution to the evening, the former being comprised of a mere two arias and a duet, the latter of two arias (one each for Venus and Cupido) and a chorus. Fables also played a role of secondary interest in the entr'acte ballets choreographed by Jean-Barthélémy Lany for his *corps* of eighteen dancers, one of whom was the young Jean-Georges Noverre.⁵⁴ Thus the assassination of Orpheus was danced in *Alessandro e Poro* (1744), while a *Tantz von Griechischen Bildhauern, welche die Fabel vom Pygmalion vorstellen* was inserted in the first act of *Adriano in Siria* (1746).⁵⁵ But these exceptions

⁵¹ Original title: *Alessandro nell'Indie*.

⁵² The work is listed as a "Serenate" in MARPURG 1754-60, I, 81.

⁵³ See the synopses in MAYER-REINACH 1900, 459-67.

⁵⁴ On Noverre's presence at the Berlin Opernhaus, see THEOBALD 1997.

⁵⁵ Lany's rendering of the latter tale may not have matched the Grecized loftiness of Marie Sallé's notorious *Pygmalion* for Covent Garden (1734), still its scope and expressiveness may be seen as pointing toward the *ballet d'action* of Hilverding, Noverre and Angiolini. In MAYER-REINACH 1900, 508, it is observed that "In musikalischer Beziehung ist diese Illustrierung der Pantomime allerdings noch sehr primitiv, aber die Tatsache, daß wir schon 1745 [1746] einen derartigen Versuch in der Orchestermusik finden, ist von größter Wichtigkeit." Its movements are: 1. Entrada, Fièremet; 2. Dance, Allegro; 3. La travaille du Martout, con spirito; 4. Etonnement de la perfection de son ouvrage, Andante; 5. Il implore l'amour; 6. L'amour vant [va être] animé, Presto; 7. La statue s'anime, Adagio; 8. Surprise de la statue; 9. Affectuoso pour priver la statue qui est timide, Adagio; 10. Dance en tambourin; 11. L'amour vient les rentur [réunir]; 12. Gigue; 13. Contredanse; 14. Allegro; 15. Gavotte. The ballet must have scored a brilliant triumph, for Frederick ordered Pesne to reproduce one of its key moments on the wall of his music room at Sanssouci.

notwithstanding, no mythology featured in the earliest operas performed at Frederick's Apollonian temple.

1747-52: reform

Frederician opera steered a new course as significant modifications were made in its theatrical personnel. January 1747 saw the replacement of Bottarelli by Leopoldo de Villati, a former court poet from Vienna and Munich. That very month, a *prima donna* of international calibre arrived in the guise of Giovanna Astrua.⁵⁶ Ballet master Lany disappeared and with him went the famous 'Barbarina,' the dancer who had once held entire Berlin – and Frederick's officers in particular – under her spell. Lany and Barbarina were replaced by Sody and Denis, and Marianna Cochois (or Cochoy), respectively. Giacomo Fabris was discharged as scenographer and substituted by Innocente Bellavita.⁵⁷ The latter was subsequently reinforced by the *Theatral-Architect, Maler, Ingenieur und Maschinenmeister* Girolamo Bon (in 1749) and the world-renowned Giuseppe Galli-Bibiena (in 1751).

The combined presence of these forces appear to have provided the conditions congenial for far-reaching experiments. In generic terms alone, it broadened the production schedule from *drammi per musica* to *feste teatrali*, pastorals, and even genuinely 'tragic' *tragedie per musica*. In terms of subject matter, libretti now came to be drawn from a much wider array of sources.

Table 6.2. Friderician opera, 1747-52. All libretti were written by Leopoldo Villati.

Premiere	Title (genre)	Composer	Source
6 Apr 1747	<i>Le feste galanti</i> (ft)	Graun	Duché de Vancy <i>Les fêtes galantes</i> (1698)
3 Aug 1747	<i>Serenata</i>	pasticcio	Metastasio <i>Il re pastore</i> (1751)
1 Jan 1748	<i>Cinna</i> (dpm)	Graun	Corneille <i>Cinna</i> (1640)
27 Mar 1748	<i>L'Europa galante</i> (ft)	Graun	Houdar de La Motte <i>L'Europe galante</i> (1697)
19 Jul 1748	<i>Galatea ed Acide</i> (ppm)	Pasticcio	Villati: Metastasio <i>La Galatea</i> (1722)

⁵⁶ According to Lessing, Astrua was "eine vortreffliche Sängerin, und eben so vortreffliche Actrice, wird wenig Operistinnen ihres gleichen haben." (LESSING 1968, XXII/1, 151). Frederick remarked about Astrua that she was "really amazing; she produces arpeggios like the violin, she sings everything the flute can play, with infinite facility and quickness. Of all the voices ever created by nature, none like this one has ever before existed." (quoted from HELM 1960, 110).

⁵⁷ About him, Lessing wrote in 1750 that "Der Decorateur, Herr Bellavita, besitzt [...] noch nicht die gehörige Fertigkeit in seiner Kunst. Mehr als einmal haben seine Maschinen den Operisten fast das Leben gekostet." (LESSING 1968, XXII/1, 151).

12 Dec 1748	<i>Ifigenia in Aulide</i> (dpm)	Graun	Racine <i>Iphigénie</i> (1674)
27 Mar 1749	<i>Angelica e Medoro</i> (dpm)	Graun	Quinault <i>Roland</i> (1685)
19 Dec 1749	<i>Coriolano</i> (tpm)	Graun	Scenario by Algarotti and Frederick II ⁵⁸
31 Mar 1750	<i>Fetonte</i> (tpm)	Graun	Scenario by Algarotti after Quinault <i>Phaëton</i> (1683)
1 Jan 1751	<i>Il Mithridate</i> (tpm)	Graun	Racine <i>Mitridate</i> (1673)
27 Mar 1751	<i>Armida</i> (dpm)	Graun	Quinault <i>Armide</i> (1686)
17 Dec 1751	<i>Britannico</i> (tpm)	Graun	Racine <i>Britannicus</i> (1669)
27 Mar 1752	<i>L'Orfeo</i> (tpm ⁵⁹)	Graun	Du Boullay <i>Orphée</i> (1690)
26 Jun 1752	<i>Il giudizio di Paride</i> (ppm)	Graun	Unknown ⁶⁰
title in bold = subject involving mythology; dpm = <i>dramma per musica</i> ; fp = <i>favola pastorale</i> ; ft = <i>festa teatrale</i> ; ppm = <i>pastorale per musica</i> ; tpm = <i>tragedia per musica</i>			

All of a sudden, Berlin saw the introduction of topics that had seldom or never been considered by seria librettists. *Le feste galanti* (1747), for example, was adapted from the pioneering *opéra-ballet Les fêtes galantes* (Paris, 1697) by Joseph-François Duché de Vancy and Henri Desmarests. It staged the festivities organized by three princes on conquering the hand of a Neapolitan queen. *L'Europa galante* (1748), on the other hand, the remake of *L'Europe galante* (Paris, 1697) by Antoine Houdar de La Motte and André Campra, depicted the triumph of Venus over Discordia in four ballets danced in French, Spanish, Venetian, and Turkish attires. Both works, and especially the latter, were far ahead of their time. In the anonymous *Lettre sur le mécanisme de l'opéra italien* (1756!),⁶¹ for instance, it was suggested that a rapprochement between French and Italian opera could be *commenced* with an adaptation of *L'Europe galante*:

ce seroit au moins une tentative à faire sur les Opéra de Quinault & peut-être encore mieux de commencer par l'Europe galante qui comme Ballet est plus susceptible d'une épreuve, pour entamer (que l'on me passe cette expression) les préjugés de l'oreille.⁶²

As if further presaging the *Lettre*, Villati adapted three Quinault libretti that were considered the staple of Lullian *tragédie en musique*. The first such work, *Angelica e Medoro* (1749), was based on *Roland* (1685), an Ariostan folly dealing with the capture of Medoro by Alcina and the pursuit of Angelica by mad Orlando. Villati's choice for *Roland* was epochal

⁵⁸ A possible source is the homonymous libretto by Zaccaria Seriman, as discussed in a letter from Giammaria Ortes to Algarotti (Venice, 28 January 1746): "A [Teatro] san Cassano poi cantano attualmente un Dramma intitolato Coriolano, ch'è poesia dell'abate Seriman. E' scritto con qualche regola e con molto studio, ma senza affetto, e assai languidamente." (ORTES 1840, 13).

⁵⁹ Erroneously listed in MAYER-REINACH 1900, 465 (no. 20) as "Dramma per musica."

⁶⁰ MARPURG 1754-60, I, 84, states that the work is "von Villatis eigener Poesie," but given the great number of *Jugements de Paris* created before him (see Appendix 1.1, "Paris"), it seems likely that a French opera stood model for this production too.

⁶¹ Although HEARTZ 1995, 158-64, credited Ranieri de Calzabigi with its authorship, I find this attribution debatable in the light of such passages as "Je me souviens d'avoir vû en 1728 ou 30 [recte 1729] représenter à Paris [Lully's] Thésée onze mois de suite [...]" (ANONYMOUS 1756, 76) – in 1729, Calzabigi was a fifteen-year-old lad employed in the Livornese trading company of his father.

⁶² Ibid., 77. Not without reason, HILLER 1784, 91, called *L'Europa galante* "ein seltsames Ding von einer Opera."

from one additional respect: in the 1750s, Algarotti and Voltaire would single out the way in which Quinault had integrated the chorus in the action of the fourth act.⁶³ Even more innovative was *Fetonte* (1750), a remake of *Phaëton* (1683). With the exception of a *Fetonte* performed at London three years before,⁶⁴ no opera seria had ever staged Phaethon's fall from Apollo's chariot. Owing to its overwhelming reliance on *le merveilleux*, most critics responded ambiguously to attempts at transposing this action to Italian norms. Jommelli's reaction to Verazi's adaptation offers a case in point (see Chapter One), and so does the following dialogue in Wilhelm Heinse's musical novel *Hildegard von Hohenthal* (1795-6):

Welch ein Einfall," sagte *Hohenthal*, "den Sturz Phaetons, Himmel und Erde und die Elemente in Brand, auf dem Theater vorstellen zu wollen!" *Lockmann* versetzte gleich darauf: "es ist gewiß das albernste Bretterspiel, durchaus ohne Verstand und Empfindung. Vielleicht hat der Herzog [Carl Eugen of Württemberg] dem unsinnigen Dichter [Verazi] aus ältern Operntiteln [he refers in a footnote to Kapsberger's *Fetonte* of 1630/2 and Graun's version of 1750] das Thema angegeben, und der große Tonkünstler [Jommelli] mußte sein Genia dabey mißbrauchen." [...] Der Ausgang ist wirklich das possierlichste Zeug. Himmel und Erde brennt; Jupiter zerschmettert den Wagen Phaetons mit einem Donnerkeil; Libia, dessen Geliebte, stirbt in Ohnmacht; und Climene, die Mutter, schwatzt noch lange mit den hundstollen Königen, und stürzt sich darauf ins Meer. Kein Schauspieler erstickt oder verbrennt, welches ordentlich zum Lachen seyn muß, bey dem ungeheuern Aufruhr aller Elemente; und das Stück endigt sich mit Dunst und Rauch und dem Davonlaufen Aller." [...] Der Herzog hat mit seinen großen Künstlern das Unmögliche möglich machen, und ein glänzendes Feenspiel zum Erstaunen der guten Schwaben für Augen und Ohren geben wollen.⁶⁵

Ludicrous or not, Lully's *opéra du peuple* had once successfully projected the myth of the *Roi Soleil* onto the stage of the Académie Royale de Musique, and thus Frederick must have deemed it perfect to stage his Apollonian image onto the scene of the Opernhaus. As a matter of fact, it was he himself who advanced the scenario and supervised its versification.⁶⁶

⁶³ VOLTAIRE 1829, LVIII, 269: "Notre quatrième acte de l'opéra de *Roland* [...] est en ce genre [of a reformed opera] un modèle accompli. Rien n'est si agréable, si heureux que cette fête des bergers qui annoncent à Roland son malheur [IV,3: "Quand on vient dans ce Bocage, / Peut-on s'empêcher d'aimer? [...]"]; ce contraste naturel d'une joie naïve et d'une douleur affreuse est un morceau admirable en tout temps et en tout pays. La musique change, c'est une affaire de goût et de mode; mais le cœur humain ne change pas." (to Algarotti, December 1759). ALGAROTTI 1963, 155: "Sebbono essi intrattenimenti fare unità col dramma, essere parti integranti del tutto [...] Tale è per esempio nel teatro francese il ballo dei pastori che celebrano le nozze di Medoro e di Angelica, e fanno venire Orlando, che in essi si abbatte, in cognizione dell'estrema sua miseria." (*Saggio sopra l'opera in musica*, 1763 edition).

⁶⁴ Music by Paradies and words by Vanneschi. The libretto of this work is worth mentioning for the inclusion of a fifteen-page *Discourse on operas* by John Lockman.

⁶⁵ HEINSE 2002, 155.

⁶⁶ See the letter from Francesco Algarotti to Frederick, 28 November 1749: "En exécution des ordres de Votre Majesté, j'ai travaillé avec M. Villati pour l'opéra de mars [*Fetonte*]. En voici, Sire, le plan rédigé selon les instructions et le canevas que M. Darget [Etienne, Frederick's secretary] m'a envoyés par ordre de V[otre] M[ajesté]. Le trop peu de temps que l'on a eu, vu la répétition qui s'est faite même hier au soir, n'a pas permis de copier le cahier que j'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à V. M., et où il a été nécessaire de faire des corrections ce matin. V. M. aura la bonté de le faire renvoyer avec ses ordres ultérieurs et les corrections qu'elle jugera nécessaires, afin que le poète [Villati] puisse procéder à la versification; il a déjà commencé à y mettre la main. Je lui ai fait sentir, au milieu de ses catarrhes et de ses fluxions, que l'âme et la célérité de César [Frederick] doivent passer, autant qu'il est possible, dans ses serviteurs." (FREDERICK 1846-56, XVIII, 82). The libretto did not credit Frederick's or Algarotti's contributions, though, stating (on p. 6) that "La presente Tragedia è tirata dal Francese, e composta ad uso di Musica dal Sig. Leopoldo de Villati, Poeta di Sua Maestà."

Innocente Bellavita and his machinist Girolamo Bon must have shed blood and tears over the scenic pomp and splendor necessary to pass the test.⁶⁷ In Act I scene 7, Protheus rises from the sea escorted by Tritons; two scenes later, Triton himself appears to the sound of a ‘gay symphony,’ after which Protheus transforms into a lion, tree, sea monster, fountain, and flame, and seagods and nymphs join in a dance. Act II scene 8 calls for an Isis temple that could have been easily hauled up from depository, if it wasn’t for its construction in glass, dazzling illumination and magic feats.⁶⁸ As Epaphus invokes his mother Isis to prevent the marriage between Libya and Phaethon, the following happens:

EPAFO
 Voi della Diva o Sacerdoti, abbaglia
 Cotanto adunque l’Oro dell’offerte,
 Che osate di gradirle? E tu, gran Dea,
 Mia genitrice, accetti
 Da quell’odiata mano,
(accennando Merope [Lybia’s father, the King of Egypt])
 Che Libia m’involò, dono profano?
*(Si sente gran strepito nel tempio, e si vedono le porte del medesimo
 a chiudersi da se stesse.)*
 [...]

 Iside, Dea possente,
 Fa di te, fa di me giuste vendette.
*Mentre Fetonte va per aprir le porte del tempio, le medesime si
 riaprono da se stesso, e quel luogo, che prima era magnifico,
 diventa un abisso orribile, che vomite fiamme, e done n’escono
 Furie, e Fantasimi terribili, che fanno ritirar tutte le genti ivi
 radunate.*

The spectacular incident is followed up in a blink by an extended *divertissement* of Seasons and Hours, dancing their way into the third act.⁶⁹ The scene then changes to Apollo’s reign, where a chorus extolls the healing powers of the Sun (“Senza te, Dio luminoso”), after which a countryside is shown with Aurora against a cloudy sky. In the finale, everything is covered in flames as Phaethon falls from heaven. One can easily imagine what Frederick William I must have thought of the expenses involved in staging this costly frivolity.

The Berlin Quinault cycle was rounded off on 27 March 1751 with a remake of the very libretto that ten years later would serve the Viennese impresario Giacomo Durazzo as his

⁶⁷ Lessing, who otherwise bestowed little words of praise on Bellavita’s designs, reported about *Fetonte* that it would be performed “mit den prächtigsten Auszierungen” (LESSING 1968, XXII/1, 154).

⁶⁸ SCHNEIDER 1852, 132. A similar “Glastempel mit gläsernen Säulen, Postamenten und Gesimsen” appeared in *L’Uomo* (Bayreuth, 1754), a *festa teatrale* on a libretto by Luigi Stampiglia after a scenario by Frederick’s sister Wilhelmine.

⁶⁹ *Fetonte* (Berlin, 1750), 70: “All’ aprirsi della Scena, siegue Ballo delle Stagioni che vengono seguite dalle Ore del Giorno.” (III,1). The dancers were Mr. Giraud as ‘Zephire,’ Mlle. Auguste and Mr. Le Voir in a *pas de deux* as ‘Eté’ and ‘Printems,’ Mlle. Couchoy as ‘Aurore,’ next to twelve ‘Figurants’ and ‘Figurantes’ representing the hours of the day (*Ibid.*, 93). The movements are listed in MAYER-REINACH 1900, 506.

point of departure for a reformist *azione teatrale* – *Armida* (1686).⁷⁰ Vienna was in more than one respect anticipated by Berlin. Whereas Durazzo's *Armida* (1761) was followed up by an *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) tailored to the voice of a contralto, Gaetano Guadagni, Berlin responded to the success of *Armida* and the arrival of the contralto Giovanni Carestini with its own *Orfeo*, premiered on 27 March 1752.⁷¹ The libretto to this *tragedia per musica* was drawn from Michel Du Boullay's *Orphée* (Paris, 1690), a *tragédie en musique* originally set by the Lully scion Louis. Its plot stars, besides the characters Orpheus, Euridice and Pluto, the Thracian Queen Aspasia and her confidante Ismene, Orpheus's brother (Aristeo) and friend (Cleone), and a judge on Pluto's side, Radamanto. To complicate matters, Aspasia desires Orpheus, Aristeus Euridice, and Ismene Aristeus. But in spite of these supplements, the basic core of the myth remains standing; moreover, Villati's version covers the full story of Orpheus, from his marriage with Euridice to his slaying by the Bacchants. The extra characters thereby fill in the plot like pieces of a puzzle. Thus Aspasia is directly responsible for the deaths of Euridice and Orpheus since it is she who puts the fatal serpent in the grass and leads the murderous Bacchants.

Choruses are perhaps more sparingly used in Villati's *Orfeo* than in Gluck's celebrated opera, yet they too are derived from literary sources – Ovid rather than Vergil in Gluck's case – and connected to the action so that more comprehensive *tableaus* emerge from their repetition. Those familiar with Monteverdi's *Orfeo* may recognize faint echoes of the Act I Coro di Ninfe e Pastori “Vieni, Imeneo, deh, vieni” in the opening chorus “Scenda Imeneo”:⁷²

Tempio magnifico, adornato per Nozze, nel di cui mezzo si vedrà la Statua di Marte avanti un' Ara, sopra la quale v'è fuoco ardente. Intorno l'Ara sta il Gran Sacerdote co' suoi Ministri, che tengono in mano i vasi sacri, ove stanno rinchiusi i liquori, gl'incensi, e le cose tutte necessarie per il futuro sposalizio.

CORO

Scenda Imeneo,
Scenda dal cielo
Il Nume amabile,
Piacer de i cor.

⁷⁰ *Armida* by Traetta and Migliavacca. Details in GOLDSCHMIDT 1914, lxiii-v; HEARTZ 1982, 67-80; BROWN 1991, 279-80; BROWN 2000, 140-1; DELLABORRA 2001, 7-15. For a comprehensive discussion of the reception of the Armida tale in Viennese reform opera, see DUNLAP 1999.

⁷¹ Frederick would be vexed more than once by Giovanni 'Orpheus' Carestini. On 7 November 1753, he wrote that he and Astrua were “Teufels-Krop, ich wollte, daß sie der Teufel alle holte! die Canaillen bezahlet man zum Pläsir, und nicht, [um] Vexirerei von ihnen zu haben!” (FREDERICK 1926, 243). In February 1754, furthermore, he remarked: “ich habe einige 30 jahr ohne Caristini gelebet und werde ohne ihm noch wohl lenger leben Könen!” (Ibid., 266).

⁷² See *Metamorphoses*, X.1-3: “Thence, in his saffron robe, for distant Thrace, / Hymen departs, through air's unmeasured space; / By Orpheus called, the nuptial power attends [...]”.

E seco vengane
La bella Venere,
E l'accompagnino
Le Grazie tenere,
Il casto Amor.

ASPASIA
Bella Euridice, il lieto Giorno è questo
[...]

CORO
Scenda Imeneo
Scenda dal cielo
Il Nume amabile,
Piacere de i cor.

Graun's ensembles were still another matter. Praised in their day as the "honor of the German nation,"⁷³ they were offered in print in 1773-4 in a four-volume anthology for the use of amateurs and students in composition. A stunning sample of Graun's art, as well as an illustration of the gradual transfer of 'action ensembles' from opera buffa to opera seria, is offered by the trio "Fuggi da questo lido" (Act II scene 8), which is sung immediately after Orpheus has trespassed Pluto's order not to look Euridice in the face.⁷⁴ To be sure, its da capo mold elongates the piece to greater lengths than would be desirable for a number so tightly locked to the action, yet its vocal disposition makes up for this defect, adding incredible individuality to each of the participants. Pluto, for instance, is rendered here as an implacable tyrant who contrasts the mellifluous pleas of Orpheus and Euridice ("Abbi di lui / me pietà") with the kind of *piqué* exclamations ("Nò, nò, nò...") comic opera stood noted for:

⁷³ REICHARDT 1774-6, I, 19, footnote: "Wie sehr Graun Haßen [Johann Adolf Hasse] an Wissenschaft in der Harmonie übertrifft, hievon zeugen schon in seinen Opern die Duetten, Terzetten, u. s. w. Dieses sind die besten Muster, die wir haben, und das Publikum kann es dem Herrn Hartung in Königsberg und Herrn Decker in Berlin nicht genug verdanken, daß sie es mit diesen Meisterstücken, einer Ehre der deutschen Nation, genau bekannt gemacht haben."

⁷⁴ The other ensemble in *Orfeo*, "Sì, mio ben, bell'idol mio" (II,1), is a more traditional love duet for Orpheus and Euridice on meeting each other in a 'dark wood in the underworld.'

Trio "Fuggi da questo lido" (II,8), mm. 33-43.

33 [senza tempo]

Euridice

Orfeo

Plutone

Nò, nò; ch'im-pla-ca-bil so-no. Non ò di voi pie-tà, non ò di voi pie-tà, nò,

Violini I & II

Viola

Basso continuo

38

tà ab-bi di lui pie-tà, di lui pie-tà di lui pie-tà, pie-tà pie-tà ab-bi di lui pie-tà.

tà ab-bi di me pie-tà, di me pie-tà di me pie-tà, pie-tà di me, di me pie-tà, ab-bi di me pie-tà.

nò non ò di voi pie-tà, nò, nò, nò, nò, non ò di voi pie-tà, nò, nò, nò, nò, nò, nò, non ò di voi pie-tà.

On account of such astonishing features, *Orfeo* garnered considerable success, enjoying various reprises in Berlin, Mainz and Hamburg.⁷⁵ Still, it would be the last major Friderician opera to have a mythological *tragédie en musique* as its model. On 9 July 1752, Leopoldo de Villati passed away. His legacy would live on, be it elsewhere in Europe. In January 1752, the Dresden court – of all places – produced *Zoroastro*, a tragedy adapted by the young Giacomo Casanova from a libretto by Louis de Cahusac (*Zoroastre*, Paris, 1749). The score by Johann Adam partly retained Rameau’s original music, partly offered fresh compositions. The result, however, was a total fiasco.⁷⁶ In 1753, former Prussian courtier

⁷⁵ Details in Appendix 1.1, “Orpheus”.

⁷⁶ Wilhelmine von Bayreuth took delight in reporting to her brother that “Der König von Polen hat eine Komödie aufführen lassen, die ihn 30.000 Ecus gekostet hat. Es ist die Oper Zoroaster, die übersetzt und als Komödie gespielt wurde. Er hat den Machinisten und den Bühnenbildner aus Paris kommen lassen. Man hat mir

Duke Carl Eugen of Württemberg – he was married to Frederick’s niece Elisabeth Friederike of Bayreuth – ordered Ignaz Holzbauer and Niccolò Jommelli to compose new music to Villati’s *Fetonte*. Two years later, Carl Eugen had Mattia Verazi conceive two additional French-inspired works, *Pelope* and *Enea nel Lazio*, both of which were set by Jommelli.⁷⁷ In 1759, finally, Bourbon Duke Filippo of Parma planned a remake of Rameau’s *Hippolyte et Aricie* (Paris, 1733) which combined the “chant italien” with “ce qu’il y a de bon dans l’opéra français” and “spectacles dans le goût de ceux qui ont fait tant de plaisir dans le théâtre de Berlin.”⁷⁸ To ensure that Friderician standards were met, Don Philip personally invited Frederick’s advisor, Francesco Algarotti, to overview the production.⁷⁹ The remainder of the ‘reform’ saga, as continued at the courts of Vienna, Mannheim and Munich, is too well known to be rehearsed. What is less known, however, is that it had its origins at the Königliches Opernhaus in Berlin.

A new sensibility (for myth)

Which Berliner was responsible for trail-blazing that sudden and unlikely rapprochement between Italian and French opera? Who disrupted history’s long-standing monopoly in opera seria by re-introducing subjects from mythology and romance in spectacular fashion?

To be sure, Villati authored all of the fourteen libretti performed between 1747 and 1752; yet, the evidence surrounding his literary career prevents us from regarding him as the mastermind behind Friderician reform. Before his tenure at Berlin, Villati composed a handful of oratorios for the Habsburg court and two *drammi* for Munich, *Berenice* (1730) and *Ciro* (1733), none of which was particularly innovative. Nor did Villati seem to have attained a high rank at Frederick’s court, for he earned the rather insignificant salary of 400 thalers a year. He was never commemorated in an academic *Eloge*, nor was he mentioned in any contemporary review, with the exception of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s *Nachricht von dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Theaters in Berlin* (1750). As caustic as ever, Lessing commented that there was little “Erfindung, Ordnung und Wahrscheinlichkeit” in Villati’s efforts since he

versichert, dass das Ganze gründlich misslungen ist.” (Quoted from MUELLER-LINDENBERG, 148). Casanova did not mention the fiasco in his *Mémoires*.

⁷⁷ Details in McCLYMONDS 1982, 102-3.

⁷⁸ FREDERICK 1846-56, XVIII, 133 (Algarotti to Frederick, 20 February 1759).

⁷⁹ Algarotti reported to his former patron that he had been “extrêmement flatté d’y [in Parma] paraître comme le serviteur le plus attaché au plus grand prince [Frederick], qui voit l’Europe réunie pour le combattre et l’admirer [in the Seven Years’ War]. J’ai bien entendu, Sire, le nom prussien célèbre par des bouches françaises.” (Ibid., XVIII, 133).

stoppelt seine Opern alle aus Tragödien zusammen: und was er verändert, das verschlimmert er. Man darf nur seine *Iphigenia* [*Ifigenia in Aulide*, 1748] und *Angelica und Medorus* [*Angelica e Medoro*, 1749] nachlesen: so wird man darinne fast lauter abgebrauchte Einfälle und geschworne Opernvergleichnisse, und überhaupt eine gar unpoetische Schreibart finden.⁸⁰

Let us therefore presume, on the basis of Lessing's biased opinion (he resented opera as a whole), that Villati was a mere lackey who happened to be at hand to versify ready-made scenarios. In that case, our attention should focus on Villati's employer, the aesthetic arbiter of Prussia and the (co-)author of several scenarios, Frederick the Great. Although the King never set foot outside the German area, his taste was oriented toward France when it came to ballet, drama, literature and painting, toward Italy when singers were concerned, and toward Germany for matters regarding composition and instrumental music. What kind of opera was most dear to such a person? In 1748, Frederick forwarded this question to his *Directeur des Spectacles* in an epistle entitled *Sur les plaisirs*:

De nos brillans plaisirs aimable directeur,
O vous qui gouvernez, au gré du spectateur,
Les jeux de Terpsichore et ceux de Polymnie,
Les pleurs de Melpomène et les ris de Thalie!
Lequel de ces plaisirs pourroit selon nos vœux
Contribuer le plus à faire des heureux?

The director's response was as follows:

» Cherchez, me dites-vous, un spectacle nouveau:
» Allez à ce palais enchanteur et magique
» Où l'optique, la danse, et l'art de la musique,
» *De cent plaisirs divers ne forment qu'un plaisir* [my emphasis];
» Ce spectacle est de tous celui qu'il faut choisir.⁸¹

"To form one pleasure from a hundred different ones" could somewhat constitute the motto running through each of the operas produced after 1747, to begin with *Le feste galanti*.⁸² It also ran as a motto through the *Dissertation sur la tragédie ancienne et moderne* Voltaire attached to his *Sémiramis*, a tragedy published in the year of Frederick's epistle.⁸³ On pondering the qualities of Italian and French opera, Voltaire observed in his manifesto of theatrical art that *tragédie en musique* emulated Greek tragedy through the incorporation of

⁸⁰ LESSING 1968, XXII/1, 150-1. See also Ibid., 150, where he wrote that Bottarelli's "Opern weit besser gerathen, als des itzigen Operndichters, Villati," as well as Lessing's "PotzenOper, im neusten italienischen Gusto oder Geschmack," *Tarantula* (1749), which he signed as 'Leopoldo de Villati.' Poor Villati would never respond to the insult.

⁸¹ FREDERICK 1805, III, 115-6. The poem was first published in Frederick's *Poésies du Philosophe de Sans-Souci* (1760).

⁸² Frederick reported about this production that "Bellavita fait les décorations, et tous nos artistes, musiciens, baladins, comédiens, chapons et poulardes, concourent à rendre ce spectacle brillant." (FREDERICK 1846-56, XXVII/1, 173-4).

⁸³ *Sémiramis* was turned into a Friderician opera in 1754.

“la mélopée, les chœurs, les machines, les divinités”.⁸⁴ The enchantment aroused by this “mélange heureux de scenes, de chœurs, de danses, de simphonie, & de cette variété de décorations,” he argued, did not only legitimize French opera, it even “subjuge jusqu’au critique même”.⁸⁵ In fact, in France audio-visual spectacle had always found more favor than spoken words: “la meilleure comédie, la meilleure tragédie, n’est jamais fréquentée par les mêmes personnes aussi assidument qu’on opéra médiocre.”⁸⁶

Such appreciation for the extra-linguistic aspects of the theater signposts vital changes in the aesthetics of the performing arts. It heralds a current of thought that would eventually come to denounce neo-Aristotelian precepts in favor of more empirical criteria such as sensual delight. Verisimilitude thereby ceased to be seen as an *a priori* rule whereby the intrinsic quality of the dramatic poem could be judged. Instead, verisimilitude became an *ad hoc* standard for measuring the instant effect of the spectacle. What is of capital importance is that this aesthetic transition contributed to the reappraisal of mythology in opera. Omens for this change already appear in de Brosses’s *Lettres familières* of 1739-40, and most particularly in those passages in which the author criticized opera seria for its “purs sujets d’histoire”.⁸⁷ The use of history, de Brosses observed, only guaranteed a “première apparence de vérité” that did not fundamentally rescue opera from its principal ‘inconvenience,’ namely, of being sung.⁸⁸ Mythological plots à la Zeno and Metastasio had by contrast cast off the genre’s visual attractions, leaving a monotonous string of recitatives and arias with little or no choruses, ballets or machinery. The *Lettre sur le mécanisme de l’opéra italien* (1756) confirmed de Brosses’s opinion, arguing that historical plots had depleted Italian opera from the “ressources qui fournit la Fable pour la pompe & le merveilleux du Spectacle” and had by so doing turned a “fiction amusante” into a “vraisemblance ennuyeuse.”⁸⁹

Although most Italian librettists admitted that their art could use more pomp and circumstance, the majority of them was not prepared to give up history so easily. Even Ranieri de’ Calzabigi, that harbinger (?) of reform, maintained as late as 1755 that “not only the verisimilar, but also the truth” prevailed in the libretti of Zeno and Metastasio through the

⁸⁴ VOLTAIRE 1748-50, IX, 10.

⁸⁵ Ibid., IX, 10.

⁸⁶ Ibid., IX, 10.

⁸⁷ DE BROSSES 1858, II, 366

⁸⁸ Ibid., II, 366, 368: “[...] si les Italiens ont cru éviter les inconvénients que je remarque dans nos opéras par le choix du sujet des leurs, et en les dénuant de cet appareil qui rompt l’action principale, ils se sont fort trompés.”

⁸⁹ Ibid., 81-2.

representation of “celebrated names, historical events and familiar actions.”⁹⁰ Lullian opera, by contrast, went “beyond the fabulous,” for in it,

magicians, geni and sylphs, mixed with deities and demons, streams, winds, nymphs, flying dragons, Pegasus, hippogriffs, all of which are nowadays even being derided by children, appear side by side. In so weird a concoction the poet wearies himself in vain to fiddle with the interest [action], and if he has a brain, he is the first to laugh about such monstrous creations.⁹¹

Calzabigi furthermore denied that Quinault’s creatures were more true-seeming operatic characters than “Titus, Adrianus, Cyrus and all those other heroes Sir Metastasio has introduced.”⁹² And epic stories, he added, precisely gained interest when being drawn closer to reality. As such, the Dido episode in the *Aeneid* was far more attractive to him than Aeneas’s descent to hell – an odd comment when associated with Calzabigi’s future authorship of *Orfeo ed Euridice* and *Alceste*.⁹³

All objections notwithstanding, Quinault’s libretti were increasingly venerated by the champions of sensualism. One of them, Charles Batteux, questioned the criteria whereby verisimilitude was generally applied. In *Les beaux-arts réduits à un même principe* (1746), Batteux pointed out that each artistic medium bore important mimetic limitations. While tragedy and opera staged larger-than-life actions, the former pertained to the heroic and human, the latter to the marvelous:

comme il y a dans l’Epopée deux sortes de grands: le Merveilleux & l’Héroïque; il peut y avoir aussi deux espèces de Tragédie, l’une héroïque, qu’on appelle simplement Tragédie: l’autre merveilleuse, qu’on a nommée Spectacle Lyrique ou Opera. Le merveilleux est exclus de la première espèce, parce que ce sont des hommes qui agissent en hommes; au lieu que dans la seconde, les Dieux agissent en Dieux, avec tout l’appareil d’une puissance surnaturelle; ce qui ne seroit point merveilleux, cesseroit en quelque sorte d’être vraisemblable.⁹⁴

On account of being sung, Batteux continued, musical drama could not even aspire toward spoken tragedy and had to be content with

⁹⁰ CALZABIGI 1994, I, 139-40: “Nelle nostre poesie drammatiche, sia in quelle del Poeta di cui parliamo [Metastasio], sia in quelle del Zeno ed anche de’ suoi antecessori, non solo il verisimile ma il vero per così dire da per tutto risplende. Vi si veggono celebri nomi, avvenimenti storici, azioni conosciute o con gran parsimonia di cambiamenti al gusto del teatro accomodate.” (*Dissertazione su le poesie drammatiche del Signore Abate Pietro Metastasio*, 1755).

⁹¹ Ibid., I, 140: “Si raggiran elleno communemente sopra del favoloso, corredate poi da tutto l’immaginario che una fervida fantasia può sognare. [...] Maghe, geni, silfi mescolati co’ Numi e co’ demoni, fiumi, venti, ninfe, draghi volanti, Pegasi, Ippogrifi, cose tutte oggimai derise fin da’ fanciulli vi compariscono a vicenda. In così strano accozzamento s’affanna invano il poeta d’insinuar l’interesse, e se egli ha senno il primo di sì mostruose produzioni si ride.”

⁹² Ibid., I, 114-5: “E in ultimo nell’esaltar che fanno il piano inventato da Quinault per il più adattato alla musica nuovamente si contradicono, perché Ruggiero non è certo più musico d’Achille né Goffredo di Temistocle né Orlando di Giasone né Armida di Didone né Erminia di Deidamia; e Giove, Plutone, Nettuno, I venti, le tempeste, le furie, gli elementi non sono a vero dire persone più cantanti di Tito, d’Adriano, di Ciro e degli altri tutti citati eroi che il signor Metastasio ha introdotti.”

⁹³ Ibid., I, 142: “[...] dovendendosi inoltre ponderare che anche nell’epica poesia più licenziosa della drammatica le cose che più al vero si accostano più interessanti divengono, come nella stessa *Eneide* è certamente più interessante l’episodio di Didone che la discesa d’Enea all’inferno.”

⁹⁴ BATTEUX 1746, 211.

une action merveilleuse. C'est le divin de l'Épopée mis en spectacle. Comme les Acteurs sont des Dieux, ou des Héros Demi-dieux; ils doivent s'annoncer aux Mortels par des opérations, par un langage, par une inflexion de voix, qui surpassent les loix du vraisemblable ordinaire.⁹⁵

Quite understandably, Batteux's ideas were not well received in Italy; yet, they found fertile ground above the Alps, and more particularly in Prussia, where his treatise was translated as *Einschränkung der schönen Künste auf Einen einzigen Grundsatz* (1751). The translator, however, Johann Adolph Schlegel, could not help adding footnotes to Batteux's text, writing:

Eben so wie die ersten Bestreiter der Oper sich die Regeln des Trauerspiels von den Mustern der alten und neuern großen tragischen Dichter abgezogen, und darum das lyrische Trauerspiel verwarfen, weil es kein Trauerspiel in der Form des Sophocles oder Corneille war: So bildet sich Herr Batteux seinen Begriff von der Oper bloß nach den Arbeiten des Quinault; und folgert daraus, daß die Personen, die uns die Oper vorstellt, Götter oder Halbgötter seyn müssen. Dieser Umstand war gleichwohl etwas zufälliges.⁹⁶

The criterium of 'sung drama' did not convince Schlegel of the fact that mythology solved the issue of verisimilitude, simply because opera could not imitate any kind of nature, heroic or supernatural:

Die Oper entfernt sich von der wirklichen Natur noch um einen Grad weiter, als das Trauerspiel; aber wird darum das in der Oper aufhören, wahrscheinlich zu seyn, was nicht wunderbar ist? Den Nachahmungen der Bildhauerkunst fehlen die Farben der Natur, die den Nachahmungen der Malerey eigen sind. Würde man daraus wohl folgern können, dass die Bildhauerkunst nichts als höhere Wesen, nichts als Götter, vorstellen dürfe, weil dadurch gewissermaßen die Unähnlichkeit, die bey ihren Statuen, wenn sie gegen Menschen gehalten werden, sogleich ins Auge fällt, verdeckt oder glaublicher gemacht würde?⁹⁷

Additional comments on Batteux's tract appeared in the 1760 issue of the Berlin periodical *Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*.⁹⁸ Its editor, Friedrich Wilhelm Marburg, was less *kritisch* about Batteux than Schlegel and noted that valuable lessons could be drawn from the interaction of scenery, ballet and music in Quinault's libretti, as accomplished through the context of myth:

Batteux schlägt zur Oper eine wunderbare Handlung, und Götter und Halbgötter zu Personen vor. Metastasio aber, führet Personen aus der menschlichen Welt, und wahre Begebenheiten auf. Inzwischen dünkt mir die Regel des Batteux sehr schön. Man laße die ordentliche Tragödie von Gottheiten leer, und thue dagegen die wunderbaren Materien ins Schauspiel, worinn man alle Wunder der Malerey und der Baukunst, des Tanzes und der Musik, auf die wahrscheinlichste Weise vereinigen will. Ich bitte die Quinaultischen Opern ohne Vorurtheil zu lesen, und als ein Aestheticus zu betrachten. Man stelle sich dabey vor, daß die genannten Künste alle in gehöriger Vollkommenheit wirken.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Ibid., 211-2.

⁹⁶ Quoted from FLAHERTY 1978, 154-5.

⁹⁷ Eadem, 156.

⁹⁸ MARBURG 1754-60, V, 20-44.

⁹⁹ Ibid., V, 3.

But arguably the Prussian who best understood the implications of Batteux's ideas was Christian Gottfried Krause (1719-1770), a successful lawyer and host of musico-literary salons at Potsdam. Krause was well informed by the productions at the Opernhaus. His major contribution to operatic poetics, the treatise *Von der musikalischen Poesie* (1752), was dedicated to none other than court Kapellmeister Carl Heinrich Graun.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Krause was able to cite an infinity of details from the operas performed at Berlin. In a paragraph on recitative-writing, he for instance commented that

Man [who?] giebt die Regel, ein Recitativ solle kurz seyn, und höchstens nicht mehr als sechzehn bis zwanzig nicht gar lange Zeilen haben. [...] Allein sehr oft erlaubt die Materie des Gedichtes, und in Singspielen die Handlung, dergleichen große Kürze nicht; ja auch ohne Absicht auf die poetische Ausführung der Materie, muß ich sagen, daß so gar kurze Recitative, wie in der berlinischen Opern Angelika [*Angelica e Medoro*, 1749] und Coriolan [*Coriolano*, 1749] vorkommen, ebenfalls keine gute Wirkung thun.¹⁰¹

Krause also had Graun's manuscripts at his disposal while compiling his text.¹⁰² Thus in a discussion of aria forms, he provided a wealth of details about "Sì, sì, mie labbra care" from *Le feste galanti*:

Dieser Arie geht ein Ritornel vorher, welches sich vollkommen dazu schickt, und einen kurzen Inbegriff der ganzen Arie enthält. Der Sänger singt sodann über die Worte: *si, si, mie labbra care*, mit einem Gange an, welcher Gefallen und Zufriedenheit über das betragen der Geliebten bemerkt. Zu den Worten: *mi dite di sperare, d'amar & di servire*, gehen Töne, welche sagen, der Worte Innhalt sey von Wichtigkeit, und es komme darauf bey der Liebe des Sängers an. Da nun mit diesen Worten der Verstand einigermaßen aus ist, so nimmt der Componist, während daß die Singstimme einen Augenblick schweigt, Gelegenheit, die lautgehenden Instrumente einen Gang anbringen zu lassen, der einen starken Entschluß bemerkt. [etc.]¹⁰³

Although *Von der musikalischen Poesie* was principally concerned with the art of libretto-writing, Krause too perceived opera as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* that was largely, if not entirely independent from spoken tragedy. On the issue of subject matter, for instance, he paid lip service to Batteux's revisionist theory of verisimilitude, arguing that

Die Opern haben also, und müssen in Ansehung des Förmlichen, mehr und andere Regeln haben, als die geredeten Schauspiele. Diejenigen aber, die die Regeln der letztern [spoken plays] wissen oder wissen wollen, wollen selbige durchgehends auf alle Schauspiele ziehen, und sind mit den Singspielen gar nicht zufrieden. Sie fragen zuvörderst, wenn die Oper eine Vorstellung menschlicher Handlungen seyn solle, wie sich diese durch Musik und gesungen nachahmen ließen? Sie fragen, wenn die Leute in ihren Beschäftigungen und in ihren Gesprächen sängen? Wo diejenigen wären, welche singend Staatsgeschäfte treiben, Verräthereyen, Unfälle, Kriege angeben u. d. g. m. [und dergleichen mehr]¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ In the preface, KRAUSE 1752, 'Schreiben an Herrn G.[raun],' s.n., Krause acknowledged that the treatise was "gewissermaßen Ihr [Graun's] eigen Werk. Sie haben mir den ersten Vorschlag dazu gethan, und auch während Arbeit, durch Ihre Urtheile, manche Wahrheit besser einsehen und bestimmen helfen."

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 235-6. Algarotti would not have agreed with Krause since he wrote to Frederick that "tout l'intérêt s'y [in *Coriolano*] trouve, malgré la brièveté des récitatifs [...]" (in FREDERICK 1846-56, XVIII, 72).

¹⁰² Krause was also a major contributor to the German *Lied*, being the co-editor (with Karl Wilhelm Ramler) of several volumes of *Oden* and *Lieder* (1753-68) that were set by, among others, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 281.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 366.

But according to him, the debate on history versus mythology missed one essential point: namely, that singing itself was natural to human beings.¹⁰⁵ Given that song was equally implanted in manhood as acting, Krause demanded that the Aristotelian concept of mimesis be widened so that librettists could decide for themselves what type of subject matter suited their endeavors best:

In Absicht auf die Wahrscheinlichkeit [...] ist der Operndichter weniger gezwungen, als der tragische. Es ist schon zur Gewohnheit worden [in Berlin!], in Singspielen sich hierin mehrere Freyheit zu nehmen, als in den geredeten Spectakeln. Die große Pracht der Opern, die reizende und rührende Musik derselben, verblendet auch den Zuhörer, daß er in diesem Stück nicht so strenge ist. *Und überhaupt lieben wir zwar die Wahrscheinlichkeit, aber wir lieben das Vergnügen der Sinne, und die Rührung des Herzens noch mehr* [emphasis added]. Man verletze also die Wahrscheinlichkeit ein wenig: man melde uns aber nur, daß es geschehen werde; man gebe uns vorher eine kleine Nachricht davon; man bediene sich eines kleinen Vorwandes dazu; man erhitze hernach unsere Einbildungskraft mit dem Wunderbaren; man zeige uns eine Gottheit, eine Zauberey, eine neue schöne Auszierung des Theaters; man lasse eine sonderbare und reizende Harmonie dazu gehen; so werden wir schon verstaten, daß die Wahrscheinlichkeit ein wenig bey Seite gesetzt werde; wir erholen uns dafür an dem Vergnügen, und an der Rührung, welche das Neue, das Schöne, das Wunderbare gebiehet.¹⁰⁶

The *make-belief* of opera hinging less upon cognitive corroboration than on sensory-emotional pleasure (*Rührung*), even machines could make a good impression on the spectator when introduced in mythological plots:

Mit so viel poetischer und mechanischer Wahrscheinlichkeit dergleichen Dinge [machines] angebracht werden müssen, so darf man doch sich, oder die Scene, nur durch einen Schwung der Einbildungskraft, in die alten leichtgläubigen Zeiten versetzen, so werden dieselben uns eben so glaubwürdig vorkommen, als viele unserer wunderbaren Erzählungen, die durch die gemeine Sage fortgepflanzt worden. Die Fabeln der Mythologie hatten bey den Alten völligen Glauben, ob gleich die Vernünftigen unter ihnen sich fast öffentlich darüber aufhielten. Ja auch in unserm Glauben haben sie sich schon so bestärket, daß wir bey ihrer Vorstellung, sie als bekannt und richtig annehmen.¹⁰⁷

Krause's account suggests that the introduction of French-inspired spectacle in Friderician opera was distinctly argued and anticipated. Although hard evidence is lacking to ascertain that Frederick and/or Villati themselves were informed about the newest currents in aesthetic philosophy, *Von der musikalischen Poesie* testifies to the idea that intellectuals in Berlin perceived the shift from history to fantasy as a broadening of judgment from classicist 'a priorism' to empirical pragmatism. But all its scintillating and meticulous observations in spite, it would exert little or no influence on operatic reform elsewhere in Europe. Krause's tract was never translated or re-issued, nor does it seem to have been read by theorists below the Alps. Luckily, another intellectual had witnessed – and contributed to – the very productions Krause commented upon. By simply redoing Krause's job in Italian, this man would alter the fate of opera seria – Francesco Algarotti.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 368: "Jeder Mensch kann einen Ton angeben und singen, ja gar Melodien erfinden, die bloß in ihm gelegen haben."

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 438-9.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 422-3.

Francesco Algarotti

Francesco Algarotti (1714-1764), a towering figure in mid-eighteenth-century culture, might have acquired an even greater status had he not tackled so many subjects of inquiry.¹⁰⁸ Born the son of a wealthy Venetian merchant, Algarotti was already a polymath during his days at the University of Bologna: his curriculum included geometry, astronomy, philosophy, physics, and anatomy. At twenty, he embarked upon a trip around Italy's principal cities, followed by a Grand Tour around France and England during which he led a nobleman's life, in spite of serious debts. In 1735, he sojourned at Voltaire's castle in Cirey; shortly afterwards, he joined the Royal Society of London where he became an apostle of Newton. Newtonian optics provided Algarotti with the subject for his first book, *Il Newtonianismo per le dame ovvero Dialoghi sopra la luce e i colori* ('Newtonianism for the ladies, or Dialogues on light and colors,' 1737). This little gem, dedicated to Fontenelle, transports the reader to a villa near Lake Garda where a certain *Marchesa di E**** converses with a *Cavaliere*. Six dialogues later, the reader is acquainted with all the details about the dispersion of light, without having endured the slightest moment of boredom. To accomplish this, Algarotti deployed a gentle style, drawing plenty of parallels between Newton's abstract theories and things more familiar to galant ladies, such as music. Thus, at one point in the third dialogue, the Cavaliere compares the excitation of colors on the optic nerve to an imagined harpsichord that generates colors, rather than musical styles:

Upon moving the Keys of this Instrument, instead of hearing Sounds, you will see Colours and Mezzo Tintos appear, which will produce the same Harmony as Sounds do. The Sonatas of *Rameaux* or *Corelli* ['Sassone' or Hasse in the original version] will give the same Pleasure to the Eyes when seen upon this philosophical Harpsicord, as they do to the Ear when they are played upon the common Sort. The Concorde of a Piece of Purple and Scarlet will raise the Passions of Love, Pity, Courage, or Anger in our Souls: This surprizing Instrument is now making beyond the Mountains, and you may for the future expect your Silks and Ribbons in Music. The transient Pleasures of the Ear will be fixed in the Eye; you may continually enjoy the fine Airs of *Farinelli* wove[n] in a piece of Tapestry.¹⁰⁹

The immense popularity of *Il Newtonianismo* – there was even a Dutch translation – opened many doors to the young Venetian. It enabled him to continue his travels along the

¹⁰⁸ Metastasio would remark in a letter to his brother Leopold that "L'Algarotti è uomo provveduto di talenti, con molto parzialità, dalla natura: ha fatto ottimi studi e potrebbe pigliar luogo distinto nella repubblica letteraria, *se volesse egli una volta sceglierlo* [my emphasis], siccome l'ho io mille volte spronato." (10 July 1754). Frederick aptly called Algarotti *ingénieux Protée*, see FREDERICK 1805, III, 122.

¹⁰⁹ Translation quoted from ALGAROTTI 1739, 223: "[...] al muover de' tasti in luogo di udir de' suoni, voi vedrete comparir colori, e mezze tinte, che faran esse la medesima armonia, che fanno i suoni. Le sonate di Rameaux, o del Sassone vedute su questo Cembalo faranno il medesimo piacere agli occhi, ch'elle fanno udire ne' Cembali ordinarj agli orecchi. L'amore, la pietà, la baldanza, o l'ira saran mosse ne' nostri animi dalle consonanze d'un pezzo di moevre e di scarlatto: questo meraviglioso strumento si stà ora facendo di là da' monti, donde voi altre avrete da ora innanzi le fetrucce, le sloffe, e le vostre nastriere in musica. Il passaggero piacer degli orecchi sarà fissato negli occhi, e si potranno continuamente goder tessuti in una tappezzeria i passaggi di Farinello." (ALGAROTTI 1737, 138).

Low Countries, Denmark, Sweden and Russia, and to visit Frederick at his Rheinsberg castle in September 1739.¹¹⁰ In the summer of 1740,¹¹¹ Algarotti returned to Berlin at Frederick's urgent request but although he was made Count, he left again two years later to serve Frederick's rival, the Saxon-Polish Elector. Luckily for Frederick, Algarotti's five-year stint at Dresden kept him thoroughly updated about Hasse's latest compositions. It would also prove of great benefit to his operatic undertakings, for among Algarotti's tasks was the arrangement of *Didone abbandonata* for the electoral 'villa theater' at Hubertusburg.¹¹² Back in Berlin, in March 1747, Algarotti was rapidly named *Chambellan* and *Chevalier de l'Ordre Pour le Mérite*. Even though his contribution to the Opernhaus can be only documented for *Coriolano* (1749) and *Fetonte* (1750), it must be taken for granted, on the basis of what his biographer Domenico Michelessi reported, that Algarotti was called back by Frederick to add "plus de noblesse à son spectacle."¹¹³

Plagued by tuberculosis, Algarotti left Prussia again on 23 februari 1753. Back in Venice, he was confronted with an operatic industry that stood in stark contrast to the courtly discipline imposed by Frederick. "Les plaisirs du carnaval", he complained to his former employer,

sont des plus maigres. Les opéras ne sont ni à voir ni à entendre. On est bien éloigné ici d'étaler aux yeux le spectacle magnifique du nouveau monde [in *Montezuma*] ou de l'ancienne Rome, et de toucher le cœur par les actions d'un Sylla [*Silla*, 1753] ou par les aventures d'un Montezuma; on est toujours réduite à la ressource déjà usée de changer le théâtre dans la boutique d'un miroitier.¹¹⁴

Frederick for his part sorely missed Algarotti, writing that

Mon opéra attend votre retour; vous lui servirez de Lucine [Lucian, Greek art critic], pour que le sieur Tagliazucchi [Villati's successor] en accouche heureusement. J'y ai mis toute la chaleur dont je suis capable [by writing its scenarios]; mais la chaleur de nos autres auteurs septentrionaux ne passerait que pour glace en Italie.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Frederick expressed his admiration for Algarotti in a letter to Voltaire, dated 10 October 1739: "Le jeune Algarotti, que vous connaissez, m'a plu on ne saurait davantage. Il m'a promis de revenir ici aussitôt qu'il lui serait possible. Nous avons bien parlé de vous, de géométrie, de vers, de toutes les sciences, de badineries, enfin de tout ce dont on peut parler. Il a beaucoup de feu, de vivacité & de douceur; ce qui m'accommoder on ne saurait mieux. Il a composé une cantate qu'on a mise aussi-tôt en musique & dont on a été très-satisfait. Nous nous sommes séparés avec regret, & je crains fort de ne revoir de long-temps dans ces contrées d'aussi aimables personnes." (FREDERICK 1805^b, XIII, 202). The cantate mentioned in the letter must be presumed lost.

¹¹¹ On 15 May 1740, Frederick wrote: "Vous êtes trop aimable pour qu'on puisse vous connoître sans vous désirer. Faites donc, je vous prie, que je puisse bientôt me satisfaire [...]" (Ibid., IX, 108). On 3 June 1740, four days after his ascension, Frederick begged him again to come to Berlin, writing: "Mon cher ALGAROTTI, mon sort a changé. Je vous attends avec impatience; ne me faites point languir." (FREDERICK 1746-56, XVIII, 16). Algarotti finally arrived in Berlin on 28 June 1740.

¹¹² On 16 September 1742, Algarotti sent his version of *Didone* (Hasse composed the music) to Metastasio for approval. His letter, together with the transcription of the new ending for *Didone*, can be found in ALGAROTTI 1791-4, IX, 31-8. After his return to Berlin, Algarotti would keep in touch with the Dresden court poet Claudio Pasquini.

¹¹³ Cited from ALGAROTTI 1772, VIII, 117 (*Memorie intorno alla vita ed agli scritti del Conte Francesco Algarotti*, 1770).

¹¹⁴ FREDERICK 1846-56, XVIII, 104 (11 January 1754).

¹¹⁵ Ibid., XVIII, 110. ("Ce 26.").

Unfortunately, Algarotti was never to see the Opernhaus again. Yet, he saw the chance to propagandate its legacy in an essay that would be read and applauded all over Europe – the *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* (1755).¹¹⁶

The first edition of Algarotti's *Saggio* was published anonymously on the author's expenses. The name of the dedicatee, however, was made public – “Barone di Svertz,”¹¹⁷ that is, Ernest Maximilian von Sveerts (also ‘Schwerts’ or ‘Swerts,’ 1710-57), the *Directeur des Spectacles* to whom Frederick addressed his *Epître sur les plaisirs* (see above). Who was this man? An *Eloge* (1757) by Berlin academician Formey learns that Sveerts was a deputy of Flemish descent who originally worked in the service of Austria (he was married to the daughter of an Austrian minister) until Frederick annexed him along with the Silesian province, in autumn 1740.¹¹⁸ Sveerts quickly made a career for himself as Frederick's *factotum*, combining the duties of impresario, building contractor, successor to Knobelsdorff and... doorkeeper. As regards the latter function, Lessing in effect reported that Sveerts took responsibility for the distribution of tickets and on so doing decided who entered the theater.¹¹⁹ Frederick lavishly rewarded Sveerts's versatility, adding him to his legion of Court Chamberlains and accepting the godfathership of his son Frederick William.¹²⁰

Several documents bear out evidence that Sveerts was also an important decision-maker in theatrical matters. Lessing for instance reported that Sveerts was responsible for “die Wahl der Stücke” presented at the French theater, at least “wenn Ihro Majestäten nicht ein anders befehlen.”¹²¹ Algarotti in his turn credited Sveerts with exceptional merit in the dedication to the *Saggio*, writing:

Who will more than you be able to decide whether in these thoughts of mine I have shown understanding about the true form of opera? To you one has already entrusted the direction of the

¹¹⁶ Algarotti's *Saggio* saw several editions, the most important being the revised version that was printed by the Livornese librettist Marco Coltellini (1763) and dedicated to Frederick's friend William Pitt. There were further editions in English (as *An essay on the Opera*, 1767), German (*Versuche über die musicalische Opera*, 1769) and French (*Essai sur l'opéra*, 1773).

¹¹⁷ ALGAROTTI 1755, 3. On the letter of dedication, see HOLLIS 1983.

¹¹⁸ FORMEY 1759.

¹¹⁹ LESSING 1968, XXII, 145: “Wer hinein will, der muß ein Billet von dem Director der Schauspiele, Herrn Baron von Sweerts, haben: die Vornehmen des Hofes aber und alle Oberofficiers werden ohne Billet eingelassen.” Elsewhere (p. 150), Lessing remarked that “Niemand bekommt Billets” for the opera, adding that “Se.[ine] Majestät wollen, daß alle Leute, welche nicht zum niedrigsten Pöbel gehören, und besonders Fremde, eingelassen werden sollen. Aber diesem königlichen Willen wird schlecht nachgelebet. Man sieht die besten Logen von den nichtswürdigsten Weibsbildern einnehmen, indessen daß sich oft die angesehensten Leute vor der Thüre mit den brutalsten Begegnungen müssen zurückweisen lassen.”

¹²⁰ See Jordan's letter of 12 October 1741: “On baptisa avant-hier le fils du baron de Schwertz [sic], dont V.[otre] M.[ajesté] est le parrain; il se nomme Frédéric-Guillaume-Maximilien-Jean-Népomucène.” (FREDERICK 1805^b, X, 105).

¹²¹ LESSING 1968, XXII, 145. At least two Racinian pieces included in the repertoire of 1750, *Mithridate* and *Britannicus*, would resurface in adapted form at the Opernhaus.

theater in a country which in virtually every way has become a model that is examined by the other countries so as to be imitated. In fact, you will notice that the lion's share of what I demand to be done [in the *Saggio*], is exactly what is actually being done at the theater in Berlin. Gifted with a superior mind which not only informs the more vital parts of the state, but also blends it [superior mind] with the whole body, it spurs and animates everything. In fact, the Italians can today witness their own arts perfected under a sky so different from theirs [Prussia], just like the ancient Romans could witness examples of their own virtues revived over there [in Italy].¹²²

The flattering, hyperbolic tone in which dedications were generally written in this period may prevent us from projecting Algarotti's ideas onto Sveerts's aesthetic policy. Nonetheless, a third party, which had witnessed Sveerts's productions and read the *Saggio*, would confirm the idea that Sveerts was the only impresario of reformist operas prior to the appearance of the *Saggio* – Voltaire. On inviting Algarotti to pay him a visit at Geneves, Voltaire stated – in Italian – that it would be difficult to encounter a decent painter where he lived, and “even more difficult” to find “an impresario, or a Swerts, *who can represent an opera in accordance with your beautiful rules* [my emphasis],” that is, according to the precepts of the *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica*, a copy of which he had been sent earlier that year.¹²³ Consequently, if Sveerts did not fully realize Algarotti's precepts beforehand, he must at least have inspired a number of them.

Like Voltaire, Batteux, Krause and other French-minded contemporaries, Algarotti perceived opera as a perfect integration of the arts that aroused “un dolce inganno alla mente” among the spectators.¹²⁴ However, he added the necessary shading to Batteux's theory on verisimilitude vis-à-vis subject matter, insisting that both fable and fiction were *inconvenient*. “It is an uncontroversible fact,” he observed,

that subjects for an operatical drama, whether taken from pagan mythology or historians, have inevitable inconveniencies annexed to them. The fabulous subjects, on account of the great number of machines, and magnificent apparatus, which they require, often distress the poet into limits too narrow

¹²² ALGAROTTI 1755, 3-4: “Chi meglio di lei potrà decidere se in questi miei pensamenti sopra la vera forma dell'Opera io abbia dato nel segno? poichè a lei fu già commessa la direzione del Teatro in un paese divenuto quasi in ogni cosa un modello che gli altri paesi si studiano d'imitare. In fatti ella vedrà che buona parte di quanto io dico doversi fare, è pur quello che si fa nel Teatro di Berlino: Mercè di quella mente superiore che informa non solo le parti più vitali dello Stato, ma mescolandosi per tutto il corpo di esso, muove ed anima ogni cosa. Talchè gl' Italiani possono oggimai vedere sotto un cielo tanto diverso dal loro perfezionato le proprie arti, come gli antichi Romani vi potrebbero vedere rinovellati gli esempj delle proprie virtù.”

¹²³ VOLTAIRE 1829, LVII, 100: “Ella troverà difficilmente un pittore tal quale io vuole, o più difficilmente un impresario, o un Swerts, che possa far rappresentare un opera conforme alle vostre belle regole; ma troverà nel mio ritiro *des Délices*, un dilettante appassionato di tutto ciò che scrivete, e non meno innamorato della vostra gentilissima conversazione.” (7 July 1756). See also Algarotti's letter to Voltaire of 6 June 1756: “Spero ch'ella avrà ricevuto tempo fa un altro mio *saggio sopra l'opera in musica*, e ben vorrei che un sovrano giudice ed artefice di ogni genere di cose belle qual ella è, pensasse *meas esse aliquid nugas*.” (ALGAROTTI 1791-4, XVI, 110-1).

¹²⁴ ALGAROTTI 1963, 149 (“E ben si può asserire che quanto di più attrattivo ha la Poesia, quanto ha la Musica e la Mimica, l'arte del Ballo e la Pittura, tutto si collega nell'Opera felicemente insieme ad allettare i sentimenti, ad ammaliare il cuore e fare un dolce inganno alla mente.”) and 190: “[...] non altro essendo stato l'intendimento mio, che di mostrar la relazione che hanno da avere tra loro le varie parti costitutive dell'Opera in Musica, perché ne riesca un tutto regolare ed armonico.”)

for him, to carry on and unravel his plot with propriety; because he is not allowed either sufficient time or space to display the passions of each character, so absolutely necessary to the completing of an opera [...] it has happened that a great number of the French Operas, as well as the first of the Italian are nothing better than entertainments for the eye [...] ¹²⁵

Historical subjects, on the other hand,

are liable to the objection of their not being so well adapted to music, which seems to exclude them from all plea of probability. This impleaded error may be observed every day upon the Italian stage. For who can be brought to think, that the trillings of an air flow so justifiably from the mouth of a Julius Cæsar or a Cato, as from the lips of Venus or Apollo? Moreover, historical subjects do not furnish so striking a variety, as those that are fabulous; they are apt to be too austere and monotonous. ¹²⁶

On the basis of his recent experience with *Fetonte*, the libretto of which he had contrived with Villati (see above), Algarotti may have felt more inclined to reject the overtly spectacular productions of Quinault, as Calzabigi had done. But the monotonous spectacles emerging from historical subjects, which de Brosse and the *Lettre sur le mécanisme de l'opéra italien* had objected to and which Algarotti himself was confronted with at Venice, prevented Algarotti from furthering the rationalist dogm of history's verisimilitude. He therefore advocated a return to the roots of opera, and thus to mythological subjects:

At the first institution of Operas, the poets imagined the heathen mythology to be the best source from which they could derive subjects for their dramas. [...] The intent of our poets, was to revive the Greek tragedy in all its lustre, and to introduce Melpomene on our stage, attended by music, dancing, and all that imperial pomp, with which, at the brilliant periods of a Sophocles and Euripides, she was wont to be escorted. And that such splendid pageantry might appear to be the genuine right of tragedy, the poets had recourse for their subjects to the heroic ages, and heathen mythology. From that fountain, the bard, according to his inventive pleasure, introduced on the theatre all the deities of paganism [...] And thus by the intervention of superiour beings, he gave an air of probability to most surprizing and wonderful events. Every circumstance being thus elevated above the sphere of mortal existence, it necessarily followed, that the singing of actors in an Opera, appeared a true imitation of the language made use of by the deities they represented. This then was the original cause, why in the first dramas that had been exhibited in the courts of sovereigns, or the palaces of princes, in order to celebrate their nuptials, such expensive machinery was employed; not an article was omitted that could excite an idea of whatever is most wonderful to be seen either on earth, or in the heavens. To superadd a greater diversity, and thereby give a new animation to the whole, a crowded chorus of singers were admitted, as well as dances of various contrivance, with a special attention that the execution of the ballet should coincide, and be combined with the choral song: all which pleasing effects were made to spring naturally from the subject of the drama. ¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Translation quoted from ALGAROTTI 1767, 17-8: "La verità si è che tanto co' soggetti cavati dalla Mitologia, quanto dalla Storia, vanno quasi necessariamente congiunti di non piccioli inconvenienti. I soggetti cavati dalla Mitologia, atteso il gran numero di macchine e di apparimenti che richiedono, metter sogliono il poeta a troppo ristretti termini, perché egli possa in un determinato tempo tessere e sviluppare una favole come si conviene, perché egli abbia campo di far giocare i caratteri e le passioni di ciascun personaggio [...] Da ciò deriva che buona parte delle opere francesi, per non parlare delle prime nostre, danno quasi soltanto pascolo agli occhi [...]" (ALGAROTTI 1963, 154).

¹²⁶ ALGAROTTI 1767, 18-9: "All'incontro, i soggetti cavati dalla storia non così bene si confanno con la musica, che in essi ha meno del verisimile. Siccome può osservarsi tutto giorno tra noi, dove non pare che i trilli di un'arietta stiano così bene in bocca di Giulio Cesare o di Catone, che in bocca si starebbono di Apollo o di Venere. Non forniscono tanta varietà quanto i soggetti favolosi; sogliono peccare di severità e di monotonia." (ALGAROTTI 1963, 154-5).

¹²⁷ ALGAROTTI 1767, 11-4: "Immaginarono da principio i poeti che il miglior fonte, donde cavare gli argomenti delle opere, fossa la Mitologia. [...] L'intendimento de' nostri poeti fu di rimettere sul teatro moderno la Tragedia greca, d'introdurvi Melpomene accompagnata dalla musica, dal ballo e da tutta quella pompa che a' tempi di Sofocle e di Euripide solea farle corteggio. E perché essa pompe fosse come naturale alla tragedia,

Such subjects were still to be seen at work in *tragédie lyrique*,¹²⁸ he argued, but budgets on the Italian peninsula had in the meantime been trimmed to keep up with the exorbitant demands of virtuosi, so that mythology had become unaffordable:

in this situation [mercenary theaters], as must obviously occur to whoever reflects, it was impossible that the pomp and splendour which was attendant on this entertainment from its origin, could be continued. [...] Hence arose the necessity for opera-directors to change their measures, and to be as frugally æconomical on one hand, as they found themselves unavoidably profuse on the other [expenses for singers]. Thence forward prevailed a general renunciation of all subjects to be found in the fabulous accounts of the heathen deities, and none were made choice of, but those derived from the histories of humble mankind, because less magnificent in their nature, and therefore less liable to large disbursements for their exhibition. Through such saving, the Opera may be said to have fallen from heaven upon the earth, and being divorced from an intercourse with gods, to have humbly resigned itself to that of mortals.¹²⁹

Although Algarotti's economical explanation does not render the full story of mythology's demise, at least it does bypass the hymn on historicism so endemic to earlier comments. Algarotti did not fundamentally object to pagan mythology and perhaps he too – like the Berlin academicians – adopted a Voltairian stance that swum with the tide. At the time of writing the *Saggio sopra la pittura* (1756), for instance, he praised the fecundity of ancient painting, ascribing it to the unbridled imagination of the heathens:

The history of the times they [ancient painters] lived in, fraught with great and glorious events, was to them a rich mine of the most noble subjects, which, besides, often derived no small sublimity and pathos from the Mythology, upon which their Religion was founded. [...] The sea was crowded with Tritons and Nereids, the rivers with Naiads [Naiads], and the mountains with Dryads. The woods swarmed with Fauns and Nymphs, who, in these obscure retreats, sought an asylum for their stolen embraces. The most potent empires, the most noble families, the most celebrated heroes, all derived their pedigree from the greater Divinities. [...] Among the ancients, every thing sported with the fancy; and in those works, which depend entirely on the imagination, some of our greatest masters have thought they could not do better than borrow from the Pagans, if I may be allowed to say it, their pictures of Tartarus, in order to render their own drawings of Hell more striking and picturesque.¹³⁰

avvisarono appunto di risalire cogli argomenti delle loro composizioni sino a' tempi eroici, o vogliam dire alla Mitologia. [...] ne rende verisimile con l'intervento di esse deità qualunque più strano e maraviglioso avvenimento; ed esaltando in certa maniera ogni cosa sopra l'essere umano, può, non che altro, far sì che il canto nell'Opera abbia sembianza del natural linguaggio degli attori. Così in quei primi drammi che per festeggiare i sponsalî si rappresentavano nelle corti de' principi e ne' palagi de' gran signori, ci entravano sontuose macchine con quanto di più mirabile ne presenta la Terra e il Cielo, ci entravano numerosi cori, danze di più maniere, ballo mescolato col coro; cose tutte che naturalmente le forniva la qualità medesima dell'argomento." (ALGAROTTI 1963, 152-3).

¹²⁸ ALGAROTTI 1963, 153: "Una assai fedele immagine di tutto ciò si può vedere tuttora nel teatro di Francia [...]".

¹²⁹ ALGAROTTI 1767, 15-6: "Passata dipoi l'Opera a' teatri da guadagno, la non vi si potè mantener lungo tempo con tanto apparato e splendore; e ciò a causa delle paghe che si danno a' musici [...] Sicchè lasciati da banda gli argomenti favolosi, furono messi in uso gli argomenti storici. [...] (; ALGAROTTI 1963, 153-4 – the last two sentences have been switched to accord with the original, ALGAROTTI 1755, 9-10).

¹³⁰ Translation cited from ALGAROTTI 1763, 83-5: "La storia di allora, feconda de' più gloriosi e belli avvenimenti quasi al pari della poesia, era per esso loro de' più nobili soggetti miniera ricchissima; e la Mitologia, su cui fondata era la Religione de' que' tempi, accresceva il più delle volte il sublime e il patetico di quelli. [...] Sensibili, e quasi visibili, erano da per tutto le loro Deità. Il mare era popolato di Tritoni e di Nereidi, di Naiadi i fiumi, di Oreadi le montagne, e nelle selve abitava una nazione di Silvani e di Ninfe che cercava quivi a' furtivi loro amori un asilo. Dalle maggiori divinità derivavano la origine i più vasti imperî, le più nobili famiglie, i più celebri eroi. [...] Ogni cosa appresso gli antichi giocava dinanzi alla fantasia; e i maggiori nostri

Two years afterwards, however, he deployed myth on ridiculing the *idiot savant* in an anonymous *Sinopsi di una introduzione alla nereidologia trattato filosofico erudito e critico* ('Synopsis of an introduction to nereidology, a philosophical, erudite and critical treatise,' 1758), an advertisement for a three-volume set devoted to the wonderful world of the Nereids.¹³¹ In case someone would miss the pun, the books on 'Nereidology' were to be part of a seventy-two-volume project comprising such scholarly disciplines as 'Napeology,' 'Limniadology' and 'Amadriadoacriby.'¹³²

Whatever his true feelings about myth, it is telling that Algarotti's favorite operatic topics were not historical. They were the epic subjects of Metastasio's *Didone abbandonata* and *Achille in Sciro*, which he held for simple and grand on account of being "taken from very remote antiquity";¹³³ those derived from Vergil, Euripides, Ariosto, and Tasso;¹³⁴ and finally, the tale of Moctezuma, which offered intriguingly exotic material "as much on account of the greatness, as of the novelty of such an action."¹³⁵ The list offers an up-to-date account of what had either been staged at Berlin (Vergil in *Didone abbandonata*, 1752; Euripides in *Ifigenia in Aulide*, 1748; Ariosto in *Angelica e Medoro*, 1749; Tasso in *Armida*, 1751) or was planned to be staged (*Montezuma*, 1755).¹³⁶

Like Krause's tract, the *Saggio* suggests that the shift to non-historical subjects stemmed from a general demand to establish a "new and close relationship between the sonic

artefici nelle cose d'ingegno credettero dover pigliare ad imprestito dai pagani sino alle forme del Tartaro per rendere le immagini dello inferno più sensibili e più pittoresche." (ALGAROTTI 1963, 96-7).

¹³¹ ALGAROTTI 1791-4, VI, 348: "Verrà esso [book on Nereidology] distribuito in tre volumi in quarto: ciascun volume conterrà da sette in ottocento pagine circa.") and 383-4 ("[...] si propone ai curiosi amatori delle buone lettere da stampare per via d'associazione. Avvertendo, che la carta sarà di Foligno, il carettere Cicerone; nè si perdonerà a tempo nè a spesa, perchè la stampa sia correttissima, e i rami che vi si troveranno per entro in gran copia, sieno intagliati con ogni maggior diligenza. Il prezzo è di sole lire ventiquattro veneziane il tomo [...]").

¹³² Ibid., VI, 384-5: "Il numero degli associati, e il favore che avrà dal pubblico la *Nereidologia* animerà l'autore a palesare il suo nome, che ancora molto alto non suona; e lo animerà eziandio a dare alla luce in simil forma che la *Nereidologia*, la sua *Napeologia*, la *Limniadologia* ec. E sopra tutto l'*Amadriadoacribia* più curiosa ancora e più istruttiva di qualunque altra sua fatica; che sono già in pronto per la stampa. Le quali tutte opere saranno quasi i prolegomeni della grand'opera che egli va meditando sopra la *mitologia*, e che in settantadue volumi metterà sotto l'occhio tutto il vastissimo campo di questa scienza."

¹³³ ALGAROTTI 1763, 156: "Assai vicini al divisato modello sono la *Didone* e l'*Achille in Sciro* dell'illustre Metastasio. Gli argomenti ne sono semplici, cavati dalla più remota antichità, ma non troppo ricercati; in mezzo a scene appassionatissime vi han luogo splendid conviti, magnifiche ambascerie, imbarchi, cori, combattimenti, incendi [...]"

¹³⁴ Ibid., 156: "Parecchi soggetti ne possono ancora essere forniti dall'Ariosto e dal Tasso [...] Così *Enea in Troia* e *Ifigenia in Aulide*; dove, oltre a una grande varietà di scene e di macchine, potriano entrare i prestigii più forti della poesia di Virgilio e di Euripide."

¹³⁵ Ibid., 156: "Simile sarebbe di *Montezuma*, sì per la grandezza, come per la stranezza e novità dell'azione [...]"

¹³⁶ *Montezuma* was still to be premiered (5 January 1755) at the time Algarotti signed the dedication of the *Saggio* (6 October 1754). Yet, Algarotti anticipated its staging, remarking in a footnote that "Il *Montezuma* fu scelto per argomento di un'Opera rappresentata [rather than: "da rappresentarsi"] con grandissima magnificenza nel regio Teatro di Berlino." (ALGAROTTI 1755, 11).

and the scenic,” as Daniel Heartz defined mid-century reform.¹³⁷ This demand led to the re-introduction of the very *plaisirs* opera seria had abstained itself from, machinery, divinities, ballets, choruses, and fantastic subjects, and such on behalf of Muratorian pleas for seriousness (see Chapter One). No longer feeling the need to enshrine itself as a descendant of spoken tragedy, Friderician opera crossed the borders of (pseudo-)historicism and entered the enchanting realm of the marvelous, exploring topoi which had formerly been locked up behind the bars of Reason. And even within fairly traditional subjects, it re-inserted feats that had not been staged for decades. The following example will illustrate this.

“Qual oracol tremendo!”

On 13 December 1748, a select group of spectators – those admitted by Sveerts – welcomed the premiere of *Ifigenia in Aulide* with exceptional applause.¹³⁸ As usual, the words were supplied by Villati, the notes by Graun. Extreme cold had made it necessary for Bellavita to execute his set designs at the Berliner Stadtschloss, rather than at the Opernhaus.¹³⁹ Most roles, including that of Agamemnon, were performed by sopranos who deployed the state of the art in *Empfindsamkeit* to jerk tears from “Berlin’s beautiful eyes.”¹⁴⁰

The Iphigenia in Aulis episode itself may have had little peculiar to offer to Graun, the former composer of a German *Iphigenia in Aulis* (Brunswick, 1728), still the scenario conceived by Frederick must have offered extraordinary opportunities for musico-dramatic experimentation.¹⁴¹ Krause never got tired praising the “beautiful, simple and moving contents” of the plot and even devoted ten pages of *Von der musikalischen Poesie* to a summary of its incidents, set designs and musical accompaniments (see Appendix 6.1). Algarotti in his turn attached an *Iphigénie en Aulide* in French prose to his *Saggio sopra l’opera in musica* in the hope that it would set an example for future projects.¹⁴²

¹³⁷ HEARTZ 1995, 178.

¹³⁸ See ALGAROTTI 1755, 26: “Una Ifigenia in Aulide è stata rappresentata nel regio Teatro di Berlino con grandissimo applauso.” HELM 1960, 153, argued that *Ifigenia in Aulide* was “perhaps the most widely praised” Friderician opera. It ran for thirteen performances and was revived in 1750 and 1768.

¹³⁹ SCHNEIDER 1852, 127.

¹⁴⁰ See Algarotti’s letter to Frederick, 11 September 1749: “[...] *Coriolan* va tirer presque autant de larmes des beaux yeux de Berlin qu’en a tiré *Iphigénie* le carnaval passé.” (FREDERICK 1846-56, XVIII, 72). For general observations on vocal dispositions in Friderician opera, see HELM 1960, 109.

¹⁴¹ Details in Appendix 1.1, “Iphigenia”.

¹⁴² In a letter to Carlo Innocenzo Frugoni, Algarotti expressed his desire to see an opera produced after his scenario (Bologna, 1 February 1759): “Ben vi dirò quello che mi rimane a desiderare; e ciò sarebbe di vedere sul teatro o il mio *Enea in Troja*, o la mia *Ifigenia in Aulide*, che sono alla fine del mio Saggio come il paragone de’ miei pensamenti. Converrebbe perciò, o che voi dallo scenario del primo ne ricavaste il dramma, o dalla prosa francese ne rivoltaste l’altra in versi italiani [...]” (ALGAROTTI 1791-4, IX, 547-8). Unfortunately, Frugoni considered neither of the two examples and instead italianized Rameau’s *Hippolyte et Aricie* (as *Ippolito ed*

Frederick did not simply concoct a scenario from Racine's *Iphigénie*, as Lessing muttered on assailing Villati (see above). He concluded the opera in Euripidean fashion (see Chapter Five), including a surprise act for the goddess Diana who snatches Iphigenia from the sacrifice and addresses the Greeks.¹⁴³ What he also included was a priest-prophet who instilled disgust through his evilness – Calchas (Calcante). Algarotti gave a perfect description of this character in the third act of his *Iphigénie en Aulide*:

AGAMEMNON

Assez et trop longtemps les Grecs ont été abusez par la voix des Devins. Sujets à se tromper, comme les autres mortels, la crédulité du vulgaire fait toute leur science. [...] Il voudroit en effet ce Calchas être lui-même le chef suprême de la Grèce, commander l'armée et vingt Rois pas ses divinations et par ses prestiges. Prophète sinistre qui jamais n'a annoncé un bon augure, ni fait la moindre chose digne de louange.¹⁴⁴

Voltaire too mentioned Calchas in his writings, more particularly on discussing the excesses of theocracy in a chapter of the *Histoire de la philosophie* (1765):

Si nous descendons aux Grecs, leur histoire, toute fabuleuse qu'elle est, ne nous apprend-elle pas que le prophète Calcas avait assez de pouvoir dans l'armée pour sacrifier la fille du Roi des Rois? [...] Non seulement la théocratie a longtemps régné, mais elle a poussé la tyrannie au plus horrible excès où la démence humaine puisse parvenir; & plus ce gouvernement se disait divin, plus il était abominable."¹⁴⁵

Priests like him, he continued,

dominant sur l'esprit de la nation; ils ne peuvent dominer qu'au nom de leur Dieu; ils le font donc toujours parler; ils débitent ses oracles, & c'est par un ordre exprès de Dieu que tout s'exécute. C'est de cette source que sont venus les sacrifices de sang humain qui ont souillé presque toute la terre. Quel père, quelle mère aurait jamais pu abjurer la nature au point de présenter son fils ou sa fille à un prêtre pour être égorgés sur un autel, si on n'avait pas été certain que le Dieu du país ordonnait ce sacrifice?¹⁴⁶

As if anticipating Voltaire's words, Frederick had Calchas portrayed as a bloodthirsty viper who capitalizes on superstition to subvert the state. It is he who contrives the sacrifice and betrays Agamemnon's plan to rescue his daughter to the Greeks. Quite untypically, His prime instrument of deception makes an astounding appearance in the opera: the oracle.

Classicist tragedians and seria librettists had generally brushed away oracles in order to save room for the distress of those who fell victim to their pronouncements. In the opening scene of *Iphigénie*, for instance, Racine had reduced the oracle to a *récit* in italics:

Aricia, 1759) and *Castor and Pollux* (as *I Tindaridi*, 1760). Yet, Vittorio Amedeo Cigna-Santi consulted Algarotti's *Iphigénie* on conceiving his reformist *Ifigenia in Aulide* for the Teatro Regio Turin in 1762 (see BUTLER 2001, 120-2).

¹⁴³ Villati seems to have borrowed from other sources as well. Agamemnone's Act I scene 6 aria "Di questo core / Soave amore / Tu non comprendi, / Il mio dolore / E un padre amante / Parlar non sa. // E più m'affanno / Pena tiranna / Che al gran disastro / Scampo non v'ha" for instance bears conspicuous similarities with an aria for Agemennone in Act I scene 11 of Apostolo Zeno's *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Vienna, 1718): "Di questo core / Parte migliore / Non anche intendi / Se ben tu vedi / La doglia mia. // Tu a me la chiedi, / Nè dirla io posso, / Perchè ho timore, / Di contristarti / Cole palesarti / Qual'ella sia."

¹⁴⁴ ALGAROTTI 1963, 209.

¹⁴⁵ VOLTAIRE 1765, 51-2.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

AGAMEMNON

[...] Et quel devins-je, Arcas,
Quand j’entendis ces mots prononcés par Calchas!
*Vous armez contre Troie une puissance vaine,
Si dans un sacrifice auguste et solennel
Une fille du sang d’Hélène
De Diane en ces lieux n’ensanglante l’autel.
Pour obtenir les vents que le ciel vous dénie,
Sacrifiez Iphigénie.*¹⁴⁷

The new sensibility for *Rührung* on the other hand demanded that events be no longer conveyed in words alone, for “was erzehlet wird,” Krause argued, “macht keinen solchen Eindruck, als wann es vorgestellt würde.”¹⁴⁸ Although Algarotti followed Racine’s example in the opening scene of his *Iphigénie en Aulide*, having Agamemnon communicate the oracle in a dialogue with his confidant Arcas,¹⁴⁹ his third act was provided with a sonic appearance of the supernatural powers:

[...] *on entend un bruit comme du tonnerre fort éloigné, qui augmente peu à peu.*

CALCHAS

La Déesse [Diana] va parler.

L’ORACLE, *dans le fond du Théâtre*

Grecs, si vous voulez aborder à Troye, répandez dans l’Aulide le sang d’Iphigénie.

AGAMENON

Hélas!¹⁵⁰

Yet Algarotti’s dramaturgical solution constituted but a weak derivative of the opening scene in Graun’s *Ifigenia in Aulide*, the most brilliant episode (*see Appendix 6.2*) of which features Agamemnon’s invocation in a numinous accompagnato (mm. 2-8) followed by a dynamic obligato with musical reflections of the “happy shouts of the Greeks” (mm. 11-2), the sudden calm (mm. 15-22), and Agamemnon’s desperate calls to Diana (mm. 23-33). Most surprisingly, the King’s address to heaven is answered in words adapted from Racine but voiced – not quoted – by a tenor and bass in octave unison, quite similar to the Zwei

¹⁴⁷ Zeno remained faithful to Racine’s example but postponed the narrative to Act I scene 5 of *Ifigenia in Aulide*, where Agamemnone says to Arcade: “Odi, qual diede / L’indovino Calcante / Oracolo funesto a padre amante. / Greci, Troja cadrà: propizio vento / Spingerà vostre vele al Frigio lido. / Ma Vergine Real, che sia del sangue / D’Elena, pria si sveni a l’ara mia, / Si sacrifichi, o Greci, Ifigenia.” Quite appropriately, SALA DI FELICE 1990, 78, has remarked that Zeno’s oracles “non hanno nulla di numinosamente misterioso, ma sono soltanto “espedienti” per mettere in moto una situazione drammatica.”

¹⁴⁸ KRAUSE 1752, 426. Compare with ANONYMOUS 1756, 88, where it is remarked that “La chute de Phaëton, & Ceix [in Marais’s *Alcyone*] enseveli dans les flots d’une onde écumante, inspirent plus de pitié & de terreur que l’infortune d’Hyppolite dans le récit de Thérémène [in Racine’s *Phèdre*].”

¹⁴⁹ ALGAROTTI 1963, 198: “Frappé de ce prodige, j’interrogeai Calchas; il consulta Diane qu’on adore en ces lieux. Mais que devins-je, Arcas, lorsqu’on me répondit, que pour m’ouvrir le chemin de Troye il falloit sacrifier Iphigénie?” (Agamemnon).

¹⁵⁰ Ironically, Agamemnon turns the oracle again into a *récit* when repeating it word for word in Act IV scene 1.

Geharnischten in the Magic Flute (mm. 34-49).¹⁵¹ The sheer novelty of hearing an oracle sing through a double voice stirred Krause. According to him, it added

ungemein viel zur Rührung [...] *daß man selbst mit anhöret*, wie Agamemnon von dem Orakel, die seiner väterlichen Zärtlichkeit so schreckliche Antwort erhält, seine Tochter solle geopfert werden; *anstatt daß im Racine solches nur erzehlet wird.* [emphasis added]¹⁵²

It also affects Agamemnon, to such extent that he responds to it with an unheard mixture of aria and recitative (mm. 49-74), probably the most beautiful piece Graun ever produced.¹⁵³ Seldom did an artefact of pagan superstition occasion such sublime music as in this gem of early reformist dramaturgy.

Conclusion: Athens revived?

Apart from symptomizing new aesthetic trends, the revival of pagan myth in Berlin may also seem to herald a renewed interest in ancient culture. To be sure, Frederick was a fervent collector of antiquities. Already in 1738, he dispatched Knobelsdorff to Italy to examine Roman art; on his return, the architect seems to have cultivated a Winckelmann-like sensitivity to the “noble simplicité des Grecs” (*dixit* Frederick in the *Eloge* on Knobelsdorff).¹⁵⁴ In 1753, Frederick summoned Algarotti to send a block of marble from the excavations at Herculaneum; when the latter failed to do so, he was severely reproached:

Vous n’allez donc point à Herculaneum? J’en suis fâché; *c’est le phénomène de notre siècle* [my emphasis]; et si de si fortes entraves ne me retenaient pas ici, je ferais cinq cents lieues pour voir une ville antique ressuscitée de dessous les cendres du Vésuve.¹⁵⁵

All the same, Frederick’s anticomania should not lead to the hasty conclusion that neoclassicism was introduced at Berlin. Given Prussia’s vital baroque tradition, it was even impossible, as Watkin and Mellinghoff have shown, “for the austere doctrines of Neoclassicism to take root.”¹⁵⁶ Antique accents by contrast arrived “sporadically as importations from France and England, two countries where Baroque architecture had never been adopted so enthusiastically as in Germany.”¹⁵⁷ Knobelsdorff’s Neuruppin Apollo Temple for instance introduced the English picturesque on German soil, while the Opernhaus paid homage to the Pantheon, Palladianism and the classicist masterpieces which Knobelsdorff had admired at

¹⁵¹ The octave unison is not maintained throughout, however, see mm. 40 and 45.

¹⁵² See KRAUSE 1752, 427.

¹⁵³ According to MAYER-REINACH 1900, 498, “Die Stelle des dreimal wiederholten «sento mancarmi il cor»” was to be ranked “zum schönsten was Graun geschrieben hat.”

¹⁵⁴ FREDERICK 1805, IV, 97.

¹⁵⁵ FREDERICK 1846-56, XVIII, 101 (undated).

¹⁵⁶ WATKIN & MELLINGHOFF 1987, 17.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

Paris.¹⁵⁸ In same fashion, Friderician opera blended Italian and French traditions, thereby exploiting a greater variety of subjects than was customary for opera seria. It was therefore not necessarily a ‘neoclassicist’ wave that swept over Friderician Prussia; instead, it was an eclectic combination of various trends that coalesced into the receptacle of ‘Friderician rococo,’ a style derived in spirit from the Rococo and poured over with a sauce of exotic ingredients – the *gût à la grecque*, Palladianism, *chinoiserie*, and occasionally even some gothic inspirations.¹⁵⁹

But why did Berlin, in spite of all evidence, fail to join the league of reformist centers extolled by musicologists?¹⁶⁰ Several elements should be advanced to answer that question. First, Frederick lacked a composer of supreme calibre. Although Graun could – and did – compose pieces of exceptional quality, think of the trio in *Orfeo* and the oracle in *Ifigenia in Aulide*, his craftsmanship stood as a whole below that of reformers like Gluck, Jommelli and Traetta. Somewhat the same can be said about Leopoldo de Villati, whose libretti offer agreeable reading matter – his recitatives are always concise and his versification correct – but little scenes that hold comparison with the art of reformers like Coltellini, Calzabigi or Verazi. Perhaps Frederick could have brought in greater masters to supply the *plaisirs* for his Opernhaus. Unfortunately, his personality was so obnoxious and totalitarian that he repelled even the greatest geniuses from his court. His artistic haven was a doll-house in which every artistic expression, from the ceiling to the snuff-box, was painstakingly controlled and judged by himself.¹⁶¹ Experienced singers were thereby treated as “pretty whores” and “canaille,” and young castrati received a training – or rather: domestication – like animals.¹⁶² Carl

¹⁵⁸ In the *Eloge*, Frederick reported that Knobelsdorff “approuvait la poésie qui règne dans la composition des tableaux de le Brun, le dessin hardi du Poussin, le coloris de Blanchard et des Boulognes, la ressemblance et le fini des draperies de Rigaut, le clair-obscur de Rauoux; la naïveté et la vérité de Chardin, et il faisoit beaucoup de cas des tableaux de Charles Vanloo et des instructions de de Troy. Il trouvoit cependant le talent des François pour la sculpture supérieur à celui qu’ils ont pour la peinture, l’art étant poussé à sa perfection par les Bouchardon, les Adam, les Pigale, etc. De tous les bâtimens de France, deux seuls lui paroisoient d’une architecture classique, savoir, la façade du Louvre par Perrault, et celle de Versailles [by Le Vau and Hardouin-Mansart] qui donne sur le jardin.” (FREDERICK 1805, IV, 98-9).

¹⁵⁹ To the latter two categories belong the Chinese tea house (1754-5) and Nauener Tor (1757) at Potsdam.

¹⁶⁰ See for instance HEARTZ 1982, 67, where he observed that “The foremost centres that were involved in enlarging the boundaries of Italian opera by bringing back spectacle at this time were [...] Parma, Stuttgart, Mannheim, and Vienna.”

¹⁶¹ Frederick in fact considered his castles and opera house as “mes poupées dont je m’amuse.” (FREDERICK 1846-56, XVII, 240).

¹⁶² Frederick’s correspondence with his valet Fredersdorf abounds in such terms. Responding to a soprano’s request for raise, for instance, Frederick wrote on 15 April 1747 “ich kan die Huren nicht alle ogmentation geben, man mus das unruhige Volk mit einer weit-ansehenden hoffnung Schmeicheln.” (FREDERICK 1926, 130). On 7 November 1753, he described his singers as “Teufels-Krop, ich wollte, daß sie der Teufel alle holte! die Canaillen bezahlet man zum Pläsir, und nicht, [um] Vexirerei von ihnen zu haben!” (Ibid., 243). In the same month, he asked Fredersdorf to have an agent search for “einen burschen von 18 jahr haben, der eine Schöne Clare und reine Stime hâte, den man hier Dressiren Könnte.” (Ibid., 244).

Philipp Emanuel Bach, arguably the most original musician working in Berlin, was looked down upon as an insignificant keyboard player and accordingly left for Hamburg. Lessing too found Hamburg a better place for his ambitions, Prussia being according to him “the most slavish country in Europe”.¹⁶³ Voltaire was temporarily imprisoned for disobedience, and Winckelmann fled on the pretext that he rather worked for a “Turkish eunuch than a Prussian”.¹⁶⁴ To make matters worse, Frederick was a king of war. A great strategist and an uncompromised commander, he preferred to spend his fortune on real battles rather than on staged ones. During the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763), no single opera was produced in Berlin. The rigors of that conflict “ended both his desire to create music and his activities in making Berlin a center of musical culture.”¹⁶⁵ War not only led to a firm discontinuity in Prussia’s artistic life, it also changed Frederick’s mentality. As Alan Yorke-Long observed:

In the first sixteen years of his reign, from 1740 until 1756, Frederick was in the prime of his life, sanguine, vigorous, rather set in his ways and in his opinions but still flexible, and above all lively in mind. After the great war in which he so narrowly escaped destruction, he became disillusioned, cynical, tetchy and despotic in his personal relations, ossified and bigoted in his tastes and opinions.¹⁶⁶

For all his attempts at introducing Enlightenment, Frederick became a bitter, dogmatic man, no less zealous than the Pietists in earlier days. After a period of Athenian liberty, his Berlin turned again into Sparta.

¹⁶³ BLANNING 2002, 216.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 215.

¹⁶⁵ HELM 1960, 47.

¹⁶⁶ YORKE-LONG 1954, 108-9.

BRUNO FORMENT

LA TERRA, IL CIELO E L'INFERNO

THE REPRESENTATION AND RECEPTION
OF GRECO-ROMAN MYTHOLOGY IN *OPERA SERIA*

APPENDICES



Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad van
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APPENDIX 1.1

GRECO-ROMAN MYTHOLOGY IN OPERA, 1690-1800: A SURVEY

Besides serving as a companion to this dissertation, the present database aims to facilitate future explorations of the vast operatic repertoire produced between 1690 and 1800.¹ By taking a *thematic* – rather than composer-, locus- or title-based – point of departure, this survey furthermore seeks to fill in a peculiar bibliographic hiatus. For despite the availability of lexica scrutinizing the reception of specific ‘icon classes’ in the arts,² no compendium for mythological opera has as yet attained the comprehensiveness customary for repertoires of the visual arts.³ Nonetheless, as is remarked in Chapter Five, reliable details regarding new settings of a libretto, revivals, parodies, and cross-generic adaptations hold the key to a better understanding of eighteenth-century operatic reception.⁴ References to primary sources, scores and libretti in particular, are moreover vital to the study and appreciation of a performance art that vanished with each final curtain call.

The organization of this database is quite obviously determined by the legacy of Greco-Roman mythology. The (debatable) criteria applied on subdividing this gigantic field are in large measure derived from *Van Achilleus tot Zeus. Thema's uit de klassieke mythologie in literatuur, muziek, beeldende kunst en theater* (1987; fifth revised edition, 1995) by Eric M. Moormann and Wilfried Uitterhoeve. Thus many characters have their proper entry, while others are cross-referenced.⁵ There are no entries for figures originating from cultures other than ancient Greece and Rome,⁶ and neither for allegorical personifications such as Fortune, Hymen, Peace or Virtue, even though these figures may appear in entries dedicated to divinities.⁷ In order to keep this lexicon within reasonable limits, we have furthermore omitted ballets, incidental music to spoken plays, and solo

¹ Operas prior to 1690 are listed insofar as there are revivals posterior to that date.

² A notable example is PIGLER 1974.

³ Earlier attempts include BARTELINK 1997; PODUSKA 1999; VAUGHAN 1999.

⁴ On the peculiar reception of opera seria, for instance, see WIESEND 1983; ACCORSI 1989; TROVATO 1990; LA FACE BIANCONI 1994; CARUSO 1995; FORMENT 2002.

⁵ E.g. operas about Deidamia and Lavinia will be found under Achilles, Aeneas and Turnus, respectively, while Dido and Penelope have separate entries on behalf of their operatic popularity and independence from Aeneas and Odysseus, respectively.

⁶ E.g. Atys, Isis and Cybele, see MOORMANN & UITTERHOEVE 1995, 6.

⁷ E.g. *Virtù, Fede, Gloria, Costanza, Imeneo, Amore* is listed under Eros.

cantatas accompanied by the continuo only. Drammi per musica are listed in **bold** to allow the reader to distinguish ‘seriagenic’ topics from subjects more typical for non-Italian operatic traditions and/or small-scale Italian genres (see Introduction and Chapter One).

Each lemma gives a chronological list of all operas dealing with the character in question. The listing should be interpreted as follows:

COMPOSER(S) / LIBRETTIST(S) after AUTHOR(S) MODEL *Title* (also *Alternative title*, in *Collective title*, City of premiere, Year of premiere^x; as *Alternative title*, City of revival, Year of revival^y; etc.) = doubtful / unperformed / unfinished

COMPOSER(S) / REVISOR(S) or TRANSLATOR(S) (as *Alternative title adaptation*, City of premiere, Year of premiere^z)

^x Bibliographic references (see general bibliography) and/or library sigle (see GROVE; RISM) with shelf numbers for copies of the original libretto, as distributed during the premiere (L), Idem for second editions (L2), Idem for commemorative or bibliophile editions (Lc), References (Editor+year, *Gesamtausgabe*, library, shelf numbers...) for scores (S), Idem for excerpts or incomplete scores (Se)

^y Idem.

^z Idem.

Given the user-friendliness and proven potential of electronic databases, a hypertext interface has been generated for this survey. It can be accessed from the accompanying CD-ROM. Updates will be made available in hypertext only on the following URL:
<http://www.brunoformet.be/mythopera>

Achilles (see also: Briseis, Deidamia, Dido, Polyxena, Thetis)

COLLASSE, J.-B. LULLY / CAMPISTRON *Achille et Polixène* (Paris, 1687¹; Paris, 1688²)
COLLASSE, J.-B. LULLY / POSTEL (Hamburg, 1692³)

A. DRAGHI / ? *L'impresa dell'Achille di Roma* (Vienna, 1693⁴)

SCHUERMANN / FRAUENDORF *Das verführte Troja* (Brunswick, 1706⁵)
SCHUERMANN / SCHUERMANN (as *Das zerstörte Troia*, Brunswick, 1724⁶)

LOTTI / RIZZI *Achille placato* (Venice, 1707⁷; also *Der versöhnte Achilles*, Brunswick, 1716⁸; Brunswick, 1719⁹)

KEISER / HOE (as *Das zerstörte Troja, oder Der durch den Tod Helenen versöhnte Achilles*, Hamburg, 1716¹⁰)

? / ? *Achille in Sciro* (Prague, 1727¹¹)

F. COLMAN a .o. / GAY *Achilles* (London, 1733¹²; London, 1777¹³; London, 1779)
T.A. ARNE (as *Achilles in petticoats*, parody, London, 1773¹⁴)

CAMPRA / DANCHET *Achille et Deidamie* (Paris, 1735¹⁵; Paris, 1751¹⁶)
V.A. / ? (as *Le Racoleur ou Samsonet et Bellamie*, parody, Paris, 1735)
V.A. / RICCOBONI, ROMAGNESI (parody, Paris, 1737¹⁷)

CALDARA / METASTASIO *Achille in Sciro* (Vienna, 1736¹⁸)
SARRO (Naples, 1737¹⁹)
ARENA (Rome, 1738²⁰)
CHIARINI (Venice, 1739²¹)

¹ US-Wc ML 49.A2L9 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), A-Wn SH.Collasse.1.Mus. (S)

² RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

³ A-Wn 625346-A. The & D-Bsb 4" Yp 522 (L)

⁴ A-Wgm & B-Bc 20696 (L)

⁵ D-Bsb 4" Yp 5232-no.23 & D-W Textb. 500 (L), D-Bsb (Se)

⁶ D-W Textb. 752 (L)

⁷ A-Wgm & A-Wn & B-Bc 18956 & D-Mbs & F-Pn 8-YTH-51008 & 8-YTH-52029 & I-Bc Lo.2741 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 5713 (L)

⁸ D-BS & D-HVl & D-W Textb. 469 & D-WRtl & PL-WRo (L)

⁹ D-W Textb. Sammelbd 9 (3) (L)

¹⁰ B-Br Féti 4520 A VI,6 & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5231-no.1 & US-Wc Schatz 5117 (L)

¹¹ CZ-KRE & CZ-Pu & I-Rsc (L)

¹² US-Wc ML50.5.B3 (L)

¹³ US-Wc Schatz 11469 (L)

¹⁴ US-Wc Longe 26 (L)

¹⁵ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), F-Po (S)

¹⁶ US-Wc Schatz PQ 1972.D2 (L)

¹⁷ B-Br Faber 1548 V/2 (L)

¹⁸ A-Wgm & A-Wn 448995-A. Alt Mag & D-Bsb Xq 447/3 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Mbs & D-W Textb. 81 & I-Mb & I-MO, Poletti & I-Rsc & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 1476-7 (L), METASTASIO 2002-4 & I-Bc Lo.8359,d & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-PEc & US-AUS (Lc), A-Wgm Q 1226 & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17113 & 17179-80 & D-HE IVa & D-Bsb & F-Pn D-1699-1700 (S)

¹⁹ I-Nc (S)

²⁰ F-Pn 8-BL-8410 & I-Bc Lo.300 & I-Nlp & I-Vgc Rolandi 533 (L), B-Bc 3675 & 3686 & F-Pn D-15422 (Se)

LEO (Turin, 1740²²)
 MEYER VON SCHAUENSEE (Cagliari, 1743; as *Il trionfo della gloria*, Florence, 1747²³)
 CORSELLI (Madrid, 1744)
 MANNA (Naples, 1745²⁴)
 VEROCAI (Brunswick, 1746²⁵)
 RUNCHER (Venice, 1747²⁶)
 JOMMELLI (Vienna, 1749²⁷; Rome, 1771²⁸)
 SCIROLI (Naples, 1751) = doubtful
 ? (Modena, 1751²⁹)
 MAZZONI (Piacenza, 1754; Rome, 1756)
 ? (Barcelona, 1755³⁰)
 HASSE (Naples, 1759³¹)
 SARTI (Copenhagen, 1759; Florence, 1779³²)
 V.A. (Pesaro, 1761)
 BERTONI (Venice, 1764³³)
 MONZA (Milan, 1764³⁴)
 J.F. AGRICOLA (Berlin, 1765³⁵)
 GASSMANN (Venice, 1766³⁶)
 NAUMANN (Palermo, 1767³⁷)
 AMICONE (Naples, 1772³⁸)
 ANFOSSI (Rome, 1774³⁹)
 SALES (Munich, 1774⁴⁰)
 MYSLIVECEK (Naples, 1775) = doubtful
 PAISIELLO (St Petersburg, 1778⁴¹)
 GAZZANIGA (Palermo, 1780⁴²)

-
- ²¹ I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Rsc XIV.3 & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 1852 (L), GB-Lbl (Se)
²² D-Mbs & I-Fm & I-Ms & I-Rc & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T, Strona & US-BEm (L), D-Bsb & D-Tu & I-Mc & I-MC & I-Nc (S), I-Bc & I-Mc & I-Nc (Se)
²³ I-Bc Lo.7285 & I-Fc & I-Mr (L)
²⁴ I-Rsc X.1 (L), D-Hs & D-MŮs (S)
²⁵ D-BS & D-HVI & US-Wc Schatz 10717 (L)
²⁶ D-Bsb Mus. T 55 & I-Bc Lo.8086 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 9151 (L)
²⁷ A-Wn 25825-A & A-Wst A45149 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18000 (S), I-Bc GG.70 (Se)
²⁸ F-Pc & F-Pn YD-5395 & I-Bc Lo.2591 & I-FP, Fanan & I-MAC & I-Rsc XVIII.1 & I-Rvat & I-Rig & I-Vgc (L), D-Bsb 11243 & F-Pn D-6215-6 & I-Nc Rari 7.6.20/21 & 7.6.22/23 & US-Wc M1500.J72 A23 1770z Case (S), I-Mc Noseda 55/1-II (Se)
²⁹ I-Bc Lo.5715 (L)
³⁰ US-CHH (L)
³¹ I-Bc Lo.2511 & I-PLcom & I-Rig (L), I-Mc Part.Tr.ms.166 & D-DI & D-Hs ND VI 2920 & F-Pc & GB-Lcm & P-La (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.4049 & D-Hs ND VI 2921 (Se)
³² I-Bc Lo.5060 & I-Fc & I-Fn & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L), CDN-Lu & GB-Lcm & I-Fc (S)
³³ A-Wmi & I-Bc Lo.501 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-V, Levi & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 903 (L), I-OS & P-La (S)
³⁴ A-Wn 108048-A. Alt Einb & I-Bc Lo.3236 & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb Racc. dramm. 6065/2 & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L), I-Nc 29.5.9 & P-La (S), B-Bc 4424 & I-Nc 29.5.9-11 (Se)
³⁵ D-Bsb Mus. T 63 & D-DI & D-HVI & D-SI & US-Wc Schatz 66 (L), D-Bsb & US-NH (S), F-Pn VM7-7283 (Se)
³⁶ A-Wmi & F-Pn 8-YTH-52005 & I-Bc Lo.1951 & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-AUS & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3607 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18077 & P-La & US-Wc (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.3971 (Se)
³⁷ I-Bc Lo.3417 (L), D-Bsb & D-DI (S)
³⁸ I-Bc Lo.142 & I-Nc & US-NYp (L), I-Nc (S)
³⁹ B-Bc 18954 & F-Pn YD-5405 & I-Rsc & I-Rvat (L), I-Rc Mus. 2802-4 & I-Rsc (S), F-Pn D-214 (4) & D-226 (12) (Se)
⁴⁰ D-Mbs (L), D-Mbs (S)
⁴¹ B-Bc 18955 & F-Pn 8-RA15-9 & RU-SPsc & RU-M, Musej knigi (L), D-Bsb & F-Pn & GB-Lbl & GB-Ob & I-Nc 14.1.31-32 & RU-SPtob & US-Wc (S), I-Nc & I-OS Mss.Mus.B 1244 & I-PAc Sanvitale A.172 & RU-Mcm (Se)

PUGNANI (Turin, 1785⁴³; Vienna, 1795⁴⁴)
BERNARDINI (Venice, 1794⁴⁵)

HANDEL / ROLLI *Deidamia* (London, 1740⁴⁶; London, 1741)

PEREZ / MARINI *La stirpe di Achille* (Palermo, 1742⁴⁷)

NEBRA / GONZALEZ MARTINEZ *Antes que celos y amor la piedad llama al valor y Achiles en Troya* (Madrid, 1747)

? / BERGER *Achills zürnender Schatten* (Leipzig, 1777⁴⁸)

? / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Achille, Vulcano, Tetide, Coro* (Naples, 1778⁴⁹)

ASTARITA, TRAETTA / ? *Gli eroi de' Campi Elisi* (Venice, 1779⁵⁰)

BASILI / ? *Achille all'assedio di Troja* (Florence, 1797⁵¹)
CIMAROSA (Rome, 1797⁵²)

Acis (see: Cyclopes, Galatea)

Actaeon (see: Artemis)

Admetus (see also: Alcestis)

MAGNI / D'AVERRA *Admeto, re di Tessaglia* (Milan, 1702⁵³)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / PALOMBA *Admeto* (Naples, 1794⁵⁴)

⁴² I-Fc (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.10381 (Se)

⁴³ I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-T,Provinciale & I-T,Legger & I-T,Strona & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 8505 (L), I-Tf & P-La (S), F-Pn (Se)

⁴⁴ A-Wgm & A-Wn (L), A-Wn KT.4. Mus (S)

⁴⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-51202 & I-Bc Lo.837 & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Vt & US-Wc Schatz 829 (L), I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-1570 (Se)

⁴⁶ ROLLI 1744 (Lc), HG & HHA (S)

⁴⁷ GB-Lbl (L)

⁴⁸ US-Wc Schatz 11595 (L)

⁴⁹ I-Fc & I-Nc (L)

⁵⁰ A-Wmi & I-Bc Lo.340 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L)

⁵¹ F-Po & I-Bc Lo.410 & I-Bca & I-Fc (L), I-Fc (S)

⁵² I-Rn & I-Rsc XX.30 (L), I-Nc 25.4.20-21 (S), I-Mc Mus.Tr.ms. 292 & I-R,Archivio Doria Pamphilj 98.1 & I-Rc 2276/3-4 (Se)

⁵³ BR-Rn & I-Bc Lo.2777 & I-Bu & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-SA & US-Wc (L)

⁵⁴ B-Bc 18978 & I-Bc Lo.2397 & I-Nc & I-Vgc & US-Wc (L), F-Pn (S)

Adonis (see also: Aphrodite, Ares, Artemis)

C.F. POLLAROLO? / SCAPPI *La Venere travestita* (Rovigo, 1691⁵⁵; Murano, 1692⁵⁶)

FEDRIZZI / PARISETTI *Gl'inganni di Cupido* (Brunswick, 1691⁵⁷)

A. SCARLATTI / PAGLIA *Venere, Adone ed Amore* (also *Dal giardin del piacere*, Naples, 1696⁵⁸; as *Il giardino d'Amore*, Rome, 1706⁵⁹)

DESMARETS / J.B. ROUSSEAU *Venus et Adonis* (Paris, 1697⁶⁰)

STOELZEL / STOELZEL (as *Venus und Adonis*, Prague, 1715-7; Hamburg, 1725⁶¹; Gotha, 1728; Altenburg, 1728-30)

KEISER / POSTEL *Der geliebte Adonis* (Hamburg, 1697⁶²)

STRUNGK (Leipzig, 1697)

TELEMANN (Leipzig, 1708⁶³)

? (as *Adonis, oder Der in die Göttin Venus unglücklich verliebte Adonis*, Durlach, 1714)

CALDARA / ? *Serenata a 3: Mercurio, Adone, Venere* (Rome, 1711)

STOELZEL / ? *Venus und Adonis* (Prague, 1714)

GRAUPNER / ? *Adone* (Darmstadt, 1718⁶⁴)

PEPUSCH / CIBBER *Venus and Adonis* (London, 1715⁶⁵; London, 1736⁶⁶)

B. MARCELLO / ? *La morte d'Adone* (Venice, 1710 and/or 1729⁶⁷)

? / ? *Venus und Adonis* (Leipzig, 1719) = doubtful

BIONI / DENZIO? *Adone* (Prague, 1731⁶⁸)

ZAMBONI / COLUZZI *Venere e Amore* (Rome, 1731⁶⁹)

NEBRA / ? *Venus y Adonis* (?, 1733⁷⁰)

V.A. / ? *Venus und Mars* (Hamburg, 1736⁷¹)

⁵⁵ I-Mb Racc. dramm. 2730 & I-MOe & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vnm (L)

⁵⁶ I-Mb & I-Vcg 59 A 243/2 & US-LAum n. 388 (L)

⁵⁷ D-HV1 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-W Textb. 179 & GB-Lbl & I-MOe (L)

⁵⁸ GB-Och & I-MC & US-BEm (S)

⁵⁹ D-MÜs (S)

⁶⁰ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁶¹ B-Br Fétis 4520 A VII,13 & US-Wc Schatz 2536 (L)

⁶² B-Br Fétis 4520 A III,7 Mus. & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5229-no. 2 & D-W Textb. 610 (L)

⁶³ D-SHs (Se)

⁶⁴ D-F (L)

⁶⁵ GB-Lbl (L)

⁶⁶ US-Wc ML52.2.V47 (L)

⁶⁷ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17747 & 17795 & I-Bc GG 189 (S)

⁶⁸ CZ-K (L)

⁶⁹ I-Rli (L)

⁷⁰ E-Loyola, private collection (S)

RAMEAU / BERNARD *L'enlèvement d'Adonis* (also *Adonis* and *Les surprises de l'Amour*, Versailles, 1748⁷²; Paris, 1757⁷³; Paris, 1758)

F. BIANCHI / CASORRI *Venere e Adone* (Florence, 1781⁷⁴)

PUGNANI / BOLTRI *Adone e Venere* (Naples, 1784⁷⁵)

DE PILLES / ? *Vénus et Adonis* (Nancy, 1784)

MORTELLARI / GIANNINI *Venere e Adone* (London, 1787⁷⁶; Rome, 178?⁷⁷; London, 1790⁷⁸)

J. WEIGL jr. / CASTI *Venere e Adone* (Eszterháza, 1791⁷⁹; Vienna, 1792⁸⁰)

? / CHIARI *Venere e Amore* (Milan, 1795⁸¹; Padua, 1796⁸²)

? / SCHIETTI *L'Adone* (Venice, ?⁸³)

Aeneas (see also: Alcestis, Dido, Turnus)

C. PALLAVICINO / BUSSANI *Enea in Italia* (Venice, 1675⁸⁴)

C. PALLAVICINO? (Genoa, 1676⁸⁵)

C. PALLAVICINO? (Naples, 1677⁸⁶)

A. DRAGHI, LEOPOLD I OF HABSBURG / MINATO (Vienna, 1678⁸⁷)

BERNABEI (Munich, 1679⁸⁸)

FRANCK / ? (as *Aeneae des Trojanischen Fürsten Ankufft in Italien*, Hamburg, 1680⁸⁹; Hamburg, 1690)

BALLAROTTI, LONATI, MAGNI, C.F. POLLAROLO (Milan, 1686⁹⁰)

⁷¹ D-Hs (L)

⁷² ROO & F-Pn (S), F-Po (Se)

⁷³ F-Pn & F-Po (S)

⁷⁴ F-Po & I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.530 & I-Fc & I-Fn & I-Rig & I-Vgc Rolandi 1886 (L), I-Fc & I-Tf (S), F-Pn D-1097 (7) & D-1098 (9) & D-1099 (6) & D-1101 (4) & D-1101 (9) & D-1107 (Se)

⁷⁵ I-Fc & I-Nc & I-Ra & US-NYp (L), D-Bsb & I-Tf & P-La (S)

⁷⁶ Opus 7 (Se)

⁷⁷ I-Mb & I-Vcg (L)

⁷⁸ GB-Lbl (L)

⁷⁹ A-Wn 484997-B. Mus & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut (L)

⁸⁰ I-Rsc (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.19412 (S)

⁸¹ I-Fc & I-Mc (L)

⁸² I-Vcg (L), I-Vcg (L2)

⁸³ D-Tu (L)

⁸⁴ A-Wmi & B-Bc 20116 & CDN-Tu & D-HVl & F-Pn 8-BL-8350 (1) & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.6296 & I-Fm & I-FZc & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-REm & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-AA & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 7723 (L), I-Mc & I-NOV & I-Vgc (L2), I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-412 & IV-414 (S)

⁸⁵ F-Pn YD-5596 & GB-Lbl & I-Bu & I-Rvat & I-Tci (L)

⁸⁶ I-Bu & I-Nn & SI-Lsk (L)

⁸⁷ A-Wn & B-Bc 20117 & D-DO & D-DÜl & D-Heu & D-Ju & I-Rvat & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18847 (S)

⁸⁸ D-LEm & Mbs & US-Wc Schatz 825 (L)

⁸⁹ B-Br Féti 4520 A I,2 & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 10 (9) & Lo 1459 (L)

⁹⁰ I-Bc Lo.6297 & I-LDE (L), I-MOe Mus.F.1372 (Se)

COLLASSE / FONTENELLE *Enée et Lavinie* (Paris, 1690⁹¹)

DAUVERGNE (Paris, 1758⁹²; Paris, 1768⁹³)

TRAETTA / SANVITALE (as *Enea e Lavinia*, Parma, 1761⁹⁴; Florence, 1768⁹⁵)

CHAVES? (?, 179?) = doubtful

STEFFANI / MAURO *I trionfi del fato o Le glorie d'Enea* (Hanover, 1695⁹⁶)

STEFFANI / FIEDLER (as *Il triunfo del fato oder Das mächtige Geschick bei Lavinia und Dido*, Hamburg, 1699⁹⁷)

STEFFANI, SCHUERMANN / SCHUERMANN (as *Enea in Italia*, Brunswick, 1716⁹⁸)

LITERES / ? *Dido y Eneas* (?, 1700) = doubtful

BADIA, FUX / BERNARDONI *Enea negli Elisi ovvero il tempio dell'eternità* (Vienna, 1702⁹⁹)

? / ? *Le gare di Venere, ovvero Enea fuggitivo* (Dusseldorf, 1708) = doubtful

FRONDUTI / ? *L'impegni degli dei per le glorie d'Enea* (Terni, 1709¹⁰⁰)

G. BONONCINI / L.M. STAMPIGLIA *Enea in Caonia* (Vienna, 1711)

HASSE (Naples, 1727¹⁰¹)

? / ? *Enea in Cartagine* (Innsbruck, 1711) = doubtful

? / FUZELIER *Arlequin Enée, ou la Prise de Troyes* (Paris, 1711¹⁰²)

? / ? *Didone et Enea* (Bergamo, 1713¹⁰³)

CAMPRA / ? *Enée et Didon* (Marseilles, 1714¹⁰⁴)

FUX / PARIATI *Elisa* (Vienna, 1719¹⁰⁵)

FUX / METASTASIO *Enea negli Eglisi, ovvero Il tempio dell'Eternità* (Vienna, 1731¹⁰⁶)

? (as *Il tempio dell'eternità*, Porto, 1768¹⁰⁷)

SARTI (as *Il tempio dell'eternità*, Copenhagen, 1772¹⁰⁸)

⁹¹ RECUEIL 1703-45 & D-W Lm Sammelbd 99 (5) & Lm Sammelbd 103 (10) & Lm Sammelbd 118 (4) (Lc)

⁹² F-Pn R88317 & RES-YF-727 & RES-YF-922 & RES-YF-2040 (BIS) & GD-49 & US-Wc ML50.2.E4D2 (L)

⁹³ F-Pn GD-41487 (L)

⁹⁴ I-Nc & I-PAc (L), RUSSO 2005 (Lc), I-Tn (S)

⁹⁵ I-Fc & US-Wc Schatz 10399 (L)

⁹⁶ D-HV1 & D-W Textb. 360 & I-Mb (L), D-Bsb & D-HV1 & D-W Gräflisch Schulenburgische Bibliothek Km 2 (6) (L2), D-Dl & D-Hs & GB-Lbl (S), DTB 23 (Se)

⁹⁷ B-Br Fétiš 4520 A III,13 & US-Wc Schatz 10037 (L)

⁹⁸ D-HV1 (L)

⁹⁹ BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18500 & 18506 (S)

¹⁰⁰ B-Bc 20684 & I-Rvat (L)

¹⁰¹ I-Vgc (L), I-Nc Cantate 2-158 (S)

¹⁰² F-Pn (L)

¹⁰³ I-BGc (L)

¹⁰⁴ F-Pa (S)

¹⁰⁵ B-Bc 20086 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17228 (S)

¹⁰⁶ A-Wgm & A-Wn & B-Bc 20118 & I-Lg (L), METASTASIO 1953-65 & CDN-Tu & F-Pn 8-RA6-177 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.8435,a & I-Vqs & US-LAum (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17274-5 (S)

¹⁰⁷ BR-Rn & I-Rsc & P-C & US-Wc (L)

TRITTO (Naples, 1793)

FINI or MACARI / PASSARINI *Li sponsali d'Enea* (Venice, 1731¹⁰⁹)
GIBELLI a.o. (as *Gli sponsali d'Enea*, Bologna, 1744¹¹⁰)
V.A. (as *Gli sponsali d'Enea*, Cesena, 1747¹¹¹)

PORPORA / ROLLI *Enea nel Lazio* (London, 1734¹¹²)

T.A. ARNE / BOOTH *Dido and Aeneas* (London, 1734¹¹³)

? / **OBIZZI *Il pio Enea*** (Padua, 1741¹¹⁴)

COSTANZI / PALLADIO? *Enea in Cuma* (Rome, 1746¹¹⁵)

? / SALVONI *L'arrivo di Enea in Italia* (Piacenza, 1749¹¹⁶)

? / RIVA *Enea pietoso* (Bologna, 1752¹¹⁷)

HERBAIN / ? *La Lavinia* (Paris, c. 1753¹¹⁸)

JOMMELLI / VERAZI *Enea nel Lazio* (Stuttgart, 1755¹¹⁹; Ludwigsburg, 1766¹²⁰)
JOMMELLI, SILVA (Salvaterra, 1767¹²¹)

PEREZ / MIGLIAVACCA? *Enea in Italia* (Lisbon, 1759) = doubtful

TRAETTA / CIGNA-SANTI after VERAZI *Enea nel Lazio* (Turin, 1760¹²²)
TRAETTA, BRUNETTI (Brunswick, 1763¹²³)
BORONI (Rome, 1778¹²⁴)
GARDI (Modena, 1786¹²⁵)

MANNA / BASSO BASSI *Enea in Cuma* (Naples, 1760¹²⁶)

¹⁰⁸ DK-Kk (L)

¹⁰⁹ F-Pn 8-YTH-50972 & I-Bc Lo.7173 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3104 (L)

¹¹⁰ I-Bc Lo.2174 (L)

¹¹¹ I-Bc Lo.7174 (L)

¹¹² F-Pn 8-BL-6390 (F) & I-Bc Lo.7741 (L), ROLLI 1744 (Lc), GB-Lbl (S)

¹¹³ British Musical Miscellany (Se)

¹¹⁴ I-Bc Lo.6947 & I-FEc & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Rvat (L)

¹¹⁵ I-Fc & I-MAC & I-Rv & I-Vgc Rolandi 4469 (L)

¹¹⁶ I-Vgc (L)

¹¹⁷ I-Vgc (L)

¹¹⁸ Scelti del dramma *La Lavinia* (Se)

¹¹⁹ D-MH & D-Sl fr.D.4°.192 & S-Sha A21 Bü. 636 & D-Tu (L), D-Sl Cod. mus. fol. II 347 (S)

¹²⁰ B-Bc 20120 & D-HR & D-Sha A21 Bü. 639 (L), F-Pn D6237/9 & I-Nc Rari 7.7.25 (S)

¹²¹ D-Bsb & I-Bc Lo.8870 & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & P-C & P-Ln L5793 P(6) & P-Lg & US-Wc Schatz 4893 (L), P-La 44-X-8/10 (S)

¹²² B-Bc 20119 & D-Mbs & F-Pn FB-6921 & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T, Strona & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 10391 (L), CIGNA-SANTI 1760 & DIODATI 1765 (Lc), D-Bsb & P-La (S)

¹²³ D-HVI (L)

¹²⁴ B-Bc 20121 & F-Pn YD-5421 & I-FE, Walker & I-MAC & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Rvat (L), F-Pn D-1395 (3-5) & L-17350 (Se)

¹²⁵ I-Ms (L)

¹²⁶ F-Pn 4-RA5-662 & I-Nn & I-Rsc (L), I-Nf (S)

? / CHIARI *Enea nel Lazio* (Bologna, 1761¹²⁷; Bologna, 1779¹²⁸))

? / ? *Enea e Targonte* (Milan, 1761¹²⁹)

LAMPUGNANI / BALDANZA *Enea in Italia* (Palermo, 1763¹³⁰)

GLUCK? / COLTELLINI *Enea e Ascanio* (Frankfurt, 1764¹³¹)

GIARDINI / SERTOR *Enea e Lavinia* (London, 1764¹³²)

B. GALUPPI / ALAMANNI *L'arrivo d'Enea nel Lazio* (Florence, 1765¹³³)

COLLA / D'ORENGO *Enea in Cartagine* (Turin, 1769¹³⁴)

? (Florence, 1772¹³⁵)

MONZA (Alessandria, 1784¹³⁶)

CAPOTORTI (Naples, 1800)

? / MORBILLI *L'Enea nel Lazio* (Naples, 1769¹³⁷)

N. PICCINNI / MILIOTTI after GOLDONI *Enea in Cuma* (Naples, 1775¹³⁸)

? / BELMONTE *Enea nel Lazio* (Naples, 1778¹³⁹)

? / NOUGARET *L'Enéide* (London, 1778¹⁴⁰)

ZINGARELLI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Enea, Mercurio, Deifobe* (Naples, 1778¹⁴¹)

SACCHINI / BOTTARELLI *Enea e Lavinia* (London, 1779¹⁴²)

LIMA / MARTINELLI *Enea in Tràcia* (Ajuda?, 1781¹⁴³)

? / LASSALA *La partenza d'Enea* (in *Ormisinda*, Bologna, 1783¹⁴⁴)

¹²⁷ F-Pn YD-4617 (L)

¹²⁸ F-Pn 8-RE-4478(8) (L)

¹²⁹ I-Mb (L)

¹³⁰ F-Pn 8-RA5-649 (L)

¹³¹ GSW & I-G,Ivaldi & I-Lg (L), I-Bc Lo.Villa 843 & I-LI & I-Rsc (Lc)

¹³² B-Bc 5445 (Se)

¹³³ B-Bc 19299 & I-Bca & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Nc & I-Plu & I-Rli & I-Rsc & I-Vc & I-Vcg & US-AUS & US-Wc Schatz 3443 (L)

¹³⁴ D-Mbs & F-Pn FB-6940 & I-NOVc & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Tci & I-T,Legger & I-Tn & I-T,Provinciale & I-Vgc Rolandi 4145 & US-AUS & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 2109 (L), I-Tf & P-La (S)

¹³⁵ I-Bc Lo.6298 (L)

¹³⁶ I-Bc Lo.3246 & Lo.Villa.255 & US-Wc Schatz 6618 (L), I-Tn (Se)

¹³⁷ I-Nc & I-Vgc (L), MORBILLI 1778 (Lc)

¹³⁸ I-Nc & I-Ra & US-NYp (L), A-Wn & H-Bn & I-Nc (S)

¹³⁹ I-Rsc XVIII.103 & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁴⁰ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁴¹ I-Nn (L)

¹⁴² F-Pc & GB-Lbl & US-BAu & US-Cu & US-Wc Schatz 9218 (L), B-Bc 5446 (Se)

¹⁴³ BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC 5562 & P-Ln L5800 P(6) (L)

¹⁴⁴ I-Bca & I-Vgc (L)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / DE STEFANO or SERTOR *Enea e Lavinia* (Naples, 1785¹⁴⁵; Venice, 1788¹⁴⁶; Naples, 1788¹⁴⁷; Codogno, 1789¹⁴⁸; Genoa, 1789¹⁴⁹; Milan, 1789¹⁵⁰; Reggio, 1789¹⁵¹; Madrid, 1790¹⁵²; Genoa, 1796¹⁵³)

GARDI / ? (Modena, 1786¹⁵⁴; Modena, 1789)

GIORDANI, P.A. GUGLIELMI (Novara, 1789¹⁵⁵)

V.A. (Livorno, 1791¹⁵⁶)

GILIBERTO / ? *Enea in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1792¹⁵⁷)

V. RIGHINI / FILISTRI *Enea nel Lazio* (Berlin, 1793¹⁵⁸)

N. PICCINNI a.o. / FRANCESCONI *Enea nel Lazio* (Lucca, 1795¹⁵⁹)

LIVERATI / D'ORENGO? *Enea in Cartagine* (Potsdam?, 1796)

SARTI / MORETTI *Enea nel Lazio* (St Petersburg, 1799¹⁶⁰)

SEYFRIED, STEGMAYER / GIESEKE *Der travestirte Aeneas* (Vienna, 1800¹⁶¹)

¹⁴⁵ CDN-Tu & I-Nc & I-Nn & I-Vgc & US-CA & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 4285 (L), I-Nc 27.4.33-5 (S), B-Br Fétis 2626 MS II 4047 & F-Pn D-5194 (6-7) & D-5196 (3) & D-5198 (1 & 5-6) & L-18199 (1-2-3) (Se)

¹⁴⁶ B-Bc 20113 & I-Bc Lo.2352 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L), D-Mbs & F-Pn (S)

¹⁴⁷ B-Bc 20114 & CDN-Tu & F-Pn YD-5470 & 8-YTH-51884 & I-Baf & I-Mc & I-Ra & I-Rn & I-Tci & US-CA (L), F-Pn D-5104-5 (Se)

¹⁴⁸ I-Ma & I-Mc & I-PAc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-Ws (L)

¹⁴⁹ I-Rsc & I-S.Margherita, Comunale & US-NYp (L)

¹⁵⁰ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.2353 & I-Fc & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Mr & I-Ms MUS.G.XLIII.4 & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Tci & US-CA (L)

¹⁵¹ F-Pn YD-5471 (2) & I-Ms & I-PAc & I-REm & I-Vc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁵² I-Rsc (L)

¹⁵³ I-Gi & I-Vc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 11711 (L)

¹⁵⁴ I-Ms (L)

¹⁵⁵ B-Bc 20115 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Tn & I-T, Provinciale & I-Vgc & US-AUS (L)

¹⁵⁶ I-Fm 2041.12 & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁵⁷ I-PLcom & I-PLn (L)

¹⁵⁸ A-Wgm & D-Bsb & D-LEm & D-Mbs & D-Mth & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 8782 (L), A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.12466 & D-Bsb & D-DS & GB-Lbl (S)

¹⁵⁹ B-Bc 20122 & F-Pn 8-RA5-368 & I-Lg & I-PS & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁶⁰ I-FZc (S)

¹⁶¹ A-Wn 2259-A. Alt Mag (L)

Agamemnon (see: Clytemnestra, Electra, Iphigenia, Orestes)

Aglaia (see: Graces)

Ajax (see also: Achilles, Iphigenia)

BALLAROTTI, LONATI, MAGNI / D' AVERARA *L' Aiace* (Milan, 1694¹; Turin, 1697²; Rome, 1697³)

F. GASPARINI (Naples, 1697⁴)

BERTIN DE LA DOUE / MENNESSON *Ajax* (Paris, 1716⁵; Lyons, 1742⁶; Paris, 1755)

V.A. / FUZELIER (as *Le galand brutal*, parody, Paris, 1726)

Alcestis

P.A. ZIANI / AURELI *L' Antigona delusa da Alceste* (Venice, 1660⁷; Bologna, 1661⁸; Milan, 1662⁹)

M.A. ZIANI (Naples, 1669¹⁰; Venice, 1669¹¹; Venice, 1669¹²; Venice, 1670¹³)

ADAM, STRUNGK, M.A. ZIANI / MAURO (as *L' Alceste*, Hanover, 1679¹⁴)

FIOCCO, STRUNGK, M.A. ZIANI / MAURO (as *L' Alceste*, Hanover, 1681¹⁵)

STRUNGK / THYMICH (Leipzig, 1693)

A. DRAGHI / CUPEDA (as *L' Alceste*, Vienna, 1699¹⁶)

HANDEL / MAURO, HAYM or ROLLI (as *Admeto Re di Tessaglia*, London, 1727¹⁷; London, 1728¹⁸; also *Admetus König in Thessalien*, Brunswick, 1729¹⁹; London, 1731²⁰)

¹ I-Bc Lo.2753 & I-Gu & I-LDE & I-Mc & I-Rn (L), US-Cn (S)

² I-T, Archivio Storico (L), I-Rvat (Se)

³ B-Bc 19010 & F-Pn YD-5150 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5730 & I-Bu & I-Fm Melodrammi 2247/8 & I-Rc & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L), D-MÜs & F-Pn & GB-Lbl & GB-Ob & I-Rli (Se)

⁴ I-Bu & I-MOe & I-Rn & US-Wc Schatz 5682(L), D-DI & F-Pc & I-Nc (Se)

⁵ US-Wc Schatz 878 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁶ US-Wc Schatz 11668 (L)

⁷ B-Bc 19216 & D-HV1 & D-LEm & I-Bc Lo.5611 & I-Fm & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-AUS & US-Laum n. 108 (L), I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-388 & 389 (S)

⁸ D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.5864 & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Rn (L)

⁹ D-Bsb & F-Pc & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5612 & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc & I-MOe & US-Wc Schatz 11212 (L)

¹⁰ B-Bc 19217 & GB-Lbl & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Nn & I-Rc & I-Rvat & I-Vgc (L)

¹¹ F-Pn 8-YTH-52262 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum n. 169 (L)

¹² D-LEm (L)

¹³ F-Pn 8-YTH-50932 & 8-YTH-52263 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & P-Lcg & US-LAum n. 168 (L)

¹⁴ D-HV1 (L)

¹⁵ D-HV1 & D-W Textb. 13 & GB-Lbl & I-Mb (L)

¹⁶ A-Wgm & A-Wn 407371-A. Adl.13/14 Mus & B-Bc 19021 & CZ-Pu & D-DI & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk (L)

¹⁷ F-Pc & GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/39 & GB-En & US-LAum & US-PRu & US-Wc & US-Ws (L), HG & HHA (S)

¹⁸ B-Br Féris 4495 A & D-Bsb & GB-Mp & US-Wc (L)

¹⁹ D-BS & D-HV1 (L)

²⁰ F-Pc & GB-Lbl (L)

HANDEL / HAYM, MAURO or ROLLI, WEND (as *Admetus, König in Thessalien*,
Hamburg, 1730²¹; Hamburg, 1732-6)

J.-B. LULLY / QUINAULT *Alceste, ou Le triomphe d'Alcide* (Paris, 1674²²; Fontainebleau, 1677²³; Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1678²⁴; Fontainebleau, 1680²⁵; Paris, 1682; Paris, 1688²⁶; Paris, 1706; Paris, 1716; Paris, 1727²⁷; Paris, 1739; Fontainebleau, 1754)

FRANCK / FOERTSCH (as *Alceste*, Hamburg, 1680²⁸; Hamburg, 1693²⁹)

STRUNGK / FOERTSCH (as *Alceste*, Leipzig, 1693; Hamburg, 1697³⁰)

STEFFANI / FIEDLER (as *Der siegende Alcides*, Hamburg, 1696³¹)

V.A. / DOMINIQUE (as *Alceste*, parody, Paris, 1718)

SCHUERMANN / KOENIG (as *Die getreue Alceste*; Brunswick, 1719³²)

G. BONONCINI, LOTTI, M.A. GASPARINI, SCHUERMANN, VIVALDI / KOENIG (as *Die getreue Alceste*, Hamburg, 1719³³; Hamburg, 1720-3)

V.A. / DOMINIQUE, ROMAGNESI (as *Alceste*, parody, Paris, 1728³⁴; Paris, 1739)

FRANCOEUR, J.-B. LULLY, REBEL (Paris, 1757³⁵)

FLOQUET / RAZINS DE SAINT-MARC (Paris, 1783³⁶) = unperformed

? / SERTOR (as *Alceste o sia Il trionfo d'Alcide*, Venice, 1794³⁷)

PORSILE / PARIATI *Alceste* (Vienna, 1718³⁸)

TELEMANN / ? *Hercules und Alceste* (?, between 1703 and 1730³⁹)

HANDEL / ARNOLD *Alceste* (London, 1750⁴⁰)

H.F. RAUPACH / SUMARKOV *Al'tsesta* (St Petersburg, 1758⁴¹; St Petersburg, 1774⁴²)

GLUCK / CALZABIGI *Alceste* (Vienna, 1767⁴³; Vienna, 1768⁴⁴; Vienna, 1770⁴⁵; Copenhagen, 1774⁴⁶; Padua, 1777⁴⁷; Bologna, 1778⁴⁸; Naples, 1779⁴⁹; Vienna, 1781⁵⁰;

²¹ A-Wn 625362-B. The (L)

²² US-Wc Schatz 5758 & ML48.R4 (L)

²³ F-Pn (L)

²⁴ F-Pn (L)

²⁵ D-Bsb 8" Xv 1557-no. 3 & Xv 4954 & D-W Lm Sammelbd 46 (7) (L)

²⁶ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

²⁷ A-Wn 6797-B. Alt Mag (L)

²⁸ A-Wn 4206-B. Mus & 625271-A. The & B-Br Fétis 4520 A III,8 & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5221-no.13 & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 10 (5) (L)

²⁹ D-Hs (L)

³⁰ B-Br Fétis 4520 A III,8 (L)

³¹ B-Br Fétis 4520 A III,4 & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5222-22 (L)

³² A-Wn 4194-B. Mus & 625304-B. The & D-Bsb 8" Yp 5232-no.1 & D-W Textb. 527 (L)

³³ D-Bsb 4" Yp 5225-no.11 & 4" Yp 5231-no.3 (L), D-Bsb 20360 (S)

³⁴ D-Bsb Ebd 138-4/5B & D-W Lm 4432:3 & US-Wc ML48.P3 (L)

³⁵ F-Pn (L), F-Pn MS. 941 (Se)

³⁶ F-Po (Se)

³⁷ I-BA, Giovine & I-Ms & I-Rc & Vgc (L)

³⁸ D-W Textb. 350 (L), A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.18245 (S)

³⁹ D-F (Se)

⁴⁰ HG & HHA (S)

⁴¹ RU-SPtob (S)

⁴² RU-SPtob (L)

⁴³ A-Wn 641432-A. 5,12 Mus & A-Gl & CZ-Pu & I-Rsc & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 3885 (L), GSW (S)

⁴⁴ A-Wn 396452-A. Mus & 392620-A. 13 Alt Mag & CZ-Pu & D-MHrm (L)

⁴⁵ A-Wgm & CZ-Pu & D-Dl & D-Mbs & SI-Ls(L)

⁴⁶ DK-Kk (L)

⁴⁷ I-Pca & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vcg (L)

Naples, 1785⁵¹; Florence, 1786⁵²; Bologna, 1788⁵³; Copenhagen, 1792⁵⁴; ?, 1792⁵⁵; as *Alceste, ossia Il trionfo dell'amor conjugale*, London, 1795⁵⁶; Berlin, 1796⁵⁷; as *Alceste, ossia Il trionfo dell'amor conjugale*, London, 1797⁵⁸)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / PARINI (Milan, 1768⁵⁹)

ORDONEZ (Eszterháza, 1775⁶⁰)

GLUCK / DU ROULLET (Paris, 1776⁶¹; Paris, 1779⁶²; Vienna, 1785⁶³; Fontainebleau, 1785; Paris, 1786⁶⁴; Paris, 1790; Paris, 1797)

GLUCK / LA FORCE (as *La bonne femme, ou Le Phénix*, parody, Paris, 1776⁶⁵)

GLUCK / ? (as *Céleste*, parody, Paris, 1784⁶⁶; Paris, 1786⁶⁷)

GLUCK / SCHMIEDER (Mainz, 1791⁶⁸)

FENAROLI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Alceste, Venere, Alcide* (Naples, 1768⁶⁹)

SCHWEITZER / WIELAND *Alceste* (Weimar, 1773⁷⁰; Berlin, 1773⁷¹; Leipzig, 1773⁷²; Frankfurt, 1774; Biel, 1774; Gotha, 1774; Schwetzingen, 1775; Altenburg, 1775; Mannheim, 1775; Luzern, 1775; Königsberg, 1776; Dresden, 1776⁷³; Berlin, 1777; Warsaw, 1778; Berlin, 1780; Hamburg, 1781; Leipzig, 1781; Neustrelitz, 1783; Vienna, 1784; Cologne, 1788⁷⁴; Prague, 1792)

F.W.H. BENDA (Berlin, 1786)

WOLF (Weimar, 1786)

SCHUSTER / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Alceste, Cerere, Enea* (Naples, 1781⁷⁵)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / PAGLIUCA *La felicità dell'Anfriso* (Naples, 1783⁷⁶)

⁴⁸ D-Mbs & I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.2236 & Lo.9537 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-AUS & US-BEm & US-NYp & US-Wc ML48.A5 v. 29 (L)

⁴⁹ I-Nn (L)

⁵⁰ A-Wn 396453-A. Mus & CZ-Pu & D-B (L)

⁵¹ I-Fm & I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

⁵² B-Bc 19022 & I-Fc & I-Fn & I-Vgc (L)

⁵³ I-Bc Lo.2237 & I-Bca & I-Vc & I-Vgc (L)

⁵⁴ DK-Kk (L)

⁵⁵ A-Wn 233849-A. Mus (L)

⁵⁶ GB-Lbl (L)

⁵⁷ D-Bsb Mus. Tg 585/1 & D-Bsb & D-LEm & US-AA (L)

⁵⁸ US-Wc (L)

⁵⁹ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.2314 & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Mc coll. Libr. 141 & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 4233 (L), F-Pn & P-La (S)

⁶⁰ A-Wn 299890-B. The (L)

⁶¹ GSW & D-Bsb 4" Xw 3982 (L), GSW (S)

⁶² US-Wc Schatz 3888 (L)

⁶³ A-Wn 845000-A. 8 The (L)

⁶⁴ US-Wc Schatz 3940 & ML48.M2B (L)

⁶⁵ US-Wc Schatz 11484 (L)

⁶⁶ B-Br II 8.989 A C/27 (L)

⁶⁷ B-Br II 10.532 A XVIII/13 (L)

⁶⁸ US-Wc Schatz 3889 (L), D-Bsb Mus. T 102/1 (Lc)

⁶⁹ I-Nc & I-Nn & I-Rsc (L)

⁷⁰ US-Wc Schatz 9768 (L), WIELAND 1794-1802 (Lc), F-Pc (S)

⁷¹ A-Wn 25407-B. 13 Alt Mag (L)

⁷² D-W 1251 Qu.N. (2) & Lo 8001 & Lo 8002 (L)

⁷³ A-Wn 845000-A. 27 The (L)

⁷⁴ A-Wn 629073-A. The (L)

⁷⁵ F-Pn & I-Nc (L)

⁷⁶ D-Mbs & I-Nc & I-Nn & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L), F-Pc & I-Nc (S)

ZINGARELLI / ? *La morte di Alceste* (?, 1789)

PORTOGALLO / SOGRAFI *Alceste* (Venice, 1799⁷⁷)

Alcyone

MARAI / LA MOTTE *Alcione* (Paris, 1706⁷⁸; Paris, 1719; Paris, 1730⁷⁹; Paris, 1741; Paris, 1756⁸⁰; Paris, 1771⁸¹)

V.A. / ? (as *Critique*, parody, Paris, 1712)

V.A. / FUZELIER (as *L'Ami à la mode*, parody, Paris, 1719)

V.A. / ROMAGNESI (parody, Paris, 1741⁸²)

ROESSIG / ? *Alcyone* (Bayreuth, 1779)

CARVALHO / MARTINELLI *Alcione* (Lisbon, 1787⁸³)

Alecto (see: Erinyes)

Amalthea

BONNO / METASTASIO *Il natal di Giove* (Vienna, 1740⁸⁴)

HASSE (Hubertusburg, 1749⁸⁵)

JO. PLA (Madrid, 1752) = doubtful

LATILLA (Aranjuez, 1757) = doubtful

J.C. RICHTER (as *Opera drammatica per festeggiare il gloriosissimo natalizio della real Altezza principessa*, Dresden, 1764⁸⁶)

SANTOS (Lisbon, 1766⁸⁷)

LUCCHESI (Bonn, 1774⁸⁸)

? (as *Il natale di Giove*, Copenhagen, 1775⁸⁹)

SILVA (Queluz, 1778⁹⁰)

FRACASSINI (Würzburg, 1752-79)

⁷⁷ F-Pn & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.4392 & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Vqs & I-Vt & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 8396 (L), D-Swl (Se)

⁷⁸ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), F-Pn (S)

⁷⁹ F-Pn (L)

⁸⁰ F-Pn (L)

⁸¹ F-Pn (L)

⁸² ROMAGNESI 1998 (Lc)

⁸³ BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC 453 & P-Lg & US-Wc Schatz 1674 (L)

⁸⁴ METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc)

⁸⁵ CZ-Pu (L), I-Mc Part.Tr.ms.181bis & B-Bc 2154 & B-Br Fétis 2562 MS II 3997 & D-Hs ND VI 2945 & 2946 (S), D-Bsb SA 2242 (Se)

⁸⁶ D-Dl (S)

⁸⁷ P-La (L)

⁸⁸ D-DÜI (L)

⁸⁹ DK-Kk (L)

⁹⁰ BR-Rn & I-Rsc 10875 & P-C (L)

Amazons

SARTORIO / BUSSANI *Ercole su'l Termodonte* (Venice, 1678⁹¹)

RAMPINI (Padua, 1715⁹²; Mantua, 1716⁹³)

ORLANDINI / SALVI (as *Le Amazoni vinte da Ercole*, Reggio, 1718⁹⁴)

VIVALDI / SALVI (Rome, 1723⁹⁵)

SCHUERER (Dresden, 1747⁹⁶)

HASSE a.o. / ? (as *Hercules am Fluss Thermodontes*, Wolfenbüttel, 1749⁹⁷)

B. PASQUINI / DE TOTIS after SOLIS *La caduta del regno dell'Amazzoni* (Rome, 1690⁹⁸)

J.P. KRIEGER / BRESSAND *Herkules unter denen Amazonen* (Brunswick, 1693⁹⁹;
Brunswick, 1694¹⁰⁰; as *Hercules unter denen Amazonen / Hercules anderer Theil*, Hamburg,
1694¹⁰¹)

DESTOUCHES / LA MOTTE *Marthésie, première reine des Amazones* (Fontainebleau,
1699; Paris, 1699¹⁰²)

KAEFER (as *Die erste Königin der Amazonen Marthesia*, Durlach, 1717)

GILLIER / D'ORNEVAL, LESAGE *L'isle des Amazones* (Paris, 1720¹⁰³)

BERGIRON / ? *Pentézilée* (Lyons, 1722-3¹⁰⁴)

REALI / ? *L'Antiope* (Pavia, 1728¹⁰⁵)

BIONI / BURIGOTTI *Ercole sul Termodonte* (Wroclaw, 1730¹⁰⁶)

S. BERTINI / BALDANZA *L'impero delle Amazzoni* (Palermo, 1772¹⁰⁷)

⁹¹ CZ-Pu & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 29 (3) & F-Pn 8-YTH-51.065 & I-Bc Lo.5094 & Lo.9796 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-REm & I-Vc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-BEm & US-LAum n. 234 & US-Wc Schatz 9493 (L), I-Vqs Cl.VIII Cod.V (Se)

⁹² I-Bc Lo.6331 & I-Bu & I-Mb & I-Vcg & SI-Lsk (L)

⁹³ I-Mb (L)

⁹⁴ GB-Lwi & I-Bc Lo.3573 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-REm & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vgc (L)

⁹⁵ B-Bc & D-FRu & F-Pn & I-Bc Lo.5544 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-MAC & I-Nc & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & US-Wc ML50.2.E61v.4 (L), B-Bc & D-MÜs 174 & F-Pc D.12741/1 & F-Pn VM-7-7694 & GB-Lbl Egerton 2.487 fol. 22 & I-Rc 2.222 & I-Tn Foà 28 (Se)

⁹⁶ US-Wc Schatz 9732 (L), D-Dl & I-Nc 31.2.1 (S)

⁹⁷ D-BS & D-HVl (L)

⁹⁸ E-Mn & I-Bc Lo.6007 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-IE(Planetti) & I-Rc & I-FP,Fanan & US-NYp (L), B-Bc D-Bsb Xq 446/5 & D-DÜl & GB-Lbl & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Mr & I-MOe & I-Rc & I-Rn & I-Vgc (L2), GB-Lbl (S), F-Pc & I-Fc & I-MOe & I-Rli & I-Rvat (Se)

⁹⁹ D-W Textb. 380 (L)

¹⁰⁰ D-W Textb. Sammelbd 6 (6) (L)

¹⁰¹ A-Wn 625388-B. The & US-Wc Schatz 5272-3 (L)

¹⁰² RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹⁰³ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

¹⁰⁴ F-LYm (S)

¹⁰⁵ CZ-Pu & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Rn (L)

¹⁰⁶ I-Mb (L)

¹⁰⁷ I-PLcom (L)

NASOLINI / SOGRAFI *Ercole al Termodonte ossia Ippolita regina delle Amazzoni*
(Trieste, 1791¹⁰⁸)

N. PICCINNI (also *La disfatta delle Amazzoni*, Naples, 1793¹⁰⁹)

Amor (see: Eros)

Amphion (see also: Apollo)

GILLIER / ? *Amphion* (Paris, 1696¹¹⁰)

MAGNI / D'AVERRA *L'Amfione* (Milan, 1698¹¹¹)

DE LA BORDE / THOMAS *Amphion* (Paris, 1767)

NAUMANN / ADLERBETH (Stockholm, 1778¹¹²; Dresden, 1784; Brunswick, 1788¹¹³)

B. GALUPPI / G. DA PONTE *L'Anfione* (Venice, 1780¹¹⁴)

CHERUBINI / ? *Amphion* (Paris, 1786¹¹⁵) = unperformed

Amphitryon (see also: Heracles, Zeus)

FASOLI, LIGNANI / SIGNORETTI *L'Anfitrione di Plauto* (Turin, 1695¹¹⁶)

F. GASPARINI / PARIATI *Anfitrione* (Venice, 1707¹¹⁷)

A.S. FIORE (Milan, 1707) = doubtful

F. GASPARINI, VON WICH / PRAETORIUS (also *Amphytrion*, Hamburg, 1725¹¹⁸)

SILVA (Lisbon, 1736) = doubtful

? (Vienna, 1739¹¹⁹)

FACCO / CANIZARES *Amor es todo imbención: Júpiter y Amphitrión* (Madrid, 1721¹²⁰)

DIBDIN / DIBDIN after DRYDEN *Amphitryon, or Jupiter and Alcmene* (London, 1781¹²¹)

¹⁰⁸ I-Pu & I-TSc (L)

¹⁰⁹ B-Bc 20139 & I-Baf & I-Fc & I-Nc & I-Vc & I-Vgc & US-Cn & US-Wc Schatz 8126 (L), I-Nc (S)

¹¹⁰ F-Pn (S)

¹¹¹ I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Rn (L)

¹¹² B-Br Fétis 4521 A IV,3 (L), DK-Kk & S-St & S-Skma (S)

¹¹³ US-Wc Schatz 7038 (Lc)

¹¹⁴ I-Vcg (L)

¹¹⁵ PL-Kj (S)

¹¹⁶ I-Bu & I-T, Arch. Storico (L)

¹¹⁷ D-HVl & F-Pn 8-YTH-51077 & 8-YTH-52033 & I-Bc Lo.1977 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Rc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rig & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3559 (L), GB-Lbl (Se)

¹¹⁸ B-Br Fétis 4520 A VII,14 & US-Wc Schatz 3560 (L)

¹¹⁹ A-Wn 444497-A. Mus. & I-Mb (L)

¹²⁰ E-Bim & P-EVp (Se)

¹²¹ US-SM (L)

GRETRY / SEDAINE after MOLIERE *Amphitryon* (Versailles, 1786¹²²)

Anchises (see: Aeneas)

Andromache (see also: Cassandra, Hector, Neoptolemus, Perseus, Polydorus)

CALDARA / V.A. *La promessa serbata al primo* (Venice, 1697¹²³)

? / D'AVERRARA after RACINE *Andromaca* (Milan, 1701¹²⁴)

PERTI, TORELLI / SALVI, BERNARDONI after RACINE *Astianatte* (Florence, 1701¹²⁵)

A.M. BONONCINI, PERTI? (Florence, 1716¹²⁶)

TORRI (Munich, 1716¹²⁷; Munich, 1717¹²⁸)

A.M. BONONCINI (Venice, 1718¹²⁹)

F. GASPARINI (Rome, 1719¹³⁰; Milan, 1722¹³¹; Macerata, 1729¹³²)

BUINI (as *Andromaca*, Ferrara, 1723¹³³)

VINCI (Naples, 1725¹³⁴)

CHIOCCHETTI (as *L'Andromaca*, Reggio, 1726¹³⁵)

G. BONONCINI / HAYM (London, 1727¹³⁶)

F. GASPARINI, PORPORA, SARRO, VINCI / LALLI (as *L'Andromaca*, Florence, 1728¹³⁷)

GIACOMELLI, L.A. PREDIERI, VINCI (Alessandria, 1729¹³⁸)

ALBERTI (Hollerschau, 1735¹³⁹)

JOMMELLI (Rome, 1741¹⁴⁰; Perugia, 1743¹⁴¹; as *La Andromaca*, Barcelona, 1762¹⁴²; as

L'Andromaca, Barcelona, 1763¹⁴³)

¹²² GRETRY & F-Pn & F-Po (S)

¹²³ I-Bc Lo.7000 (L)

¹²⁴ I-Bc Lo.5851 & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. Libr. 52 & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-SA & US-Wc Schatz 11304 (L)

¹²⁵ B-Bc 19352 & D-HV1 & D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.5953 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-Rsc & S-Uu (L)

¹²⁶ I-Bc Lo.5954 & I-PEc & I-Rig (L)

¹²⁷ D-DI & D-Mbs & US-Wc Schatz 1204 (L), D-Mbs (S)

¹²⁸ D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Mbs (L)

¹²⁹ B-Bc 19353 & D-W Gräflisch Schulenburgische Bibliothek Km 1 (1) & F-Pn 8-YTH-51962 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.622 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Rc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc Rolandi 2212 & I-Vnm & P-Lg & US-CA & US-LAum (L), D-W Slg. 301 (Se)

¹³⁰ B-Bc 19353 & F-Pn YD-4929 & YD-5277 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.2000 & I-Bu & I-BGc & I-MAC & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L), F-Pn D. 4339 (Se)

¹³¹ I-Bc Lo.2001 & Lo.9585 & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. libr. 76 (L), GB-Lbl Add. 14233 (Se)

¹³² I-MAC (L)

¹³³ I-Mb (L)

¹³⁴ GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5511 & I-Fm & I-Nc Rari 10.5.9/2 & 10.6.10/9 & I-Rsc & US-NYp (L), I-Nc 33.6.2 (S)

¹³⁵ D-DI & I-Bc Lo.1000 & I-Fm & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-REm & I-FP, Fanan & I-TSmt & I-Vc & I-Vgc Rolandi 3578 & I-Vnm (L)

¹³⁶ D-HV1 & GB-Lbl & GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/39 & US-Bp & US-Cu & US-LAuc & US-SM & US-Wc & US-Ws (L), B-Bc XY II 58 & 17205 & D-Er & GB-Lbl Add.39549 & S-Skma T-SE-R & US-Wc (Se)

¹³⁷ I-Bc Lo.5852 & I-Fc & I-Fm & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 11305 (L), B-Bc 2365 (Se)

¹³⁸ I-Tci (L)

¹³⁹ I-Mb (L)

¹⁴⁰ B-Bc 19355 & D-FRu & F-Pn 8-BL-7190 & GB-Lbl & I-BRq & I-Nlp & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat (L), D-Sl & GB-Lbl R.M.22.e.26-28 & US-Cn & US-R (S), B-Bc 2179 & I-Nc (Se)

¹⁴¹ I-Fm 2204.8 & 2211.6 & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁴² US-CHH (L)

LEO (as *L'Andromaca*, Naples, 1742¹⁴⁴)
 CAROLI (as *L'Andromaca*, Bologna, 1742¹⁴⁵)
 ? (as *Andromaca*, Florence, 1742¹⁴⁶)
 ? (as *Andromaca*, Vicenza, 1746¹⁴⁷)
 LAMPUGNANI (as *Andromaca*, Turin, 1748¹⁴⁸; as *Andromaca*, Brescia, 1752¹⁴⁹; as *Andromaca*,
 Genoa, 1753¹⁵⁰)
 UTTINI (Cesena, 1748¹⁵¹)
 PEREZ (as *Andromaca*, Vienna, 1750¹⁵²)
 ? (as *Andromaca*, Venice, 1752¹⁵³)
 AURISICCHIO, PAMPANI (as *Andromaca*, Rome, 1753¹⁵⁴)
 ? (as *L'Andromaca*, Vicenza, 1753¹⁵⁵)
 M. VALENTINI (as *Andromaca*, Milan, 1754¹⁵⁶)
 ? (as *L'Andromaca o siano Le furie d'Oreste*, Florence, 1754¹⁵⁷)
 PAMPANI (Venice, 1755¹⁵⁸)
 TOZZI (Brunswick, 1755¹⁵⁹)
 JOMMELLI, LAMPUGNANI (as *Andromaca*, London, 1755¹⁶⁰)
 SCOLARI / VIGANO (as *L'Andromaca*, Lodi, 1757¹⁶¹)
 SARTI (as *Andromaca*, Copenhagen, 1760¹⁶²)
 SACCHINI (as *L'Andromaca*, Naples, 1761¹⁶³; Florence, 1763)
 V.A. (as *Andromaca*, Lucca, 1763¹⁶⁴)
 TOZZI (Brunswick, 1765¹⁶⁵)
 BERTONI (as *Andromaca*, Venice, 1771¹⁶⁶)
 MARTIN Y SOLER (as *Andromaca*, Turin, 1780¹⁶⁷)
 NASOLINI / BADINI (as *Andromaca*, Venice, 1790¹⁶⁸; London, 1790¹⁶⁹)
 PAISIELLO (as *L'Andromaca*, Naples, 1797¹⁷⁰; St Petersburg, 1798¹⁷¹; as *L'Andromaca*,

¹⁴³ US-Wc (L)

¹⁴⁴ IOB & I-Nc & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 5556 (L), IOB & D-LEm Mus.Ms.3860 & I-Nc (S), I-Bc & I-Pac (Se)

¹⁴⁵ I-Bc Lo.5853 & I-Pac & I-Rn (L)

¹⁴⁶ I-Fn & I-Mb (L)

¹⁴⁷ I-Rsc & I-Vnm & I-VIb (L)

¹⁴⁸ D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.2605 & I-FOSc & I-Pac & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-FP,Fanan & I-T,Strona & I-Rig (L)

¹⁴⁹ I-Ma (L)

¹⁵⁰ I-SA (L)

¹⁵¹ I-Bc Lo.5437 (L)

¹⁵² A-Wn 641432-A. 24,2 Mus & 180525-A. Alt Mag & D-MHrm & D-W Textb. 337 (L), CDN-Lu & A-Wn Mus.Hs.18037 & US-Wc & GB-Lbl (S)

¹⁵³ I-Mb (L)

¹⁵⁴ I-Bc Lo.362 & I-Fm & I-MAC & I-Plcom & I-Rvat & I-Vgc Rolandi 788 (L), F-Pn D.14424 & GB-Lbl (Se)

¹⁵⁵ I-VIb (L)

¹⁵⁶ I-Bc Lo.5468 & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. Libr. 118 & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L)

¹⁵⁷ I-Bc Lo.5855 & I-Fc & US-CA (L)

¹⁵⁸ I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-URBc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 7755 (L)

¹⁵⁹ D-BS (L)

¹⁶⁰ GB-Lbl & US-NH (L)

¹⁶¹ US-Wc Schatz 9803 (L)

¹⁶² DK-Kk (L)

¹⁶³ US-NYp (L), P-La (S)

¹⁶⁴ I-Fm (L)

¹⁶⁵ I-Nc & D-Bsb & D-Wa (S)

¹⁶⁶ A-Wn & F-Pn 8-YTH-51539 & I-Bc Lo.508 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 904 (L), B-Bc 17205 (Se)

¹⁶⁷ D-Mbs & F-Pn 8-RF-4579 & I-Bc Lo.2682 & I-NOVc & I-Rsc & I-R,Burcardo & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-T,Provinciale & I-T,Strona & I-Vgc & I-VC,Agnesiana & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 6027 (L), I-Tf (S)

¹⁶⁸ F-Pa & F-Pn 8-YTH-51132 & 8-YTH-51892 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 6999 (L), F-Pn (S), I-Rsc A.Ms.2440 (Se)

¹⁶⁹ GB-Lbl & US-BEm (L)

Venice, 1798¹⁷²; as *L'Andromaca*, Verona, 1798¹⁷³; as *L'Andromaca*, Padua, 1799¹⁷⁴)

CALDARA / ZENO after RACINE, CORNEILLE *Andromaca* (Vienna, 1724¹⁷⁵)

BIONI (Wroclaw, 1730)

FEO / LEMER? (Rome, 1730¹⁷⁶)

? / SALVI, ZENO? *Andromaca* (Trieste, 1752¹⁷⁷)

DASSDORF / ? *Andromache* (Dresden, 1777)

GRETRY / PITRA after RACINE *Andromaque* (Paris, 1780¹⁷⁸; Paris, 1781¹⁷⁹)

? / LASSALA *Andromaca* (in *Ormisinda*, Bologna, 1783¹⁸⁰)

¹⁷⁰ A-Wmi & B-Bc 19187 & I-Fc & I-Nc Rari 15.1.6/1 & I-Ra & I-Vgc (L), Cottrau & A-Wn Mus.Hs.9985 & F-Pn & I-Nc 16.8.7-8 & US-Bp (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.4203 & I-BCp Pepe Ms.352 & I-Mc Mus.Tr.ms. 1509 & Nosedà O 2.1-6 & I-Nc Arie 78/4 & Arie 95/7 & Arie 467A & Arie 469 & I-OS Mss.Mus.B 2596 & I-Rsc A-Ms.3120 (Se)

¹⁷¹ RU-SPsc & RU-SPtob (S)

¹⁷² F-Pn 8-YTH-51216 & I-Fm Melodrammi.2190.6 & I-Mb Racc.Dramm.4168 & I-Vcg La Fenice 205 & Melodrammi 5.G.21-40 & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & I-Vt & I-V,Marcello & US-Wc Schatz 7598 (L), I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-829-30 (S)

¹⁷³ I-VE,Rigoli (L)

¹⁷⁴ I-Mb Racc.Dramm.4166 & I-P,Saggiori & I-Vcg & US-CA (L), I-Pc ATVa 35/I-II (S)

¹⁷⁵ A-Wgm & A-Wn & D-W Textb. 69 & Textb. Sammelbd 11 (9) & I-Bam & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vnm (L), ZENO 1785 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18222-3 & D-Bsb Caldara 2 (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17051 (Se)

¹⁷⁶ IOB & F-Pn YD-5232 & I-Bc Lo.8187 & I-Fm & I-Nlp & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 3062 (L), IOB & GB-Lbl Ms.Add.24303 (S)

¹⁷⁷ I-Bc Lo.5854 (L)

¹⁷⁸ US-Wc Schatz 4138 (L), GRETRY & B-Bc 1633-4 & F-Po (S)

¹⁷⁹ F-Po (L)

¹⁸⁰ I-Bca & I-Vgc (L)

Andromeda (see also: Dionysus, Perseus)

FRANCK / ? after CORNEILLE *Andromeda und Perseus* (Ansbach, 1675; Hamburg, 1679¹; as *Die errettete Unschuld oder Andromeda und Perseus*, Hamburg, 1692²)

COUSSER / BRESSAND *Andromeda* (Brunswick, 1692³)

? / ANIMOSI *Andromeda* (Venice, 1700⁴)

? / ? *Andromeda und Perseus* (Leipzig, 1704) = doubtful

A. BONONCINI, JOSEPH I / BERNARDONI *Andromeda* (Vienna, 1707⁵)

CALDARA / ? *Il trionfo d'amore* (Rome, 1709⁶)

? / ? *Andromeda und Perseus* (Brunswick, 1711) = doubtful

M.A. ZIANI / PARIATI *Andromeda* (Vienna, 1714⁷)

PEPUSCH / R. & J. WEAVER *The flying lovers, or Perseus and Andromeda* (London, 1716)

SARRO / DI ROSA *L'Andromeda* (Naples, 1721⁸)

MUELLER / ? *Andromeda liberata* (Cologne, 1725⁹)

VIVALDI a.o. / ? *Andromeda liberata* (Venice, 1726¹⁰)

ORLANDINI / MARCHI *Le nozze di Perseo e d'Andromeda* (Florence, 1738¹¹)

ABOS?, BERNASCONI, HANDEL, HASSE, JOMMELLI, LEO, SARRO, WAGENSEIL / ? *Andromeda liberata* (Vienna, 1750¹²)

PEREZ / ? *Andromeda* (Lisbon, 1753)

COCCHI / CIGNA-SANTI *Andromeda* (Turin, 1755¹³)

¹ A-Wn 625269-A. The (L)

² B-Br Fétis 4520 A II,7 (L)

³ D-HVl Op 1, 49 (L)

⁴ I-Vnm (L)

⁵ BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc), D-Dl 2209.F.2 (S)

⁶ D-MÜs Hs. 807 (S)

⁷ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17173-4 (S)

⁸ I-Mb (L)

⁹ D-Mbs (L)

¹⁰ I-Vc Busta 1-8 / 6 (S)

¹¹ I-Fm Misc. 31-16 & Melodrammi 2074.24 & I-Vc & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17953 & A-Wgm (S)

¹² D-MHrm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18033 (S)

¹³ B-Bc 19190 & CDN-Tu & F-Pn FB-6911 & I-Ms & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-T,Strona &

I. FIORILLO (Kassel, 1770¹⁴; Kassel, 1771¹⁵; Kassel, 1779¹⁶)
 COLLA (Turin, 1771¹⁷; Florence, 1778¹⁸)
 PAISIELLO (Milan, 1774¹⁹)
 GAZZANIGA (as *Perseo, e Andromeda*, Florence, 1775²⁰; Prague, 1781²¹; Brunswick, 1783²²)
 ? (Genoa, 1776²³)
 V.A. (Florence, 1790²⁴)
 PERSICHINI (Warsaw, 1790²⁵)
 NAUMANN? (Dresden, 1792)

ZIMMERMANN / KEMPEL *Andromeda und Perseus* (Halle, 1780²⁶)

MARESCALCHI / PALMA *Andromeda e Perseo* (Rome, 1784²⁷)

M. HAYDN / VARESCO *Andromeda e Perseo* (Salzburg, 1787²⁸)

REICHARDT / FILISTRI DA CARAMONDANI *Andromeda* (Berlin, 1788²⁹)

ZINGARELLI / BERTATI *Andromeda* (Venice, 1796³⁰)

SARTI / MORETTI *Andromeda* (St Petersburg, 1798³¹)

Antigone (see also: Alcestis, Creon, Eteocles)

M.A. ZIANI / CIALLI *Creonte* (Venice, 1691³²; Siena, 1695³³)

I-Vgc Rolandi 3999 & US-Wc Schatz 2051 (L), CIGNA-SANTI 1760 (Lc), I-Tf (S)

¹⁴ D-BFb (L)

¹⁵ D-Bsb & D-FUl & D-Mth & D-MGu (L)

¹⁶ D-MGu (L)

¹⁷ B-Bc 19191 & D-Mbs & I-Fm & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T, Arch.Storico & I-T, Provinciale & I-T, Strona & I-Vgc Rolandi 4142 & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 2106 (L), I-Tf (S)

¹⁸ F-Po & I-Bc Lo.1248 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Vgc Rolandi 4143 (L)

¹⁹ I-Bc Lo.3794 & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 6072/4 & I-Ms & I-Nc Rari 15.11/3 & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L), F-Pn & I-Nc 16.8.9-11 (S), Marescalchi 1774 & B-Bc 4480 & 4502 & 4513 & 4529 & 4535-6 & 4543 & 4562 & 4570 & I-BRc Pasini 78 & P-La (Se)

²⁰ F-Po & I-Bc Lo.2030 & I-Fm (L)

²¹ US-Wc (L)

²² D-BS (L)

²³ I-Vnm & US-NYp (L)

²⁴ I-Bc Lo.5857 & I-Fc & I-Fn (L)

²⁵ PL-Kcz & PL-Kj (L)

²⁶ B-Br Fétis 4521 A I,4 & US-Wc Schatz 11234 (L), CDN-Lu (S)

²⁷ I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Vgc (L)

²⁸ Doblinger 1968 (S)

²⁹ D-LEm & D-Mbs & D-Mth & D-MHrm & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 8634 (L), D-Bsb & D-Bsb & D-Mbs & US-Wc (S)

³⁰ US-Wc Schatz 11265 (L), I-Mc (Se)

³¹ D-Bsb Mus. T 80-5 & I-Vmc & RU-SPsc (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.10000 (S), I-Fc & B-Br Fétis 2627 MS II 4048 & I-FZc (Se)

ORLANDINI / PASQUALIGO after LUCCHINI *Antigona* (Venice, 1719³⁴; Venice, 1721³⁵; Brunswick, 1724³⁶; Venice, 1724³⁷; Wolfenbüttel, 1725³⁸; as *Antigona vendicata*, Wroclaw, 1728; Brunswick, 1732³⁹)

ORLANDINI a.o. (as *Antigona in Tebe*, Venice, 1722⁴⁰)

ORLANDINI, TINAZZOLI (Pesaro, 1722⁴¹)

ORLANDINI / GIOVANNETTI (Turin, 1727⁴²; as *La Fedeltà coronata, o sia l'Antigona*, Bologna, 1727⁴³)

BARBIERI, BRIVIO (Milan, 1731⁴⁴)

? (Vienna, 1741⁴⁵)

FEO / ? *Polinice* (Madrid, 1738⁴⁶)

B. GALUPPI / ROCCAFORTE *Antigona* (Rome, 1751⁴⁷; Spoleto, 1751⁴⁸; Cortona, 1752⁴⁹; Mannheim, 1753⁵⁰; Messina, 1753⁵¹; Pesaro, 1753⁵²; Vicenza, 1753⁵³; Brunswick, 1754⁵⁴; Venice, 1754⁵⁵; Macerata, 1755⁵⁶; as *Antigona in Tebe*, Naples, 1755⁵⁷; as *Antigona in Tebe*, Verona, 1758⁵⁸)

FINI (Florence, 1751⁵⁹)

CASALI (Turin, 1752⁶⁰)

³² F-Pn 8-YTH-51749 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-RE, Panizzi & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 11181 (L), I-Bc Lo.5625 & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Rc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L2), F-Pn & GB-Cfm & I-Rvat (Se)

³³ I-Ms (L)

³⁴ B-Bc 19212 & CDN-Tu & D-W Gräfl. Schulenburgische Bibliothek Km 1 (9) & I-Bc Lo.3568 & I-Bu & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Pac & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 7327 (L), B-Br Fétiš 2547 (S)

³⁵ I-Bc Lo.3569 & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L)

³⁶ D-BS & D-W Textb. 373 (L)

³⁷ I-Bc Lo.3571 & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum (L)

³⁸ D-BS & D-HV1 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-W Textb. 374 & D-WRtl (L)

³⁹ D-BS & D-HV1 & D-Mbs & D-W Textb. 375 & D-WRtl (L), D-DI MS. 922 (Se)

⁴⁰ I-Mb & SI-Lsk (L)

⁴¹ I-Bc Lo.3570 (L)

⁴² I-Bc Lo.3572 & I-Ms & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L)

⁴³ F-Pn YD-5354 & I-Bc Lo.3593 & I-Fm & I-FZc & I-Ms & I-Pac & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vc & US-Wc ML50.2.A71807 (L), GB-Lbl Add.16066 (S)

⁴⁴ GB-Lwi & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 6071/3 (L)

⁴⁵ A-Wn 26056-A. Mus & 444501-A. Mus & D-Mth (L)

⁴⁶ I-Nf (Se)

⁴⁷ B-Bc 19213 & CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.1847 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-MAC & I-Nc & I-Pac & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Tci & I-Vgc & US-AA & US-Wc ML50.2.A718G3 (L), B-Br Fétiš 2547 MS II 3982 & I-Nc (S), B-Bc 3864-3928 (Se)

⁴⁸ I-Vgc (L)

⁴⁹ I-PEc (L)

⁵⁰ D-BAs & D-HEu & D-MHav & D-MHrm & D-Sl & US-Wc Schatz 3438 (L)

⁵¹ I-Nc (L)

⁵² I-Bca & I-PESo (L)

⁵³ I-Rsc & I-Vcg (L)

⁵⁴ I-Mb & D-HV1 (L), D-Wa (S)

⁵⁵ I-Bc Lo.1848 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3437 (L)

⁵⁶ I-MAC (L)

⁵⁷ I-Bc Lo.1849 & I-Nc & I-Nlp & I-Vgc & US-NYp (L)

⁵⁸ I-Fm & I-Vcg (L)

⁵⁹ I-Bc Lo.5865 & I-Fc & I-Fm (L)

⁶⁰ F-Pn FB-6905 & I-FOS & I-Ms & I-Rc & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T, Arch. Storico & I-T, Provinciale & I-T, Strona & US-Wc Schatz 1678 (L)

V.A. (Leipzig, 1753⁶¹)
 LATILLA (Modena, 1753⁶²)
 V.A. (Prague, 1753⁶³)
 BERTONI (Genoa, 1756⁶⁴; Alessandria, 1775⁶⁵; as *Creonte*, Modena, 1776⁶⁶)
 G. SCARLATTI (Milan, 1756⁶⁷)
 COCCHI, CONFORTI, B. GALUPPI a.o. (London, 1760⁶⁸)
 V. CIAMPI (Venice, 1762⁶⁹)
 SALES (as *L'Antigona in Tebe*, Padua, 1767⁷⁰)
 G.F. DE MAJO (Rome, 1768⁷¹)
 BIANCHINI (Modena, 1769)
 MYSLIVECEK (Turin, 1773⁷²)
 MORTELLARI (Venice, 1776⁷³; Verona, 1777⁷⁴)
 GAZZANIGA / SERIO (Naples, 1781⁷⁵)
 PARENTI (?, ?) = doubtful

TRAETTA / COLTELLINI *Antigona* (St Petersburg, 1772⁷⁶; Florence, 1779)

BORTNYANSKI (as *Creonte*, Venice, 1776⁷⁷)
 CAMPOBASSO (Milan, 1789⁷⁸)
 WINTER (Naples, 1791⁷⁹)
 F. BIANCHI / L. DA PONTE (London, 1796⁸⁰)
 BASILI / G. ROSSI (Venice, 1799⁸¹)

ZINGARELLI / MARMONTEL *Antigone* (Paris, 1790⁸²)

HORZIZKY / HEINRICH OF PRUSSIA (Rheinsberg, 179?)

⁶¹ I-Mb (L)

⁶² I-Mb (L)

⁶³ CZ-Bu & CZ-KRE & CZ-Pu (L)

⁶⁴ I-Bc Lo.5866 & I-SA (L), I-OS (S), Six Favourite Italian Songs Performed by Tenducci (Se)

⁶⁵ I-Pci & I-PAc (L)

⁶⁶ I-Bc Lo.512 & I-FP,Fanan & US-Wc (L)

⁶⁷ I-Bc Lo.5152 & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb Racc.dramm. 6067/1 & I-PAc & I-Rsc VI.2 (L)

⁶⁸ F-Pc & US-Cn (L)

⁶⁹ F-Pn 8-YTH-51848 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L)

⁷⁰ D-Mbs & I-Mb (L)

⁷¹ B-Bc 19214 & I-Bc Lo.2786 & I-MAC & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 5852 (L), B-Lc & I-Mc & I-PAc & I-Rc (Se)

⁷² D-Mbs & F-Pn 8-BL-8314 & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-T,Provinciale & I-T,Legger &

I-T,Strona & I-Vgc & I-VC,Agnesiana (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.16420 (S)

⁷³ A-Wmi & B-Br Féti's 4488 A VIII/5 & F-Pn 8-BL-8315 & 8-YTH-51551 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-V,Levi & US-Wc Schatz 6679 (L), F-Pn & I-Bc HH.200/1-2 (S)

⁷⁴ B-Bc 19215 (L)

⁷⁵ CDN-Tu & I-Fc & I-Nc & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-NYp (L), I-Nc (S)

⁷⁶ CH-Gpu & S-Sk & RU-SPTob (L), I-Baf & I-Bam & I-Bca & I-Fc & I-Nc & I-Rsc XVIII.24 & I-Vgc (Lc)

⁷⁷ A-Wmi & CH-Gpu & F-Pn 8-YTH-51114 & 8-YTH-51552 & I-Bc Lo.658 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc Rolandi 2323 & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 1255 (L)

⁷⁸ A-Wmi & CDN-Tu & F-Pc & I-Bc Lo.764 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Mcom & I-Mr & I-Ms MUS.C.V.1 & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc XXXI.1 & I-Vgc Rolandi 2930 & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 1538 (L)

⁷⁹ I-Baf & I-Bc Lo.5589 & I-Nc & I-Ra & I-Vgc & US-BZ (L), I-Nc (S)

⁸⁰ GB-Lbl & US-Bp (L), I-Fc (S), I-Bc DD.160 (Se)

⁸¹ F-Pn 8-YTH-51223 & I-Bc Lo.412 & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Vqs & I-Vt & US-Wc Schatz 630 (L)

⁸² B-Bc 2001 & F-Pn & F-Po (S)

Aphrodite (see also: Adonis, Aeneas, Ares, Artemis, Ascanius, Egeria, Eos, Hera, Heracles, Hermes, Orpheus, Pallas Athene, Paris, Planets, Psyche)

BRONNER / KREMBERG *Venus oder Die siegende Liebe* (Hamburg, 1694⁸³)

? / GIGLI *Il sogno di Venere* (Siena, 1694⁸⁴)

COLLASSE, J.-B. LULLY / PICQUE *La naissance de Venus* (Paris, 1696⁸⁵)

CAMPRA / DANCHET *Venus* (Paris, 1698⁸⁶; as *Les nopces [sic] de Vénus*, Paris, 1740)

A. SCARLATTI / ? *Venere ed Amore* (Naples, c. 1695-1700⁸⁷)

A. SCARLATTI / S. STAMPIGLIA *Il ballo delle ninfe: Venere, Amore e Ragione* (Rome, 1706⁸⁸)

GILLIER / LESAGE *La ceinture de Venus* (Paris, 1715⁸⁹)

REINHART / PARIATI *La più bella* (Vienna, 1715⁹⁰)

PORPORA / METASTASIO *Gli Orti Esperidi* (Naples, 1721⁹¹; Hamburg, 1730⁹²)

CONFORTO (Naples, 1751⁹³)

SANTOS (Queluz, 1764⁹⁴)

FISCHIETTI (Salzburg, 1775)

LIMA (Lisbon, 1779⁹⁵)

VALENTI (Naples, 1781⁹⁶)

CORSELLI / STAMPA *Venere placata* (Venice, 1731⁹⁷)

ALBERTI (Brno, 1735⁹⁸)

ZAMBONI / COLUZZI *Venere e Amore* (Rome, 1731⁹⁹)

⁸³ A-Wn 4182-B. Mus (L)

⁸⁴ B-Bc 21802 & D-Mbs & I-Lg & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Vgc (L)

⁸⁵ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), F-Pn (S)

⁸⁶ DANCHET 1751 (Lc)

⁸⁷ B-Bc 17137 & B-Br Fétiſ 2528 MS II 3970 (S)

⁸⁸ RRMBE (S)

⁸⁹ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

⁹⁰ I-Vnm & A-Wgm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17960 (S)

⁹¹ I-Rn (L), METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc), GB-Lbl Add.14118 (S)

⁹² D-Bsb Mus. T 7 & D-Hs (L)

⁹³ I-Bc Lo.7447 (L)

⁹⁴ I-Rsc 115670 & P-La & US-Wc Schatz 9396 (L)

⁹⁵ BR-Rn & I-Rsc 11561 & P-Ln L5800 P(4) & US-Wc Schatz 5620 (L)

⁹⁶ I-Fc (L)

⁹⁷ D-Bsb & I-Bc Lo.1322 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 2284 (L), D-Bsb & I-Vq Cl. VIII Cod. XIV (Se)

⁹⁸ I-Mb (L)

⁹⁹ I-Rli (L)

SEEDO / ? *Venus, Cupid and Hymen* (London, 1733)

GALLIARD / PHILLIPS *The nuptial masque or The triumphs of Cupid and Hymen* (London, 1734¹⁰⁰)

V.A. / ? *Venus und Mars* (Hamburg, 1736¹⁰¹)

? / ? *Componimento per musica: Venere, Amore* (Rome, 1738¹⁰²)

LA ROCCA / ? *La nuova contesa delle tre dee* (Palermo, 1741¹⁰³)
? (*La nuova contesa delle tre dive*, Naples, 1778¹⁰⁴)

C.H. GRAUN / BOTTARELLI *Venere e Cupido* (in *Rodelinda, Regina de' Longobardi*, Potsdam, 1742)

V.A. / ? *Le siège de Cythère* (Paris, 1743)

COSTANZI / ? *Componimento per musica: Venere, Marte, Aurora* (Rome, 1743¹⁰⁵)

C.H. GRAUN / BOTTARELLI *La festa del Imeneo* (in *Catone in Utica*, Berlin, 1744)

B. GALUPPI / BARTOLI *La vittoria d'Imeneo* (also *Imeneo e Venere*, Turin, 1750¹⁰⁶)

JOMMELLI / ? *Venere ed Amore* (Stuttgart?, 1753-69?¹⁰⁷)

? / CIGNA-SANTI *Venere placata* (?, before 1760¹⁰⁸)

CAMPIONI / COLTELLINI *Venere placata* (Livorno, 1760¹⁰⁹)

SCIROLI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Venere, Ercole, Espero* (Naples, 1762¹¹⁰; Naples, 1765¹¹¹)

BERTONI / BERTATI after KURTZ *Minerva, Venere, Amore, Cupido* (in Tozzi's *La morte di Dimone o sia L'innocenza vendicata*, Venice, 1763¹¹²)

¹⁰⁰ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁰¹ D-Hs (L)

¹⁰² I-Rvat (L)

¹⁰³ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁰⁴ I-Nc (L)

¹⁰⁵ GB-Lbl & I-PEc & I-Vgc Rolandi 4453 (L)

¹⁰⁶ D-Mbs & D-Mth & F-Pn 8-RA5-1373 & YD-972 & I-Bc Lo.1843 & I-Bu & I-FP,Fanan & I-Mb & I-MAC & I-PAc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Tn & I-Tr Y 6 (80) & I-Vc & I-Vgc & US-AA & US-BEm & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 3500 (L), GB-Lbl (S)

¹⁰⁷ D-MÜs (S)

¹⁰⁸ CIGNA-SANTI 1760 (Lc)

¹⁰⁹ CZ-Bu & I-Fm 303.7 & I-FP,Fanan & I-Lg & I-LI & I-Nc & US-Wc Schatz 1536 (L)

¹¹⁰ D-LEm & I-Nc (L)

¹¹¹ I-Nc & I-Nn (L)

¹¹² A-Wn & D-Tu & I-Bc Lo.5323 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc (L)

SALES / GIUNTI *Le nozze di Amore e di Norizia* (Munich, 1765¹¹³)

PAISIELLO / LORENZI *La nuova beltà* (Naples, 1767¹¹⁴)

JOMMELLI / ? *Venere, Imeneo, Il Tempo* (Perugia, 1769¹¹⁵)

B. GALUPPI / ? *Venere al tempio* (Venice, 1775¹¹⁶)

BORGHI / SCARPELLI *Il tempio di Gnido* (Camerino, 1776¹¹⁷)

BALDI / NIGRINO *Il trionfo di Venere in Oreto* (Palermo, 1777¹¹⁸)

BOSI / ? *Azione drammatica per musica : Venere, Amore, La Fortuna, Apollo* (Ferrara, 1779¹¹⁹)

? / P.P.B. *Venere che parla al suo figlio Amore* (in *Per le faustissime nozze de' nobili signori Vincenzo Mazzabusi ed Elisabetta Barbi*, Macerata, 1780¹²⁰)

MORESCHINI / ? *Il tempio di Venere* (Macerata, 1789¹²¹)

BISONI / GUCCI *Le belle in Arcadia* (Faenza, 1790¹²²)

GRESNICK / ? *L'Amour exilé de Cythère* (Lyons, 1793)

? / ? *Venere sul Tamigi* (Brunswick, 1794¹²³)

? / CHIARI *Venere e Amore* (Milan, 1795¹²⁴; Padua, 1796¹²⁵)

¹¹³ D-Mbs & US-Wc Schatz 9268 (L)

¹¹⁴ I-Nc (L)

¹¹⁵ I-PEc (L), I-Nc (S)

¹¹⁶ I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L), I-Vnm (S)

¹¹⁷ A-Wn 211536-C. Mus & I-CRg & I-Fc & I-FE, Walker & I-LDE & I-Rsc & I-Tci & US-AUS (L)

¹¹⁸ I-PLcom (L)

¹¹⁹ I-Vgc Rolandi 2337 (L)

¹²⁰ I-Vgc (L)

¹²¹ I-Vgc (L)

¹²² D-Mbs & I-FZc & I-Vgc (L)

¹²³ D-W Textb. 754 (L)

¹²⁴ I-Fc & I-Mc (L)

¹²⁵ I-Vcg (L)

Apollo (see also: Ares, Astrea, Cassandra, Daphne, Eos, Midas, Muses, Pallas Athene, Vesta, Zeus)

J.P. KRIEGER / ? *Phöbus und Iris* (also *Die wiederkehrenden Phöbus*, Weissenfels, 1685¹; Weissenfels, 1687; Weissenfels, 1696)

? / **LEMENE** *La ninfa Apollo* (Rome, 1689²)

BADIA (Rome, 1692; Milan, 1692; Wien 1699)

? (Rimini, 1696)

V.A. / MARTELLO (as *Lo scherno degli dei*, Bologna, 1708)

F. GASPARINI, LOTTI (Venice, 1709³)

F. GASPARINI (Modena, 1713⁴)

F. ROSSI (Murano, 1726⁵; Venice, 1726⁶; as *L'inganno felice*, Venice, 1730⁷)

B. GALUPPI / BOLDINI (Venice, 1734⁸)

V.A. (as *Tirsi*, Venice, 1734)

PAGANELLI (as *Tirsi*, Wolfenbüttel, 1737)

BERNASCONI (Venice, 1743⁹)

BERNABEI / ? *Il vaticinio d'Apollo e Diana* (Munich, 1690)

GATTI / BEAUGE *Coronis* (Paris, 1691¹⁰)

G. BONONCINI / S. STAMPIGLIA *La notte festiva* (Rome, 1695¹¹)

J.P. KRIEGER / HEUSTREU *Chronus, Apollo, Fortuna, Constantia* (Weissenfels, 1695)

PERTI / MARTELLO, MANFREDI *Apollo geloso* (Bologna, 1698¹²; Bologna, 1702; Modena, 1708¹³)

G. GALUPPI / BRETTI (Mantua, 1707)

BUINI (Lugo, 1720¹⁴)

SABADINI? / ? *Gli amori d'Apollo in Tessaglia* (Parma, 1698¹⁵)

¹ Auserlesener Arien Anderer Theil (Se)

² LEMENE 1992 (Lc)

³ D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.6810 & I-IE & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum n. 584 & US-Wc Schatz 3574 (L)

⁴ I-MOe & I-Rsc (L)

⁵ I-RVI (L)

⁶ F-Pn 8-YTH-50946 & 8-YTH-52343 & I-G,Ivaldi & I-Mb & I-Rig & I-Rsc & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 8888 (L)

⁷ I-Bc Lo.6612 & I-Vcg & US-Wc Schatz 11341 (L)

⁸ I-Bc Lo.1826 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3488 (L), D-Mbs Mus. Mss. 1648 Nr. 67/8 (Se)

⁹ A-Wmi & D-Mbs & F-Pn 8-YTH-52000 & I-Bc Lo.8065 & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L)

¹⁰ US-Wc Schatz 3632 & ML48.R4 & ML50.2.C67G2 (L), D-W 807 I Qu.N. (7) & Lm Sammelbd 46 (10) & Textb. 88 (Lc)

¹¹ I-Rc & I-Rli (L)

¹² B-Bc 19234 & I-Bc Lo.5882 & I-Bu & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-MOe (L), MARTELLO 1980-2 (Lc)

¹³ I-Bc Lo.5883 & Lo.5944,b & I-MOe (L)

¹⁴ I-Bc Lo.706 & I-Bu & I-FZc & US-Wc ML50.2.B727A9 (L)

- ? (*Gli amori infelici felici*, Mantua, 1698¹⁶)
- A. SCARLATTI / ? *Apollo e le Muse* (in *La donna ancora è fedele*, Naples, 1698¹⁷)
- ? / ? *Phöbus und Irene* (Weissenfels, c. 1700¹⁸)
- PETZ / ? *Il riso d'Apolline* (Bonn, 1701¹⁹)
? (Bonn, 1769²⁰)
- G. BONONCINI / S. STAMPIGLIA *L'oracolo d'Apollo* (Vienna, 1707²¹)
- KEISER? / ? *Apollo ermunterte seine Musen* (Hamburg, 1709) = doubtful
- HESSE / ? *Apollo in Tempe* (Venice, 1712²²; Darmstadt, 1714)
- C.F. POLLAROLO / PIOVENE *Marsia deluso*** (Venice, 1714²³)
- ? / ? *Apollo, Clio, Dafne, Pane, Mercurio* (Murano, 1716²⁴)
- BOTTIS / ? *Apollo in Delfo* (Naples, 1719²⁵)
- ? / CAPECI *Appollo in Tessaglia* (Rome, 1719²⁶)
- CALDARA / PARIATI *Apollo in Cielo* (Vienna, 1720²⁷)
- WILDERER / ? *Coronide* (Heidelberg, 1722²⁸)
- ? / ? *Apollo* (Siena, 1723)
- MICHELI / PULCI *Apollo, Urania, Bellezza, Speranza* (Rome, 1724)
- ? / ? *Il giudizio d'Apollo* (Florence, 1724²⁹)

¹⁵ I-Bc Lo.5844,a & I-MOe (L)

¹⁶ I-Bc Lo.5843 & I-Rsc (L)

¹⁷ I-Nc (S), D-Dlb (Se)

¹⁸ D-W Textb. 4° 53 (L)

¹⁹ D-KNu & D-MHrm (L)

²⁰ D-MHrm (L)

²¹ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17588 (S)

²² I-Rn & I-Vmc (L)

²³ B-Bc 20966 & US-Wc Schatz 8302 (L), D-Dl 1-F-30 (Se)

²⁴ I-Rsc & I-Vcg (L)

²⁵ I-Lg (L)

²⁶ F-Pn YD-5084 (L)

²⁷ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18241 (S)

²⁸ D-MHrm (L)

²⁹ I-Rig (L)

TINAZZOLI / TORRI *Cantata: Apollo, Musica, Poesia* (Pesaro, before 1725³⁰)

MICHELI / ? *Componimento: Istro, Europa, Tracia, Apollo* (Rome, 1725³¹)

VIVALDI / LUCCHINI *Dorilla in Tempe* (Venice, 1726; Venice, 1728; Prague, 1732)

VIVALDI, HASSE, GIACOMELLI, LEO (Venice, 1734³²)

? / UNISONI *Trattenimento musicale a quattro voce: Apollo, Piacere, Musica, Accademia* (Venice, 1731³³)

LEO / O.L.P.A. *Serenata: Speranza, Apollo, Dora, Lacone* (Rome, 1732³⁴; Rome, 1733³⁵)

MICHELI / ? *Tebro, Apollo, Piacere, Venere Celeste* (Rome, 1734)

? / ? *Apollo festeggiante il felicissimo ritorno delle altezze serenissime di Ludovico Rudolfo duca regnante di Braunsviga e Luneburgo etc. e di Christina Luigia duchessa regnante di Braunsviga e Luneburgo nata principessa d'Ottingen* (Brunswick, before 1735³⁶)

? / ? *Febo festeggiante* (Brunswick, 1737³⁷)

ALIPRANDI / PEROZZI *Apollo trà le muse in Parnaso* (Munich, 1737³⁸)

G. REUTTER jr. / METASTASIO *Il Parnaso accusato e difeso* (Vienna, 1738³⁹; Vienna, 1739⁴⁰)

? (Dresden, 1750⁴¹)

MANGO (Eichstädt, 1766)

SCHWANENBERGER a.o. (Brunswick, 1768)

? / ? *Apollo pastore* (Milan, 1739⁴²)

? / CANOSSA *Apollo* (in *Ottone il Grande*, Modena, 1739⁴³)

SIMONELLI / ? *Componimento: Genio d'Italia, Tebro, Apollo* (Rome, 1739⁴⁴)

³⁰ I-PESo (L)

³¹ GB-Lbl & I-Lg & I-Rig & I-Vgc (L)

³² I-Tn (S)

³³ I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg (L)

³⁴ I-PEc (L)

³⁵ I-Bca & I-Fm & I-Lg & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

³⁶ D-W Textb. 29 (L)

³⁷ D-BS & D-HV1 (L)

³⁸ D-Mbs (L)

³⁹ METASTASIO 1953-65 & I-FP,Fanan & I-LDE & I-Mr (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17986-7 (S)

⁴⁰ A-Wgm & A-Wn & I-Bc Lo.4531 (L)

⁴¹ D-Dl (L)

⁴² I-Mb (L)

⁴³ I-Bu & I-Vgc (L)

⁴⁴ I-MAC & I-Rli & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vgc (L)

MASSAROTTI / ? *Componimento drammatico: Ozio, Gloria, Apollo* (Fermo, 1739⁴⁵)
PEREZ / ? *La reggia del Sole* (Palermo, 1741⁴⁶)

VEROCAI / ? *Apollo fra pastori* (Brunswick, 1746⁴⁷; Bonn, 1747⁴⁸)
SCHWEITZER / JACOBY (as *Apollo unter den Hirten*, Halberstadt, 1770⁴⁹)

? / ? *Il trionfo di Febo* (Bologna, 1746⁵⁰)

JOMMELLI / PIZZI *Componimento drammatico: Virtù, Apollo, Felicità, Tempo* (Ronciglione, 1751⁵¹)

? / ? *Cantata: Apollo, Pallade* (Modena, 1754⁵²)

WOLF / HENRICI *Streit zwischen Phöbus und Pan* (Jena, 1758⁵³)

JOMMELLI? / VERAZI? *Prologo: Apollo, Euterpe* (in *Nitteti*, Stuttgart, 1759⁵⁴)

G.F. MAJO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Apollo, Diana, Nettuno* (Naples, 1764⁵⁵)

FAGO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Apollo, Nettuno, Partenope* (Naples, 1766⁵⁶)

JOMMELLI / MARTINELLI *Prologo: Apollo, Euterpe, Panico, Talia* (in *Vologeso*, Ludwigsburg, 1766⁵⁷)

MOZART / WIDL *Apollo et Hyacinthus seu Hyacinthi metamorphosis* (Salzburg, 1767⁵⁸)

LUCCHESI / GOZZI *Cantata a quattro voci: Adria, Apollo, Mercurio, Genio delle buone Arti* (Venice, 1767⁵⁹)

SALA / FENIZIA *Il giudizio d'Apollo* (Naples, 1768⁶⁰)

JOMMELLI / MARTINELLI *L'unione coronata* (Stuttgart, 1768⁶¹)

⁴⁵ I-PEc (L)

⁴⁶ GB-Lbl (L)

⁴⁷ D-BS & D-HVl & D-W Textb. 619 (L)

⁴⁸ F-Pn YD-1084 (L)

⁴⁹ D-W Textb. 502 & US-Wc Schatz 9769 (L), RU-KAu (S)

⁵⁰ I-Bu & I-Vgc (L)

⁵¹ GB-Lbl & I-Rsc (L)

⁵² I-Bc Lo.6030 & I-MOe (L)

⁵³ D-W P 360 b 4° Helmst. (18) (L)

⁵⁴ D-HR (L)

⁵⁵ I-Nc (L)

⁵⁶ D-Bsb Mus. Tf 25 & I-Nc & I-Nn (L)

⁵⁷ D-DO & D-Tu (L)

⁵⁸ NMA (S)

⁵⁹ D-Sl & GB-Lbl & GB-Lv & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L)

⁶⁰ I-Lg & I-Nc & I-Rc & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

⁶¹ D-Tu (L), D-Sl (Lc)

GLUCK / FRUGONI, PAGNINI, PEZZANA *Le feste d'Apollo* (Parma, 1769⁶²)

A. FELICI / SEMPLICI *Apollo in Tessalia* (Florence, 1769⁶³)

INSANGUINE / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Ciro, Apollo, Gloria* (Naples, 1770⁶⁴)

PUGNANI / CIGNA-SANTI *Issea* (Turin, 1771⁶⁵; Queluz, 1772⁶⁶; as *Apollo e Issea*, London, 1773)

HANSER / ? *Apollo und Bachus* (Meersburg, 1772)

BORONI / VERAZI *La gara de' numi nel tempio d'Apollo* (Stuttgart, 1772⁶⁷)

? / ? *Apollo's Tempel* (Amsterdam, 1773)

ANFOSSI / PARADISI *La contesa* (Vasca, 1776⁶⁸)

BORONI / ? *Festa allegorica: Apollo, Mercurio, Tempo, Destino, Iride, Flora, Pomona, Aurora* (Stuttgart, 1777⁶⁹)

BECK / BLINCOURT *Le jugement d'Apollon* (Bordeaux, 1780)

ROSSETTI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Apollo, Partenope, Ebone* (Naples, 1780⁷⁰)

DITTERSDORF / ? *Cantata: Apollo, Minerva, Calliope, Genio di Prussia* (Berlin, 1781⁷¹)

DIETER, GAUSS, POLI, ZUMSTEEG / URIOT, VERAZI *Le feste della Tessaglia* (Stuttgart, 1782⁷²)

HANDEL a.o. / OLDMIXON *Apollo turn'd stroller; or, Thereby hangs a tale* (London, 1787⁷³)

? / PERRELLI *Il natale d'Apolline* (Naples, 1788⁷⁴)

⁶² A-Wn & D-HR & D-LEm & D-Mbs & D-Mth & GB-Lbl & GB-Lv & I-Bc Lo.2231 & I-Bca & I-BA, Giovine & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Ms & I-PAc & I-PESo & I-R, Burcardo & I-Ria & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc & US-NYp & US-U & US-Wc Schatz 3897 & ML48.M2B (L), B-Bc 12841 & CH-BEl (S)

⁶³ D-Bsb Mus. Tf 140 & I-Fc & I-Fm & US-Wc Schatz 3052 (L)

⁶⁴ I-Nc & I-PAc (L)

⁶⁵ US-Wc Schatz 8507 (L), D-Bsb & I-Tf (S)

⁶⁶ P-Ln L5790 P(3) (L), P-La (S)

⁶⁷ D-Sl (L)

⁶⁸ I-Lg (L)

⁶⁹ D-Sl & D-Tu (L)

⁷⁰ I-Nc & I-PEc (L)

⁷¹ D-Bsb Mus. T 1624 & Mus. T 10146 & D-WRtl (L)

⁷² F-Pn RES-YF-1024 & RES-YF-1653 (L)

⁷³ US-Wc Longe 102 (L)

⁷⁴ I-Vgc (L)

BEFFROY DE REIGNY / BEFFROY DE REIGNY *Apollon directeur* (Paris, 1790)

ANFOSSI / BOTTURINI *L'Armonia* (Venice, 1790⁷⁵)

GARDI / PEPOLI *Apollo esule ossia L'amore alla prova* (Venice, 1793⁷⁶)

RULOFFS / ? *Het feest van Apollo* (Amsterdam, 1799)

TRITTA / SOGRAFI *Apollo e Campaspe* (Milan, 1796⁷⁷)

MOSCA / PAGLIUCA *L'omaggio sincero* (Naples, 1800⁷⁸)

PARISA / PAGLIUCA *Il giudizio di Apollo* (Naples, 1800⁷⁹)

Ares (see also: Aphrodite, Apollo, Ascanius, Hera, Hermes, Pallas Athene, Planets, Zeus)

M.A. ZIANI / CIALLI *La Falsirena* (Venice, 1690⁸⁰; Udine, 1691⁸¹; as *Marte deluso*, Venice, 1691⁸²; Verona, 1692⁸³; Trevigi, 1693⁸⁴; Bologna, 1699⁸⁵; as *Marte deluso*, Venice, 1701⁸⁶; as *Marte deluso*, Vicenza, 1702⁸⁷)

C.F. POLLAROLO (Ferrara, 1695⁸⁸; Brescia, 1696⁸⁹)

? (as *L'Adone*, Padua, 1695⁹⁰)

J.P. KRIEGER / HEUSTREU *Mars und Irene* (Weissenfels, 1692⁹¹)

J. ECCLES, FINGER / MOTTEUX *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (in Ravenscroft's *The Anatomist*, London, 1696; London, 1722⁹²)

⁷⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-51655 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vgc (L)

⁷⁶ I-Pci & I-Vcg (L)

⁷⁷ I-Vnm Dramm.3267.5 (L)

⁷⁸ I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

⁷⁹ I-BRq & I-Nlp & I-Vgc (L)

⁸⁰ F-Pn YD-5147 & YD-5604 & I-Bc Lo.5624 & Lo.9842 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum n. 364 & US-Wc (L), D-MÜs & GB-Lbl & D-Och & I-MOe & I-Rli & I-Rvat (Se)

⁸¹ I-Mb & I-Vcg (L)

⁸² I-Bc Lo.5626 & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-PLn & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 11197 (L)

⁸³ I-Ms (L)

⁸⁴ I-Rc (L)

⁸⁵ F-Pn YD-4781 & I-Bc Lo.6372 & I-Bu & I-MOe & I-PAc (L)

⁸⁶ I-Vcg (L)

⁸⁷ I-Mb (L)

⁸⁸ I-Bc Lo.4280 & I-MOe (L)

⁸⁹ I-Mb (L)

⁹⁰ B-Bc 18981 & I-Bc Lo.5723 & I-MOe & I-Pci (L)

⁹¹ D-W Textb. 4° 18 (L)

⁹² US-Wc Longe 205 & 277 (L)

? / ODDI *La contesa tra Marte e Cupido* (Perugia, 1700⁹³)

ARIOSTI / REUTER *Mars und Irene* (Berlin, 1703)

? / ? *Serenata: Marte, Venere, Adone, Falsirena* (Venice, 1704⁹⁴)

ARIOSTI / BERNARDONI *Marte placato* (Vienna, 1707⁹⁵)

ARIOSTI / BERNARDONI *Il Danubio consolato* (Vienna, 1707⁹⁶)

FUX / S. STAMPIGLIA *Il mese di Marzo, consacrato à Marte* (Vienna, 1709⁹⁷)

STUPAN VON EHRENSTEIN / ? *Martis exilium, e pacis reditus* (Vienna, 1709)

? / CAFORA *Marte innamorato* (Palermo, 1712)

WIDEBURG / ? *Mars und Irene* (Hamburg, 1719)

? / BATTISTI *Dio della pace e della guerra* (Perugia, 1726⁹⁸)

VIVALDI / GROSSATESTA *L'unione della Pace e di Marte* (Venice, 1727⁹⁹)

GILLIER / ? *Mars et l'Amour en tous lieux* (Paris, 1735)

BOUVARD / DE MORAND *L'école de Mars* (Paris, 1738)

L.A. PREDIERI / METASTASIO *La pace fra la virtù e la bellezza* (Vienna, 1738¹⁰⁰)

ADOLFATI (Modena, 1746¹⁰¹)

L.A. PREDIERI (Brunswick, 1751¹⁰²)

B. GALUPPI (St Petersburg, 1766¹⁰³)

V.A. (Lucca, 1767¹⁰⁴)

PEREZ (Lisbon, 1777¹⁰⁵)

LA ROCCA / ? *Le premure di Marte* (Palermo, 1741¹⁰⁶)

⁹³ I-FE, Walker & I-PEc & I-PE, S. Filippo Neri & I-Rig (L)

⁹⁴ I-Mb (L)

⁹⁵ A-Wn Mus.Hs.19125 (S)

⁹⁶ BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc)

⁹⁷ FUXGA V/4 & A-Wn Mus.Hs.18038 (S)

⁹⁸ I-PEc (L)

⁹⁹ I-Mb & I-MOe (L)

¹⁰⁰ I-LDE (L), I-FP, Fanan & I-Mr & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L2), METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17602 (S)

¹⁰¹ I-MOe (S)

¹⁰² D-W Gn Kapsel 26 (13) (L)

¹⁰³ RU-M, Muzej knigi (L)

¹⁰⁴ B-Bc 21307 (L)

¹⁰⁵ BR-Rn & I-Rsc & P-C & P-Lg (L), P-La (S)

COSTANZI / ? *Componimento per musica: Marte, La Virtù, La Gloria* (Rome, 1745¹⁰⁷)

SCHUSTER / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Marte, Pallade, Giove* (Naples, 1776¹⁰⁸)

BORONI / MONTI *Componimento drammatico: Imeneo, Clemenza, Marte* (Rome, 1782¹⁰⁹)

MARINELLI / ? *Marte e la Pace* (Venice, 1798¹¹⁰)

TRENTO / ARTUSI *Marte e la Fortuna* (Trieste, 1799¹¹¹; Venice, 1799¹¹²; in *Il valore, la verità, il merito*, Bologna, 1799¹¹³)

Arethusa (see: Nymphs)

MONARI / D'AVERRARA *L'Aretusa* (Milan, 1703¹¹⁴; Venice, 1709¹¹⁵; Mantua, 1710¹¹⁶; Pesaro, 1710¹¹⁷)

BERGIRON / ? *Aréthuse* (Lyons, 1722-3)

Argonauts (see: Dioscuri, Hypsipyle, Jason, Medea, Odysseus)

¹⁰⁶ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁰⁷ I-Vgc Rolandi 4454 (L)

¹⁰⁸ I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁰⁹ D-BNu & D-Mbs & D-Sl & F-Pn R-RA4-668 & YD-1239 & GB-Lbl & I-FE, Walker & I-Fm & I-FP, Fanan & I-NOVc & I-PESo & I-Rsc & I-Vgc Rolandi 2311 & US-CA (L)

¹¹⁰ I-Bc Lo.7606 & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L)

¹¹¹ B-Bc 20968 (L)

¹¹² D-DÜl & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Vqs (L)

¹¹³ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.5358, a-b & I-Nc & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L)

¹¹⁴ BR-Rn & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.3199 & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. Libr. 54 & I-Moe & I-Rn (L)

¹¹⁵ I-Bc Lo.5894 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 573 & US-Wc (L)

¹¹⁶ I-Mb (L)

¹¹⁷ I-Mb (L)

Ariadne (see also: Dionysus, Theseus)

CONRADI / POSTEL *Die schöne und getreue Ariadne* (Hamburg, 1691¹; Hamburg, 1692²)
KEISER (as *Die betrogene und nachmahls vergötterte Ariadne*, Hamburg, 1722³; Hamburg, 1723-5)

COUSSER / BRESSAND *Ariadne* (Brunswick, 1692⁴)

MARAIS / SAINT-JEAN *Ariane et Bacchus* (Paris, 1696⁵)

BADIA / BERNARDONI *L'Arianna* (Vienna, 1702⁶; Bologna, 1706)

? / ? *Ariadne* (Leipzig, 1711)

F.B. CONTI / PARIATI *Teseo in Creta* (also *Arianna e Teseo*, Vienna, 1715⁷)

A. BONONCINI, LEO, ORLANDINI, PORPORA, VIVALDI / SADDUMENE? (Naples, 1721⁸)

PORPORA / LALLI? (Venice, 1727⁹; Florence, 1728¹⁰; London, 1734¹¹; Pisa, 1736¹²)

FEO (as *Arianna*, Turin, 1728¹³)

LEO (Rome, 1729¹⁴)

BIONI (Wrocław, 1730) = doubtful

BROSCI (Milan, 1731¹⁵)

ALBINONI (as *Il più infedele tra gli amanti*, Venice, 1731¹⁶)

HANDEL / F. COLMAN (as *Arianna in Creta*, London, 1733¹⁷; London, 1734¹⁸; Brunswick, 1738¹⁹)

LAMPUGNANI (Alessandria, 1737²⁰)

CHIARINI (Brescia, 1739²¹)

ORLANDINI, PORPORA (Florence, 1739²²)

G. DE MAJO (Naples, 1747²³; Brunswick, 1756²⁴)

ABOS (Rome, 1748²⁵; Venice, 1751²⁶)

¹ D-Hs (L), US-Wc (S)

² B-Br Fétis 4520 A II,10 (L)

³ B-Br Fétis 4520 A VII,5 & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5225-no.24 & US-Wc Schatz 5079 (L)

⁴ D-W Textb. 396 & Textb. Sammelbd. 6 (1) (L)

⁵ US-Wc Schatz 5920 & ML48.R4 (L), F-Pn (S)

⁶ A-Wn 406758-B. Mus & I-MOe (L), BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc)

⁷ A-Wgm & A-Wn 4632-A. Mus & D-RT & I-Mb & I-Vnm & P-Ln (L), GRONDA 1990 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17196-7 (S)

⁸ I-Bc Lo.2692 & US-NYp (L), GRONDA 1990 (Lc), F-Pc Ms. X 11A (Se)

⁹ I-Bc Lo.4328 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 8369 (L), GRONDA 1990 (Lc), GB-Lbl Ms.Add.14114 & GB-Cfm 23.F.3 & US-Wc (Se)

¹⁰ I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Mb (L)

¹¹ GB-Lk (S)

¹² I-Mb (L)

¹³ B-Bc 19260 & I-FOSc & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Tci L.O.72 & I-Tn & US-Wc Schatz 3061 (L), F-Pc & GB-Lbl 31625 & 31592 & GB-Lk 23.e.2 & D-W Vogel Slg. 301 (Se)

¹⁴ I-Bc & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Nc (L), I-Mc & I-PLcon & I-Rc & I-Nc (Se)

¹⁵ I-Bc Lo.685 & I-LDE & I-Mb Racc. dramm. 1227 & I-Mc & I-Rn (L)

¹⁶ I-Vcg (L)

¹⁷ F-Pc & GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/44 & GB-En & GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁸ F-Pc & GB-L, Theater Museum (L), F-Pc (L2)

¹⁹ D-BS & D-HV1 & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 1 (3) & D-WRtl (L)

²⁰ I-Tci (L)

²¹ US-BEm (L)

²² I-Bc Lo.5902 & I-Fc & I-Rn (L)

²³ B-Bc 19262 (L), I-Nc 28.3.3 (S), F-Pn D. 4303 (6bis) (Se)

²⁴ D-HV1 (L), D-W Mus. Ms. 153 (Se)

²⁵ I-Bc Lo.5 & I-Bca & I-MAC & I-Nc & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vgc Rolandi 11 (L), F-Pc & F-Pn D.4 (4) & D.23 (2) & I-Nc (Se)

CASALI (? , 174?)
 PES CETTI (Florence, 1750²⁷)
 ADOLFATI (as *Arianna*, Genoa, 1750)
 ? (as *Minosse o sia Arianna e Theseo*, Amsterdam, 1753²⁸)
 SARTI (Copenhagen, 1756²⁹)
 ? (Livorno, 1757³⁰)
 CARCANI a.o. (Piacenza, 1757³¹; Verona, 1759³²)
 MAZZONI (Naples, 1758³³)
 CARCANI, PES CETTI, MAZZONI? (Florence, 1759³⁴)
 COCCHI, B. GALUPPI, JOMMELLI, G. SCARLATTI / BOTTARELLI (London, 1760³⁵)
 PONZO (Milan, 1762³⁶)
 V.A. (Prague, 1762³⁷)
 B. GALUPPI (Padua, 1763³⁸; Venice, 1769³⁹; Verona, 1772⁴⁰; Rovigo, 1790)
 PASQUA (Turin, 1763⁴¹)
 V.A. (Palermo, 1766⁴²)
 CAFARO (as *Arianna e Teseo ossia il Minotauro*, Naples, 1766⁴³)
 V.A. (Prague, 1767⁴⁴)
 ALESSANDRI, COCCHI, B. GALUPPI, JOMMELLI, G. SCARLATTI / BOTTARELLI (London, 1768⁴⁵)
 A. FELICI? (Florence, 1772⁴⁶)
 INSANGUINE (Naples, 1773⁴⁷)
 FISCHETTI (Naples, 1777⁴⁸)
 ? (Parma, 1787)
 WINTER (as *I sacrificj di Creta*, Venice, 1792⁴⁹; as *I sacrificj di Creta o sia Arianna e Teseo*, Florence, 1793⁵⁰; as *Arianna e Teseo*, Verona, 1800⁵¹)

MOURET / LA GRANGE-CHANCEL, ROY *Ariane* (Paris, 1717⁵²)

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- ²⁶ B-Bc 19263 & I-Bc Lo.7 & I-Mb & I-Ria & I-Rn & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 9 (L), F-Pn D.23 (4) & D. 15424 (Se)
²⁷ I-Bc Lo.4146 & I-Fc & I-Rn (L)
²⁸ B-Br (L)
²⁹ DK-Kk (L)
³⁰ I-LI (L)
³¹ I-PAc (L)
³² I-VEc (L)
³³ I-Nc (L), P-La (S)
³⁴ I-Fc (L)
³⁵ GB-Lbl & US-Wc (L)
³⁶ I-Bc Lo.4315 & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Mc & I-Rsc & I-SA (L), I-Gl & P-La (S)
³⁷ CZ-KRE & CZ-Pu (L)
³⁸ I-Bsf & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & US-BEm (L), P-La 44-VI-48a50 & 54-I-65a67 & 54-III-6a8 (S)
³⁹ A-Wmi & F-Pn 8-YTH-50033 & I-Bc Lo.1907 & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3441 (L), B-Bc 3903 (Se), P-La 44-VI-51a52 & 54-III-13e14 (S)
⁴⁰ I-Vcg & I-VEc (L)
⁴¹ D-Mbs & F-Pn FB-6928 & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 7781 (L), I-Tf & P-La (S)
⁴² B-Br Féti s 4488 A VI/7 & I-PLn (L)
⁴³ F-Pn MS. 1664 (1-3) & I-Nc 25.6.19-20 (S)
⁴⁴ CZ-Pu (L)
⁴⁵ I-Vgc Rolandi 191 (L)
⁴⁶ I-Bc Lo.5903 & I-Fc (L)
⁴⁷ I-Bc Lo.2541 & I-Fm & I-Nc & I-Vgc & US-NYp (L), I-Nc & P-La (S)
⁴⁸ F-Pn 8-BL-7185 & YD-5439 & I-Baf & I-Bc Lo.1754 & I-Nc & US-NYp (L), F-Pn D. 4146 (6) (Se)
⁴⁹ A-Wmi & F-Pn 8-YTH-51144 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-V,Levi & I-Vnm & US-BEm (L)
⁵⁰ I-Bc Lo.5591 & I-Fc & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 11051 (L), US-Wc (S)
⁵¹ I-VEc (L)
⁵² B-Br Féti s 4499 A XII,92 & US-Wc Schatz 6694 & ML48.R4 & ML50.2.A739M6 (L), B-Br Féti s 2664 (S)

BONIVENTI / SCHIETTI *Ariana abbandonata* (Venice, 1719⁵³; Venice, 1723)

D. SCARLATTI / ? *Le nozze di Baco e d'Arianna* (Lisbon, 1722)

G. PORTA / STAMPA *L'Arianna nell'isola di Nasso* (Milan, 1723⁵⁴)

FUX / PARIATI *La corona d'Arianna* (Vienna, 1726⁵⁵)

B. MARCELLO / CASSANI *Arianna* (Venice, c. 1727⁵⁶)

BOUVARD / MORAND *Ariane* (Versailles, 1729)

ALBINONI / BERGALLI *L'Elenia* (Venice, 1730)

PORPORA / ROLLI *Arianna in Naxo* (London, 1734⁵⁷)

RISTORI / G.D. PALLAVICINO *Arianna* (Hubertusburg, 1736⁵⁸; Brunswick, 1739)

- / **CORCIOLI** *Il ratto d'Arianna* (Naples, 1744⁵⁹) = unperformed

HOLZBAUER / VERAZI *Le nozze d'Arianna* (Schwetzingen, 1756⁶⁰)

? / CIGNA-SANTI *Arianna e Bacco* (?, -1760⁶¹)

GLUCK a.o. / MIGLIAVACCA after METASTASIO *Arianna* (Vienna, 1762⁶²)

G.M. RUTINI? / PATRIARCHI *Arianna abbandonata da Teseo* (Florence, 1767⁶³)

? / ARAGONA *Arianna* (Bologna, 1768⁶⁴)

PETRUCCI / FATTIBONI *Teseo in Creta* (Cesena, 1771⁶⁵)

SCHWEITZER / BRANDES after GERSTENBERG *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1772/3) = unfinished

G. BENDA (Gotha, 1775⁶⁶; Leipzig, 1775; Altenburg, 1775; Hamburg, 1776; Hanover, 1776;

⁵³ D-Bsb & I-Bc Lo.5901 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg 59 A 48/6 & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 1189 (L)

⁵⁴ I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. Libr. 79 & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L), GB-Lbl 31504 (Se)

⁵⁵ A-Wgm & A-Wn & D-Dl & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 13 (5) (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17270-1 & 18200 & A-Wgm Q 764 (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17051 (Se)

⁵⁶ B-Bc 19259 & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vmc (L), I-Fn (S)

⁵⁷ CDN-Tu & F-Pn 8-BL-6930 (3) & GB-Lbl & GB-L, Theater Museum & I-Bc Lo.7740 & I-Vnm & I-Vqs (L), ROLLI 1744 (Lc), A-Wgm Q 1839 & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17954 & GB-Lk 22.m.29-31 & US-Wc ML 1500 P 82 A 5 (S), B-Bc 5418 (Se)

⁵⁸ US-Wc Schatz 8816 (L), D-Dl (S)

⁵⁹ I-Nc (L)

⁶⁰ D-Dl & D-HEu & D-MHav & D-MHrm & I-Mb (L)

⁶¹ CIGNA-SANTI 1760 (Lc)

⁶² GSW & A-Wn 641432-A. 7,10 Mus & CZ-Pu & D-MHrm (L)

⁶³ I-Vgc (L)

⁶⁴ B-Bc 19261 & I-Bam (L)

⁶⁵ I-Bc Lo.8429 & I-Bca & I-Nn (L)

Copenhagen, 1778; Warsaw, 1778; Vienna, 1779; St Petersburg, 1779; Salzburg, 1780;
 Warsaw, 1781; Vienna, 1781; Riga, 1782; Copenhagen, 1783; Naples, 1783; Stockholm, 1786;
 Leipzig, 1790⁶⁷; Pressburg, 1798)
 G. BENDA / ? (as *Ariane à Naxe*, Berlin, 1776⁶⁸)
 G. BENDA / J.B.D.B. (as *Ariane abandonnée dans l'isle de Naxe*, Paris, 1781⁶⁹)
 G. BENDA / ? (as *Arianna e Teseo*, Gorizia, 1786)

ANFOSSI / LANFRANCHI-ROSSI *Il trionfo d'Arianna* (Venice, 1781⁷⁰; London, 1784⁷¹;
 Prague, 1784⁷²; Vicenza, 1797⁷³)
 MARINELLI a.o. (Florence, 1786⁷⁴)

EDELMANN / MOLINE *Ariane dans l'isle de Naxos* (Paris, 1782⁷⁵)

TARCHI / OLIVIERI *Bacco ed Arianna* (Turin, 1784⁷⁶)

KOSPOTH / ? *Il trionfo d'Arianna* (Dresden, 1787⁷⁷)

BALBI / FOPPA *Arianna e Teseo* (Venice, 1790⁷⁸)

M.T. PARADIES / RIEDINGER *Ariadne und Bacchus* (Vienna, 1791)

ROCHEFORTE / ? *Ariane et Bacchus* (? , 1791)

V. RIGHINI / FILISTRI *Il trionfo d'Arianna* (Berlin, 1793⁷⁹; Berlin, 1796⁸⁰)

V. PELISSIER / ? *Ariadne abandoned by Theseus in the Isle of Naxos* (New York, 1797)

GIANELLA / COLLOREDO *Arianna in Nasso* (Venice?, 1781⁸¹; Padua, 1800⁸²)

Arion (see also: Persephone)

**BALLAROTTI, BARBIERI, BIGATTI, BOSCHI, BRAMANTINO, BREVI,
 CASTELLI, CIAPETTA, ERBA, FERRARI, GARIBOLDI, GHIELMINO,**

⁶⁶ D-W Lo 1930 (2) & US-Wc Schatz 768 (L), Supraphon 1984 & B-Bc 2378 (S)

⁶⁷ US-Wc ML50.2.A737 (L)

⁶⁸ D-W Textb. 611 (L)

⁶⁹ I-Vgc Rolandi 1582 (L), CDN-Lu (S)

⁷⁰ B-Br Féti 4488 A XII/7 & I-Bc Lo.260 & I-Mb & I-Pac & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 271 (L), I-Vc & P-La (S)

⁷¹ GB-Lbl (L)

⁷² US-Wc (L)

⁷³ I-Vlb (L)

⁷⁴ I-Bc Lo.7277 & I-Fc & I-L,Arch. di Stato (L)

⁷⁵ US-Wc ML50.2.A74E3 (L)

⁷⁶ CDN-Tu & D-Mbs & F-Pa & I-Bc Lo.5277 & I-Fm & I-NOVc & I-Pac & I-Rc & I-Rsc & I-Rig & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-T,Provinciale & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 10226 (L), I-Gl (S)

⁷⁷ D-Dl (S)

⁷⁸ I-Vnm (L)

⁷⁹ B-Bc 22006 & D-Bsb & D-Mbs (L), D-Bsb (S), D-Hs (Se)

⁸⁰ D-Bsb & D-Bsb & D-LEm & US-Wc Schatz 8788 (L)

⁸¹ I-Vcg (L)

⁸² I-Pci (L)

GILARDINO, GRIFFINI, LANDRIANI, LEGNANI, LONATI, MANTELLI, MAZZA, ORTO, C.F. POLLAROLO, SALIMBENE, SCACCABAROZZO, A. SCARLATTI, TORELLI, VALTOLINA, VIANOVA / D'ARLES *L'Arione* (Milan, 1694⁸³)

MATTAU / FUZELIER *Arion* (Paris, 1714⁸⁴)

? / ? *Il ritorno di Arione in Corinto* (Milan, 1749⁸⁵)

Artemis (see also: Callisto, Egeria, Endymion, Heracles, Iphigenia, Orion, Zeus)

BALLERINI / ? *Serenata à trè voci: Fileno, Cintia, Sonno* (Ferrara, 1691⁸⁶)

? / ? *Diana alla Grompa* (Padua, 1695⁸⁷)

BADIA / ? *Diana rappacificata con Venere e con Amore* (Vienna, 1700⁸⁸)

BERNARDI / ? *Serenata di Diana e Flora* (also *Diana e la Fortuna*, Copenhagen, 1703⁸⁹)

RICCIO / I. ROMANI *Ateone* (Naples, 1708)

AMADORI / ? *Diana, Apollo (O selve amiche, selve più vaghe, Rome, 1710*⁹⁰)

HEINICHEN / ? *Diana su l'Elba* (Dresden, 1719⁹¹)

G. PORTA / ? *La finta pazzia di Diana* (Florence, 1719) = doubtful
V.A (Venice, 1748⁹²)

AUBERT, BOURGEOIS / DANCHET *Diane* (Chantilly, 1721)

G. REUTTER jr. / G.C. PASQUINI *Diana vendicata* (Vienna, 1736⁹³)
RISTORI (Dresden, 1746⁹⁴)

BOUVARD / DE MORAND *Diane et l'Amour* (Versailles, 1743)

? / CASALI *L'Atteone* (Bologna, 1744⁹⁵)

⁸³ BR-Rn & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. libr. 41 & I-Rsc (L)

⁸⁴ US-Wc Schatz 6097 & ML48.R4 (L)

⁸⁵ I-Mb (L)

⁸⁶ I-Bc Lo.397 & I-Rn (L)

⁸⁷ I-Mb (L)

⁸⁸ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17722 (S)

⁸⁹ DK-Kk (L)

⁹⁰ I-R Arch.S. Pant. Reg. M.N.11 (S)

⁹¹ B-Bc 19900 & D-Bsb Mus. Th 360 & D-W Lo Sammelbd 32 (4) & Lo Sammelbd 32 (18) & US-Wc Schatz 4704 (L), RRMBE 103 & D-DI (S)

⁹² US-Wc Schatz 11332 (L)

⁹³ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17984-5 (S)

⁹⁴ PL-WRo (L)

⁹⁵ I-Bca (L)

NEBRA / VIDAL SALVADOR, GONZALEZ MARTINEZ *La colonia de Diana* (Madrid, 1745; Madrid, 1746⁹⁶)

? / LOCATELLI *Diana nelle selve* (Bonn, 1745⁹⁷; Bonn, 1747⁹⁸)

? / G.C. PASQUINI *Diana vendicata* (Warsaw, 1746⁹⁹)

MOULINGHEN / FAVART after DE LA FONTAINE *Les nymphes de Diane* (Brussels, 1747¹⁰⁰; Paris, 1753; Paris, 1762)

MOULINGHEM / BOIZARD DE PONTAU, PANNARD (Paris, 1774)

FERRANDINI / ? *Diana placata* (Munich, 1758¹⁰¹)

CIMAROSA / LORENZI *L'infedeltà fedele* (Naples, 1779¹⁰²; Camerino, 1780¹⁰³; Dresden, 1782¹⁰⁴; Recanati, 1788¹⁰⁵)

AMENDOLA / ? *Diana ed Amore* (Palermo, 1794)

Ascanius (see also: Aeneas)

C.F. POLLAROLO / D'AVERRARA *Ascanio* (Milan, 1702¹⁰⁶)

LOTTI / LUCCHINI *Gl'odj delusi dal sangue* (also *L'Ascanio*, Dresden, 1718¹⁰⁷; Dresden, 1719¹⁰⁸)

B. GALUPPI, PESCECETTI (as *Gl'odi delusi dal sangue*, Venice, 1728¹⁰⁹)

? / BIANCHINI *Il giorno natalizio* (Rome, 1720)

MOZART / PARINI *Ascanio in Alba* (Milan, 1771¹¹⁰)

MOREIRA / STAMPA (Queluz, 1785¹¹¹)

⁹⁶ E-AS (Se)

⁹⁷ F-Pn YD-1392 (L)

⁹⁸ D-BFb & D-KNu & D-MHrm (L)

⁹⁹ PL-WRo (L)

¹⁰⁰ B-Bc 22245 (L), LA HAYE 1750 (Lc)

¹⁰¹ D-HEu & D-Mbs (L)

¹⁰² B-Bc 20716 & F-Pn 8-YTH-31822 & I-Nc & I-N,Soc. Storia Patria & I-Ra & I-Taranto, Comunale & US-Wc (L), I-Rmassimo (S), F-Pn VM4-660 (Se)

¹⁰³ I-Rsc (L)

¹⁰⁴ D-Dl & F-Pc & US-Wc (L), D-Dl (S)

¹⁰⁵ I-Ms (L)

¹⁰⁶ BR-Rn & I-Bc Lo.4303 & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. libr. 53 & I-Pci & I-Tci & US-Wc Schatz 8274 (L)

¹⁰⁷ D-Bsb & D-Dl & D-W Lo Sammelbd 32 (1) & I-Mb & PL-Kc & PL-Kj & US-PHu (L)

¹⁰⁸ I-Fm & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 5707 (L), D-Dl 2.159.F.6 (S)

¹⁰⁹ I-Bc Lo.1822 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc (L), B-Bc 3932 & F-Pc MS. 1907 & MS. 1910 (Se)

¹¹⁰ B-Bc 19332 & CDN-Tu & D-Bsb & D-LEm & F-Pc & I-CRg & I-Lg & I-Ma & I-Mb 25.4.I.12/8 & I-M,Dell'oro & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vc (L), NMA & B-Br Fétis 2590 MS II 4017 (S)

¹¹¹ BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC 1361 & P-Lg & US-Wc Schatz 6633 (L)

CURCIO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Ascanio, Venere, Marte* (Naples, 1772¹¹²)

Asclepius (see: Apollo)

Astrea (see also: Ares, Pallas Athene, Zeus)

COLLASSE / LA FONTAINE *Astrée et Céladon* (Paris, 1692¹¹³)

DESMARETS / DU TREMBLAY *Le temple d'Astrée* (Nancy, 1709)

GIORGI / BIANCHINI *Genio Celeste, Astrea, Tevere* (Rome, 1719)

L.A. PREDIERI / METASTASIO *Astrea placata ovvero La felicità della terra* (Vienna, 1739¹¹⁴)

BRAEUNICH (Dresden, 1742)

PEREZ (Palermo, 1743)

SCHUERER (Dresden, 1746¹¹⁵; Dresden, 1753¹¹⁶; Warsaw, 1754¹¹⁷)

G.F. DE MAJO (as *Astrea placata*, Naples, 1760¹¹⁸)

SARTI (Copenhagen, 1760¹¹⁹)

MANGO (Eichstätt, 1765)

TRAETTA (St Petersburg, 1770)

? (as *Astrea placata*, ?, ?¹²⁰)

? / SPRETI *Astrea* (in *Ottone il Grande*, Modena, 1739¹²¹)

COSTANZI / ? *La speranza della terra* (Rome, 1744)

RAMEAU / BERNARD *Le retour d'Astrée* (also *Les surprises de l'Amour*, Versailles, 1748¹²²; Paris, 1757¹²³; Paris, 1758)

? / LOCATELLI *Il ritiro degli dei: Astrea, Minerva, Apollo, Erilde, Il fiume Neva* (St Petersburg, 1757¹²⁴)

C. MURATORI / ? *Cantata: Astrea, Genio del fiume Oreto* (Palermo, 1763¹²⁵)

PALOMINO / ? *Il ritorno di Astrea in terra* (Lisbon, 1785¹²⁶)

¹¹² I-Nc (L)

¹¹³ RECUEIL 1703-45 & D-W Lm Sammelbd 46 (15) & Lm Sammelbd 118 (5) (Lc), F-Pn (S)

¹¹⁴ METASTASIO 1953-65 & D-Mth & I-Vgc & US-AUS (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17955 (S)

¹¹⁵ D-Bsb (L)

¹¹⁶ D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & US-Wc Schatz 9730 (L)

¹¹⁷ I-Rn (L)

¹¹⁸ I-Nc & I-Nn (L), I-Nc Rari 1.6.20 & 28.3.4-5 (S)

¹¹⁹ DK-Kk & US-Wc Schatz 9426 (L)

¹²⁰ P-C (L)

¹²¹ I-Bu & I-Vgc (L)

¹²² ROO & F-Pn (S), F-Po (Se)

¹²³ F-Pn & F-Po (S)

¹²⁴ RU-SPan (L)

¹²⁵ I-PLcom & I-Rsc (L)

BECK / ? *La fête d'Astrée* (Bordeaux, 1786) = doubtful

Astyanax (see: Andromache)

Atalanta (see also: Meleager)

STEFFANI / MAURO *Le rivali concordi* (Hanover, 1692¹²⁷; as *Die vereinigten Mit-Buhler oder Die siegende Atalanta*, Hamburg, 1698¹²⁸; as *Atalanta*, Brunswick, 1698¹²⁹)

MAZZOLANI / ? *La costanza in amor vince l'inganno* (Parma, 1694¹³⁰; Venice, 1695¹³¹; Ferrara, 1699¹³²)

STRUNGK / BRESSAND (as *Atalanta, oder die verirrten Liebhaber*, Leipzig, 1695; Leipzig, 1698; Brunswick, 1698¹³³)

? (as *Atalanta*, Treviso, 1696)

MAZZOLANI? (as *L'Atalanta*, Parma, 1697¹³⁴)

? (Rovigo, 1699)

FEDELI (*Atalanta, ossia La costanza in amor vince l'inganno* (Salzthal, 1702)

MAZZOLANI? (Mantua, 1707¹³⁵)

? (MONARI (as *L'Atalanta*, Modena, 1710¹³⁶)

CALDARA? (as *Atalanta overò La costanza in amor vince l'inganno*, Salzthal, 1710¹³⁷)

CALDARA (Rome, 1711¹³⁸)

? (as *L'Atalanta o sia La costanza d'amore negli inganni*, Milan, 1714¹³⁹)

ERNST LUDWIG OF HESSE-DARMSTADT, GRAUPNER (as *La costanza vince l'inganno*, Darmstadt, 1715¹⁴⁰; as *La costanza vince l'inganno*, Darmstadt, 1719¹⁴¹)

SCHUERMANN? / SCHUERMANN? (as *Amor costante vince l'inganno*, Wolfenbüttel, 1733¹⁴²)

STOELZEL (as *L'amore vince l'inganno*, Friedenstein, 1735¹⁴³)

V.A. / FRANCESCHI (as *L'Atalanta*, Este, 1749¹⁴⁴)

? / BERNI *L'Atalanta* (Ferrara, 1696¹⁴⁵)

V.A. / ARCOLEO *La felicità d'imenei dal destino* (Venice, 1697¹⁴⁶)

¹²⁶ BR-Rn & I-Fc & I-Rsc & P-C & US-Wc Schatz 7751 (L)

¹²⁷ D-Bsb Mus.ant. T 108 & D-W Textb. 417.1 (L), IOB & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17939 & GB-Lbl (S), DTB (Se)

¹²⁸ A-Wn 4264-B. Mus & D-Bsb Mus. T 2,28 (L)

¹²⁹ D-Bsb 4" Yp 5232-no.3 (L)

¹³⁰ I-Bu & I-MOe & I-PAc (L)

¹³¹ I-Mb & I-Pci (L)

¹³² I-Bc Lo.3029 (L)

¹³³ D-W Textb. 39 (L)

¹³⁴ I-Mb & I-MOe (L)

¹³⁵ I-Bc Lo.6146 (L)

¹³⁶ I-Bu & I-MOe (L)

¹³⁷ D-Gs & D-HVl & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-W Textb. 24 (L)

¹³⁸ GB-Lbl & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-MAC & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Vgc (L), I-Rsc (S)

¹³⁹ I-CRg & I-Mb & I-Pci (L)

¹⁴⁰ D-DS (S)

¹⁴¹ D-W Textb. 638 & US-Wc Schatz 4121 (L), D-DS & D-Ga (S), D-W Mus. Ms. 55 (Se)

¹⁴² D-W Textb. 615 (L)

¹⁴³ US-Wc (L)

¹⁴⁴ I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Pci (L)

¹⁴⁵ I-MOe (L)

¹⁴⁶ GB-Lbl & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Ria & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-LAu (L)

CHELLERI / VALERIANI *La caccia in Etolia* (Ferrara, 1715¹⁴⁷; as *I felici inganni d'amore in Etolia*, Innsbruck, 1715¹⁴⁸; Modena, 1716¹⁴⁹; as *I felici inganni d'amor' in Etolia*, Heidelberg, 1722¹⁵⁰; San Giovanni in Persiceto, 1725¹⁵¹)

BUINI / ROSSETTI (as *Gl'inganni fortunati*, Venice, 1720¹⁵²)

CHELLERI a.o. (as *L'Atalanta*, Bologna, 1725¹⁵³)

CHELLERI? (Venice, 1725¹⁵⁴)

? (as *Gl'inganni fortunati*, Vincenza, 1725¹⁵⁵)

? (Rovigo, 1725)

CHELLERI, MONTEVENTI (as *L'Atalanta*, Ravenna, 1726¹⁵⁶)

V.A. (Florence, 1727¹⁵⁷)

GIACOMELLI a.o. (as *La caccia in Etolia oder Die Jagd in Aetolien*, Vienna, 1733¹⁵⁸)

HANDEL (as *Atalanta*, London, 1736¹⁵⁹)

FIORAVANTI (as *Gli inganni fortunati*, Naples, 1788)

PHUNIK / PASTORE ARCADE *Atalanta* (Vienna, 1728¹⁶⁰)

KOBELIUS / ? *Meleager und Atalante* (Weissenfels, 1729)

HASSE / S.B. PALLAVICINO *Atalanta* (Dresden, 1737¹⁶¹)

PEREZ / ? *L'Atalanta* (Palermo, 1739)

COLOMBI / ? *La Calidonia liberata* (Milan, 1756¹⁶²)

GLUCK / METASTASIO *La Corona* (Vienna, 1765¹⁶³) = unperformed

VACHON / BRUNET *Hippomene et Atalante* (Paris, 1769)

G. GIORDANI / OLIVIERI *Atalanta* (Turin, 1791¹⁶⁴)

V. RIGHINI / FILISTRI *Atalanta e Meleagro* (Berlin, 1797¹⁶⁵; Berlin, 1799¹⁶⁶)

¹⁴⁷ I-Bc Lo.968 & Lo.6001 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & GB-Lwi & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 1817 (L)

¹⁴⁸ I-Mb (L)

¹⁴⁹ I-MOe (L)

¹⁵⁰ D-HEu & D-MHrm (L)

¹⁵¹ I-Bc Lo.6002 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Mr (L)

¹⁵² I-Bc Lo.6604 & I-Mb & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vgc Rolandi 2536 & US-LAum & US-Wc (L)

¹⁵³ I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Rn (L)

¹⁵⁴ I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vgc Rolandi 3517 & US-LAum (L)

¹⁵⁵ I-Mb (L)

¹⁵⁶ I-Mb (L)

¹⁵⁷ CZ-Pu & I-Bc Lo.6003 & I-Fn & I-Rn (L)

¹⁵⁸ A-Wn & D-RT (L)

¹⁵⁹ F-Pc & GB-En & GB-Lbl & GB-Lv & GB-L, Theater Museum & US-BEm & US-NH & US-PRu & US-U (L), HG & HHA & Walsh 1736 (S)

¹⁶⁰ I-Mb (L)

¹⁶¹ D-Dl (L), I-Mc Part.Tr.ms.162 & D-Dl & D-Lemi (S), D-Bsb & US-NH (Se)

¹⁶² I-Mb (L)

¹⁶³ METASTASIO 1953-65 & GSW & I-Rsc (Lc), GSW & B-Bc 12840 (S)

¹⁶⁴ B-Bc 19366 & CDN-Tu & D-Mbs & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T, Arch.Storico & I-T, Provinciale & I-T, Legger & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 3834 (L), I-FERd (S)

¹⁶⁵ D-Bsb & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 8779 (L), D-Bsb & D-Hs (S)

¹⁶⁶ D-Bsb 8" Xq 8844 & D-Mbs & D-MHrm & US-Wc Schatz 8780 (L)

Athena (see: Pallas Athene)

Atlas

HASSE / ? *Atlante* (Dresden, 1738¹⁶⁷)

CIPOLLA / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Siculo, Atlante, Giunone* (Naples, 1780¹⁶⁸)

Atreus (see: Thyestes)

Aurora (see: Eos)

¹⁶⁷ D-ERu (L)

¹⁶⁸ I-PEc (L)

Bacchus (see: Dionysus)

Baucis (see: Philemon)

Bellerophon (see also: Amazons)

J.-B. LULLY / T. CORNEILLE, FONTENELLE *Bellérophon* (Paris, 1679¹; Paris, 1680; Paris, 1688²; Paris, 1705; Paris, 1718; Paris, 1728³)

GRAUPNER / FEIND (as *Bellerophon, oder Das in die preussische Krone verwandelte Wagen-Gestirn*, Hamburg, 1708⁴)

V.A. / DOMINIQUE, ROMAGNESI (as *Arlequin Bellerophon*, parody, Paris, 1728⁵)

BERTON, GRANIER, J.-B. LULLY (Paris, 1773⁶)

F. GASPARINI / G.M. CONTI *Il Bellofonte* (Rome, 1690⁷; Novara, 1696⁸)

KEISER / HOE *Das bei seiner Ruh und Geburt eines Prinzen frohlockende Lycien under der Regierung des Königs Jobates und Bellerophon* (Hamburg, 1717⁹)

? / ? *Bellerophon, 1. Teil oder Die verfolgte Unschuld* (Durlach, 1719)

KOBELIUS? (as *Die vom Himmel geschützte Unschuld und Tugend, oder Bellerophon*, Weissenfels, 1720)

? / ? *Bellerophon, 2. Teil oder Die gekrönte Beständigkeit* (Durlach, 1720)

TERRADELLAS / VANNESCHI *Bellofonte* (London, 1747¹⁰)

? / MARESCOTTI *Bellofonte* (Mannheim, 1756¹¹)

G.B. FERRANDINI (Munich, 1757) = doubtful

ARAIA / BONECCHI *Bellofonte* (St Petersburg, 1757¹²)

MYSLIVECEK (Naples, 1767¹³; Prague, 1767¹⁴; Siena, 1767¹⁵)

PLATANIA (Naples, 1778¹⁶)

¹ D-W Lm Sammelbd 103 (1) & US-Wc ML50.2.B35L7 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

² F-Pn 8-RF-6741 (2,5) & GD-22834 (L)

³ F-Pn YF-694 & RES-YF-1868 & RES-YF-1871 & 8-RA3-149 (L)

⁴ B-Br Fétis 4520 A V,7 & D-Hs & D-WRtl & US-Wc Schatz 4118 (L)

⁵ US-Wc ML48.P3 (L), PARODIES 1731 (Lc)

⁶ I-Vgc Rolandi 1782 (L), F-Pn MS. 1503 & 1590 & 1608 (Se)

⁷ B-Bc 19453 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5990 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Tci & US-NYp (L), GB-Lbl & I-Fc & I-Rvat (Se)

⁸ I-LDE (L)

⁹ A-Wn 4320-B. Mus (L)

¹⁰ GB-Lbl (L)

¹¹ D-MHav & D-MHrm (L)

¹² D-EU & F-Pn YD-5456 & RU-SPlau & US-Wc ML50.2.B35A7 (L)

¹³ B-Bc 19454 & I-Bc Lo.3178 & I-MAC & I-Nc (L), D-Dl & F-Pn & I-Fc & P-La (S)

¹⁴ CZ-Bu & CZ-K (L)

¹⁵ I-Bc Lo.Villa.246 & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 6532 (L)

¹⁶ F-Pn 8-BL-8252 & I-Nc & I-Ra & I-Vgc & US-NYp (L)

MINUTI / LANFRANCHI-ROSSI *Bellerofonte* (Florence, 1760¹⁷)

SCIROLI / ? *Bellerofonte* (Genoa, 1760¹⁸)

WINTER / KRIEGLSTEIN *Bellerofon* (Munich, 1785¹⁹; Mannheim, 1787)

Briseis (see also: Achilles)

STEFFANI, TORRI? / PALMIERI *Briseide* (Hanover, 1696²⁰)

F. BIANCHI / GAMBINO *Briseide* (Turin, 1783²¹)

ROBUSCHI / POCOBELLI *Briseide* (Naples, 1791²²)

¹⁷ I-Fc MAGL.21.7.184 & 384.4 (L)

¹⁸ I-Tci (L)

¹⁹ US-Wc Schatz 11022 (L)

²⁰ D-Bsb Mus. T 81 & D-HV1 & D-W Textb. 623 & GB-Lbl (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17161 & D-Bsb & D-Mbs & GB-Lbl (S), DTB (Se)

²¹ I-Bc Lo.534 & I-Fm & I-NOVc & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T, Arch.Storico & I-T, Provinciale & I-FP, Fanan & I-T, Legger & I-Vgc & I-VC, Gorini & US-Wc Schatz 1002 (L), P-La (S)

²² I-Bc Lo.4596 & I-Fc & I-Mc & I-Nc & I-Ra & US-Wc Schatz 8839 (L), D-W Lm Sammelbd 114 (1) (Lc)

Cadmus

J.-B. LULLY / QUINAULT *Cadmus et Hermione* (Paris, 1673¹; Paris, 1674²; St Germain-en-Laye, 1678³; Paris, 1679⁴; Paris, 1687⁵; Paris, 1688⁶; Paris, 1690⁷; Paris, 1693⁸; Paris, 1703; Paris, 1711⁹; Paris, 1737¹⁰)

V.A. / CAROLET (as *Pierrot Cadmus*, parody, Paris, 1737¹¹)

DESAUGIERS (Paris, c. 1770-80¹²) = unperformed

GIANNETTINI / AURELI *Ermione racquistata* (Brunswick, 1690¹³)

GIANNETTINI / POSTEL (as *Die glücklich wieder-erlangte Hermione*, Hamburg, 1695¹⁴)

SCHUERMANN? / KOENIG *Cadmus* (Brunswick, 1720¹⁵; Brunswick, 1723¹⁶)

KUNTZEN (Hamburg, 1725¹⁷)

BROEMEL / J.F.B. *Hermione* (Frankfurt, 1778¹⁸)

OLIVEIRA / MARTINELLI *Cadmo* (Queluz, 1784¹⁹)

Calliope (see: Muses)

Callirhoe

DESTOUCHES / ROY *Callirhoé* (Paris, 1712²⁰)

DESTOUCHES, DAUVERGNE (Paris, 1773)

SACCHINI / VERAZI *Calliope* (Ludwigsburg, 1770²¹; Stuttgart, 1779²²; Stuttgart, 1782²³)

¹ F-Pn 8-RA3-141 & GD-40820 & RES-YF-1166 & RES-YF-1246 & THN-9698 (L), Ballard 1719 & F-Pn RES-F-1700 (S)

² RES-YF-1878 (L)

³ F-Pn GD-40819 & RES-YF-1879 (L)

⁴ D-W Lm Sammelbd 103 (2) (L)

⁵ F-Pn 8-RO-1407 (1, 3) & GD-6773 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁶ F-Pn 8-RO-1428 & GD-6774 (L)

⁷ F-Pn RES-YF-1092 & RES-YF-1880 (L)

⁸ F-Pn 8-RO-1408 (1, 3) & YF-7772 (L)

⁹ F-Pn 8-RO-1035 & RES-YF-1881 (L)

¹⁰ F-Pn 8-RO-1036 & 8-RO-1037 & RES-YF-1882 (L)

¹¹ F-Pn 8-BL-13742 (4) & 8-BL-13792 (3) & 8-RF-8367 & GD-21728 (L)

¹² F-Pn MS. 6227 & 13756 (S)

¹³ B-Br Féti 4488 A I/3 & D-HV1 & D-W Textb. 369 (L)

¹⁴ A-Wn 4174-B. Alt Mag & 625355-A. The (L)

¹⁵ D-W Textb. 524 (L)

¹⁶ D-W Textb. 624 (L)

¹⁷ B-Br Féti 4520 A VII,12 & US-Wc Schatz 5314 (L)

¹⁸ A-Wn 629724-A. The & 392620-A. 134 Alt Mag (L)

¹⁹ I-Rsc CC 2499 & P-L, Teatro S. Carlo & US-Wc Schatz 9881 (L)

²⁰ B-Br Féti 4499 A X,80 & US-Wc Schatz 2544 & ML48.R4 (L), B-Br Féti 2661 (S)

²¹ D-HEu & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-SI & D-Tu & I-Mb & US-Wc Schatz 9210 (L), D-HEu & D-MHrm (L2), D-SI (S)

²² D-Rtt & D-SI (L)

²³ D-BAs & D-DO & D-HR & D-Mth & D-MB & MHrm & D-SI (L)

RUST (Padua, 1776²⁴)
MYSLIVECEK (Naples, 1778²⁵; Pisa, 1779²⁶)
ALESSANDRI (Milan, 1779²⁷)
NASOLINI / SOGRAFI (Florence, 1791²⁸)

OLIVEIRA / MARTINELLI *Callioe* (also *Callioe in Siria*, Queluz, 1782²⁹)

Callisto

? / LALLI *Calisto in orsa* (Venice, 1714³⁰)

B. MARCELLO / CARMINATI? *Calisto in orsa* (Venice, 1725³¹)

Calypso (see also: Pallas Athene, Telemachus)

TELEMANN / PRAETORIUS after MAURITIUS *Calypso oder Sieg der Weißheit über die Liebe* (Hamburg, 1727³²)

GIACOMELLI, HANDEL, HASSE, KEISER, ORLANDINI, VINCI (as *Circe*, Hamburg, 1734³³)

- / ORTES *Calipso spergiura* (in *Riflessioni sopra i drammi per musica*, Venice, 1757³⁴) = unperformed

SALA / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Calipso, Ausone, Proteo* (Naples, 1763³⁵)

? / ? *Calipso abbandonata* (Florence, 1768³⁶)

BERTONI / SERIMAN *La reggia di Calipso* (Venice, 1769³⁷)

TRAETTA (as *Telemaco*, London, 1777³⁸)

P. GRUA (as *Telemaco*, Munich, 1780³⁹)

- / DONZEL *Calipso* (Turin, 1773⁴⁰) = unperformed

OTTANI / CIGNA-SANTI (Turin, 1776⁴¹)

²⁴ I-Pmc & US-Wc Schatz 9173 (L)

²⁵ D-Mbs & I-Nc & I-Nlp & US-NYp (L), I-Nc & P-La (S), B-Br Fétis 2622 MS II 4043 (Se)

²⁶ I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc (L)

²⁷ B-Bc 19533 & CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.112 & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc & I-Mcom & I-Ms MUS.A.VIII.1 & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc 193 & US-BEm & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 142 (L)

²⁸ F-Po & I-Bc Lo.3371 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Vgc & US-Wc ML48.A5 v. 22 (L), I-Fc (S)

²⁹ B-Bc 19535 & BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC 2547 & P-C (L)

³⁰ I-Mb (L)

³¹ I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg (L), I-BGc & I-Vc & I-Vnm (Se)

³² B-Br Fétis 4520 A VIII,9 & D-W Textb. 496 & US-Wc Schatz 10257 (L), Der getreue Music-Meister (Se)

³³ B-Br Fétis 4520 A IX,5 & D-Bsb Mus. T 7 & US-Wc Schatz 5081 (L), D-Bsb (S)

³⁴ GB-Lbl (L), PANCINO 1998 (Lc)

³⁵ D-LEm & I-Nc & I-Vgc Rolandi 2654 (L)

³⁶ I-PAc (L)

³⁷ D-Bsb Mus. T 1608 & I-Fc & I-FP, Fanan & I-Mb & I-Vnm & I-Vqs & US-CA & US-NYp (L), D-DI & I-OS (S)

³⁸ GB-Lbl & US-Bp & US-Cn & US-I (L)

³⁹ D-Bsb Mus. Tg 1047/25 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Mbs & D-MHrm & US-Wc Schatz 4222 (L)

⁴⁰ I-Tac Simeom B 216 (L)

INSANGUINE / CIGNA-SANTI (Naples, 1782⁴²)

GAZZANIGA / PINDEMONTÉ *L'isola di Calipso* (Verona, 1775⁴³; as *Telemaco nell'isola di Calipso*, Prague, 1777⁴⁴)

BERTONI (as *Telemaco ed Eurice nell'isola di Calipso*, Venice, 1777⁴⁵; as *L'isola di Calipso*, Modena, 1777⁴⁶)

BUTLER / CUMBERLAND *Calypso* (London, 1779⁴⁷)

BOLOGNA / PORTA *Calipso abbandonata* (Esterháza, 1784; Brno, 1793⁴⁸)
SCHACHT (Regensburg, 1786)

T. GIORDANI / HOULTON *Calypso, or Love and Enchantment* (Dublin, 1785⁴⁹)

Camilla (see also: Aeneas, Turnus)

A. DRAGHI, LEOPOLD I OF HABSBURG / MINATO *La Regina de' Volsci* (Augsburg, 1690⁵⁰)

G. BONONCINI / S. STAMPIGLIA *Il Trionfo di Camilla regina de' Volsci* (Naples, 1696⁵¹; as *La rinovata Camilla, Regina de' Volsci*, Rome, 1698⁵²; as *Cammilla, Regina de' Volsci*, Florence, 1698⁵³; Mantua, 1698⁵⁴; Piacenza, 1698⁵⁵; as *Camilla, Regina de' Volsci*, Venice, 1698⁵⁶; Messina, 1698?⁵⁷; Verona, 1699⁵⁸; Genoa, 1700⁵⁹; as *Camilla regina de'*

⁴¹ B-Bc 19532 & D-Mbs & I-BA, Giovine & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-T, Arch, Storico & I-Tci & I-FP, Fanan & I-Tn & I-T, Provinciale & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 7360 (L)

⁴² CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.2544 & I-Nc & I-Taranto, Comunale & I-Vgc & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 4839 (L), I-Nc & P-La (S)

⁴³ D-MHrm & I-Pci & I-VEc (L)

⁴⁴ CZ-Pu (L)

⁴⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-51115 & 8-YTH-51554 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-P, Saggiori & I-Rsc & I-Vgc S. Benedetto 193 & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 933 (L), D-Bsb & P-La (S), HR-Dsmb 16/563 & D-Müs SANT Hs 474 (Se)

⁴⁶ I-Fm & I-PAc & I-FP, Fanan (L)

⁴⁷ US-Wc Longe 102 (L)

⁴⁸ CZ-Bu (L)

⁴⁹ GB-Lbl (L)

⁵⁰ A-Wn & D-Sl & I-Rc & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk (L), D-Mbs (Se)

⁵¹ B-Bc 19541 & I-Bu AV Tab.I.F.III Vol 39.3 & A III Caps 99.22 & I-IE & I-Rc Comm. 358 (5) & I-Vgc s.v. Bonconini & US-Wc (L), IOB 17, B-Bc 2047 & D-Bsb Mus. Ms. 2184 & D-Dl 2193.F.1 & D-MÜs 596 & GB-ABu & GB-Lbl Add.14185 & Add.31542 & I-MOe Mus.F.1781 & I-Nc Rari 6.6.19 & US-AUS & US-Wc M.1500.B.98.C.3 (S), D-Dl 1.F.39.2 & F-Pn L-13695 & RES-1407 & RES-VMB-MS-91 & GB-Lbl & GB-Ob & I-Mc & I-Nc & I-Rvat (Se)

⁵² B-Bc 19542 & GB-Lbl 906.b.1 (6) & 906.1.12 (3) & I-Bc Lo.6023 & I-Fm Melodr. 2163.2 & I-Mb Racc.dramm.1356 & I-MOe 90.B.16 (2) & I-Nc Rari 1.6.5 & I-Rc Comm. 413 (2) & Misc. in 4° vol. 442 & I-Rn 34.1.D.27 & 35.9.K.24 (4) & I-Vc (L), A-Wgm & GB-Cfm & GB-CDp (S), D-MÜs & F-Pn & GB-Lbl (Se)

⁵³ I-Fn & I-Vgc s.v. Bononcini. ristampa (L)

⁵⁴ I-Mb Racc.dramm.3388 & I-MOe 83.G.2 (3) & I-Tci (L)

⁵⁵ I-Bc Lo.7279 & I-MOe 70.I.31 (1) & I-Rn 34.1.H.1 (3) (L)

⁵⁶ CZ-K N a.IX 2.95 & I-Bc Lo.6022 & I-Mb Racc.dramm.3047 & I-Pci H.48852 & I-Rc Comm.442 (1) & I-Rig & I-Rn 40.9.F.17 (3) & I-Rsc G.Carvalhaes.2587 & I-RVI & I-Vgc & I-Vnm Dramm.984.1 & Dramm.1190.2 & Dramm.3513.5 & US-CA Ital.6520.5.21* (6) & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 1208 (L)

⁵⁷ US-Wc Schatz 1206 (L)

⁵⁸ I-Mb Racc.dramm.1370 & I-MOe 70.E.29 (8) & I-Vgc (L)

Volsci, Siena, 1700⁶⁰; Lucca, 1702⁶¹; Milan, 1702⁶²; as *La fede in cemento*, Udine, 1704⁶³; as *La fede in cemento*, Rovigo, 1705-6⁶⁴; as *La fede in cemento*, Padua, 1707⁶⁵; as *Amore per amore*, Bologna, 1709⁶⁶; as *Camilla, regina de Volsci*, Firenze, 1709⁶⁷; as *Camilla, regina de Volsci*, Udine, 1715⁶⁸; *La fede in cemento, ò sia La Camilla, Regina de' Volsci*, Bologna, 1719⁶⁹)

G. BONONCINI a.o. (Ferrara, 1699⁷⁰)

G. BONONCINI a.o. (Livorno, 1701⁷¹)

G. BONONCINI a.o. (Turin, 1701⁷²)

G. BONONCINI a.o. / HAYM, SWINEY (as *Camilla*, London, 1706⁷³; as *Camilla*, London, 1707⁷⁴; as *Camilla*, London, 1708⁷⁵; as *Camilla*, London, 1709⁷⁶; as *Camilla*, London, 1710⁷⁷; as *Camilla*, London, 1717⁷⁸; as *Camilla*, London, 1726⁷⁹)

? (Genoa, 1710⁸⁰)

A.S. FIORE (as *Il trionfo di Camilla*, Reggio, 1713⁸¹)

A.S. FIORE? (as *Il trionfo di Camilla*, Livorno, 1715⁸²)

VINCI / FRUGONI (as *Il trionfo di Camilla*, Parma, 1725⁸³)

LEO (Rome, 1726⁸⁴)

? (as *Der Triumph der Camilla*, Vienna, 1733⁸⁵)

PORPORA (as *Il trionfo di Camilla*, Naples, 1740⁸⁶; as *El triunfo de Camilla*, Barcelona, 1755⁸⁷)

V.A. (as *Camilla, Regina de' Volsci*, Venice, 1749⁸⁸)

⁵⁹ I-Rn 40.7.B.36 (3) & 40.8.H.4 (9) (L)

⁶⁰ D-KN, Theaterwiss. Instit. (L)

⁶¹ D-Mbs 17535 & F-Pn YD-5073 & I-Bc Lo.7281 & I-Vgc s.v. autore ignoto ristampa (L)

⁶² BR-Rn & I-LDE & I-Mb Racc.dramm.6062/6 & I-MOe 83.F.34 (2) (L)

⁶³ I-Rn 40.9.E.14 (7) & I-Rsc G.Carvalhaes.6278 (L)

⁶⁴ ALLACCI & CENDONI 1755, 331.

⁶⁵ I-Mb Racc.dramm.1693 & I-Pci B.P.I.2554 (L)

⁶⁶ I-Bc Lo.5810 & I-Bca 17 Seq. artistica Cart. Gb.H.11 & I-Bu A.III.Caps.101.76 & I-MOe 83.E.3 (3) & I-Rn 40.9.C.7 (4) & I-Vgc s.v. Bononcini ristampa (L)

⁶⁷ I-Mb Racc.dramm.2148 & I-Rn 35.4.H.25 (5) (L)

⁶⁸ I-Mb Racc.dramm.2149 & SI-Lsk (L)

⁶⁹ I-Bc Lo.6399 & I-Fm Melodr.2261.3 & I-MOe 83.I.19 (2) & I-Vgc s.v. Bononcini ristampa (L)

⁷⁰ I-Bc Lo.7280 & I-Bu A.III.Caps.99.45 (L)

⁷¹ US-Wc ML.50.2.T.82.B.39 (L)

⁷² I-FOSc & I-T, Arch. Storico & I-Tci & I-Vgc s.v. Bononcini ristampa (L), I-Rsc G.Carvalhaes.151 (1) & I-T, Arch. Storico & I-Tci (L2)

⁷³ GB-En & GB-Lbl 1500/64 & GB-Lcm XXI.B.1 & GB-L, Victoria & Albert Museum Dyce.9616 & GB-L, Theatre Museum & GB-Ob G.Pamph.2329 (4) & US-AA & US-AUS & US-BLu & US-Cn & US-CA *EC.65.M.8589.A.706.c & US-LAuc & US-NH & US-SM & US-Wc Longe 132 & PR.1241.L.6 vol. 132 no. 7 & US-Ws (L), Steiner & Bell 1990 & GB-Lcm MS. 779 (S)

⁷⁴ GB-Lbl 80.d.12 (2) & GB-L, Theatre Museum & GB-Ob Mal.53 (1) & US-Ob & US-LAuc & US-NH & US-PRu & US-SM & US-Wc ML.50.2.T.82.B.9.1707 Case (L)

⁷⁵ EIRE-Dn & GB-L, Theatre Museum & GB-L, Victoria & Albert Museum Forster.6976 vol. 3 (1) & US-Cu & US-NH & US-PRu (L)

⁷⁶ D-Bsb Tb.1560 & EIRE-Dtc & F-Pc RES-VS-598 & GB-Lbl 1342.k.43 & GB-Ob Vet.A4e.831 (1) & I-Bu A.V.Y.III.2.20.1 & US-CA *EC.65.M.8589.A.706.cc & US-CHH & US-LAuc & US-Su (L)

⁷⁷ CDN-Lu & US-AUS & US-Wc (L)

⁷⁸ F-Pc RES-VS-599 & GB-Lbl 11775.c.10 & GB-Ob Vet.A4e.1396 & US-Wc ML.50.2.T.82.B.9.1717 Case (L)

⁷⁹ GB-Lbl 11714.aa.23 (5) & US-CHua & US-NYp Mus.Res.*MZ.p.v.7 (L)

⁸⁰ I-SA (L)

⁸¹ I-Bc Lo.1731 & I-REm Racc.dramm.144.8 & Racc.dramm.146.1 (L)

⁸² D-W Gräflisch Schulenburgische Bibliothek Km 1 (2) & I-Bc Lo.7282 (L)

⁸³ I-Bc Lo.5510 & I-Fm & I-Mb Racc.dramm.2648 & I-PAc & I-Rn 40.9.E.19 (1) & I-Rsc (L), F-Pc & US-BEm (Se)

⁸⁴ F-Pn 8-YD-212 & 8-BL-8229 (21,2) & GB-Lbl 906.b.7 (2) & I-Bc Lo.2696 & I-Bca & I-IE & I-MAC & I-Rn & I-Rsc G.XIII.49 (L)

⁸⁵ A-Wn 4639-A.M. (L)

⁸⁶ CDN-Tu & I-Nc T.1.11 (2) & I-Nn (L)

⁸⁷ I-Bc Lo.4338 (L)

PORPORA / LORENZI (as *Il trionfo di Camilla*, Naples, 1760⁸⁹)
SCOLARI (as *Il trionfo di Camilla*, Modena, 1766⁹⁰)
P.A. GUGLIELMI (as *Il trionfo di Camilla*, Naples, 1795⁹¹)

Cassandra

BERTIN DE LA DOUE, BOUVARD / LA GRANGE-CHANCEL after BOYER *Cassandre*
(Paris, 1706⁹²)
? (as *Cassandra; or, The virgin prophetess*, London, ?⁹³)

N. FAGO / GIUVO *La Cassandra indovina* (Piedimonte, 1711⁹⁴; Naples, 1713⁹⁵)

DE LA ROCA / CANIZARES *La Casandra* (Madrid, 1737)

? / ? *La Cassandra* (Rome, 1740⁹⁶)

CAFARO / MORBILLI *L'incendio di Troja* (Naples, 1757⁹⁷)

HANKE / ? *Cassandra abbandonata* (Roßwalde, 1776)

G. VISCONTI? / ? *L'incendio di Troia* (Milan, 1783-1802⁹⁸)

Castor (see: Dioscuri)

Cephalus (see also: Endymion)

ALVERI / PARISETTI *Il Rè Pastore Overo il Basilio in Arcadia* (Brunswick, 1691⁹⁹)
KEISER / BRESSAND (as *Procris und Cephalus*, Brunswick, 1694¹⁰⁰; as *Basilus in Arcadien*,
Hamburg, 1694; Brunswick, 1695-6¹⁰¹; Brunswick, 1705¹⁰²)
BRONNER / BRESSAND (as *Procris und Cephalus*, Hamburg, 1701¹⁰³)
KEISER, LOTTI, SCHUERMANN / BRESSAND (Brunswick, 1734¹⁰⁴)

⁸⁸ I-Fm & I-Mb Racc.dramm.3046 & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-V,Levi & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 11312 (L)

⁸⁹ I-Bc Lo.4339 & I-Nc T.1.4 (3) & I-Ra & US-NYp (L)

⁹⁰ I-MOe 70.I.19 (9) (L)

⁹¹ B-Bc 22031 I-Fc & I-Mc & I-Nc & I-Rsc (L)

⁹² RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁹³ US-Wc Longe 180 (L)

⁹⁴ D-DI & I-Bu (L)

⁹⁵ I-Bu & I-Nc & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 2980 (L), GB-Lbl (S)

⁹⁶ GB-Lbl (L)

⁹⁷ I-Nc & US-NYp (L), MORBILLI 1778 (Lc)

⁹⁸ I-Ms & I-Nc & I-Vc (L)

⁹⁹ D-W Textb. 18 (L)

¹⁰⁰ D-W Textb. Sammelbd 6 (7) (L), D-W Textb. 304 (L2), D-Bsb & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5232-no.17 & D-SWl (Se)

¹⁰¹ D-W Textb. 305 (L)

¹⁰² D-BS & D-HVl & D-W Textb. 278 (L)

¹⁰³ A-Wn 625234-B. The & US-Wc Schatz 1333 (L)

¹⁰⁴ D-HVl & D-W Textb. 518 (L)

LA GUERRE / DUCHE DE VANCY *Céphale et Procris* (Paris, 1694¹⁰⁵; Paris, 1703¹⁰⁶)

G. BONONCINI / A. GUIDI *Cefalo* (Berlin, 1702¹⁰⁷)

GILLIER / DANCOURT *Céphale et Procris* (Paris, 1711¹⁰⁸)

? / ? *Procris* (Copenhagen, 1711¹⁰⁹)

? / ? *Cefalo* (Brescia, 1715¹¹⁰)

ARAIA / SUMAROKOFF *Tséfal i Prokris* (St Petersburg, 1755)

GRETRY / MARMONTEL *Céphale et Procris, ou L'amour conjugal* (Versailles, 1773¹¹¹; Paris, 1775¹¹²; Paris, 1777¹¹³)

JOHNSEN, LALIN / ADLERBETH (as *Procris och Cephel*, Stockholm, 1778¹¹⁴)

REICHARDT / RAMLER *Cephalus und Prokris* (Hamburg, 1777¹¹⁵)

REICHARDT / ? (as *Procris et Céphale*, Rheinsburg, 1777; Berlin, 1777¹¹⁶; Berlin, 1778¹¹⁷)

VEICHTNER (Berlin, 1780)

KERPEN (Mainz, 1781/3?¹¹⁸)

? / ? *Il Cefalo* (Florence, 1777¹¹⁹)

CAPUZZI / PEPOLI *Cefalo e Procri* (Padua, 1792¹²⁰)

Ceres (see: Demeter)

Charites (see: Graces)

Chloe (see: Daphnis)

¹⁰⁵ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹⁰⁶ B-Br Fétis 4499 A IV,32 (L)

¹⁰⁷ D-WD 443 & GB-Lbl Add. 31,541 (S)

¹⁰⁸ DANCOURT 1729 (Lc)

¹⁰⁹ DK-Ku (L)

¹¹⁰ I-MOe (L)

¹¹¹ US-Wc Schatz 4198 (L), Grétry 3-4 & F-Pn (S)

¹¹² F-Po (S)

¹¹³ F-Po (S)

¹¹⁴ US-Wc Schatz 4967 (L), S-Skma & S-St (S)

¹¹⁵ US-Wc Schatz 11754 (Lc), D-Bsb (S)

¹¹⁶ D-W Textb. 463 & US-Wc Schatz 8639 (L)

¹¹⁷ D-W Textb. 462 (L)

¹¹⁸ D-DS (S)

¹¹⁹ US-AUS (L)

¹²⁰ D-Mbs & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Vcg (L)

Chloris (see: Daphnis)

Circe (see also: Calypso, Eos, Odysseus, Telegonus, Telemachus)

BANISTER / D'AVENANT *Circe* (London, 1677 ; London, 1703¹²¹)

CHARPENTIER / T. CORNEILLE, DONNEAU DE VISE *Circé* (Paris, 1675¹²²; Paris, 1690¹²³)

CHARPENTIER, GILLIER / DANCOURT (Paris, 1705¹²⁴)

SABADINI / AURELI *Circe abbandonata da Ulisse* (Piacenza, 1692¹²⁵)

C.F. POLLAROLO (Venice, 1697¹²⁶)

DESMARETS / SAINTONGE *Circé* (Paris, 1694¹²⁷)

KEISER / BRESSAND *Circe, oder Des Ulysses erster Theil* (Brunswick, 1696¹²⁸; Brunswick, 1697; as *Circe und Ulisses*, Hamburg, 1702¹²⁹; Copenhagen, 1722)

? (Leipzig, 1703)

VOGLER? (Hamburg, 1721)

BADIA / ANCIONI *Gli amori di Circe con Ulisse* (Dresden, 1709¹³⁰)

BONIVENTI / FALIER *Circe delusa* (Venice, 1711¹³¹)

OREFICE (Naples, 1713¹³²)

? (as *La Circe in Italia*, Rome, 1717¹³³)

? (Udine, 1719¹³⁴)

MONZA a.o. (as *La Circe in Italia*, Naples, 1721¹³⁵; as *La Circe in Italia*, Ancona, 1722¹³⁶)

? (Padua, 1723¹³⁷)

F.B. CONTI / M.V. *Circe fatta saggia* (Vienna, 1713¹³⁸; as *Circe*, Vienna, 1716)

PIZZOLO / COLONNA *Ulyssis de Circe triumphus* (Palermo, 1714¹³⁹; Palermo, 1721¹⁴⁰)

¹²¹ US-Wc Longe 128 (L)

¹²² F-Pn (L)

¹²³ CORNEILLE 1709 (Lc)

¹²⁴ DANCOURT 1729 (Lc)

¹²⁵ I-Fc & I-MOe & I-PAc & I-RE, Panizzi (L), I-MOe (Se)

¹²⁶ D-Bsb Xq 6018-23 & I-Bc Lo.4283 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg 59 A 40/7 & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 8324 (L)

¹²⁷ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹²⁸ D-W Textb. Sammelbd 6 (8) (L)

¹²⁹ A-Wn 4359-B. Mus & 625235-B. The & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5223-no.14 & US-Wc Schatz 5082 (L)

¹³⁰ US-Wc Schatz 543 (L)

¹³¹ B-Bc 19673 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 1186 (L)

¹³² I-Bu & I-Fc & I-Nc (L)

¹³³ B-Bc 19674 & I-Bc Lo.6076 & I-Fm & I-Rig & I-Rsc (L)

¹³⁴ US-AUS (L)

¹³⁵ CDN-Tu (L)

¹³⁶ I-Bc Lo.3233 (L)

¹³⁷ I-Mb (L)

¹³⁸ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17188 (S)

¹³⁹ I-PLcom (L)

D. SCARLATTI / ? *Applauso genetliaco: Circe, Aurora, Ulisse* (Lucca, 1714¹⁴¹)

GALLIARD / DAVENANT *Circe* (London, 1719)

DUPLESSIS jr. / MASSIP *Les fêtes nouvelles* (also *Ulisse et Circe*, Paris, 1734)

ASTARITA / ? *Circe ed Ulisse* (Naples, 1777; Brunswick, 1781)

MYSLIVECEK / PERELLI *La Circe* (Venice, 1779¹⁴²)

CIMAROSA (Milan, 1782¹⁴³)

GAZZANIGA (Venice, 1786¹⁴⁴)

WINTER (Munich, 1788) = doubtful

CIMAROSA, HAYDN a.o. (as *La Circe ossia L'isola incantata*, Eszterháza, 1789¹⁴⁵)

? (Prague, 1791) = doubtful

PAER (Venice, 1792¹⁴⁶)

TAYLOR / ? *Circe and Ulysses* (London?, 1783)

ALBERTINI / ? *Circe ed Ulisse* (Warsaw, 1785; as *Circe und Ulisses*, Hamburg, 1786)

Clio (see: Muses)

Clytemnestra (see also: Electra, Iphigenia, Orestes)

STEFANO / FERNANDEZ Y GUEVARA *La Clitennestra* (Naples, 1703¹⁴⁷)

? / ? *La Clitennestra* (in *Il Toraldo*, Siena, 1703¹⁴⁸)

N. PICCINNI / PITRA? *Clytemnestre* (Paris, 1787) = unperformed

CHERUBINI / ? *Clytemnestre* (Paris, 1794¹⁴⁹)

ZINGARELLI / SALFI *Clitennestra* (Milan, 1800¹⁵⁰)

¹⁴⁰ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁴¹ BR-Rn & GB-Lbl & I-Ra & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-AUS & US-Wc (L)

¹⁴² A-Wmi & I-Bc Lo.3190 & I-Mb & I-Pmc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L)

¹⁴³ I-Bc Lo.1050 & I-BRq & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. Libr. 182 & I-Mr & I-Ms & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Vgc Rolandi 3722 & US-AUS & US-Wc Schatz 2005 & ML48.A5 v. 8 (L), F-Pn D-2083-5 & I-Nc 13.2.9-10 & I-Rmassimo & P-La (S), F-Pn D. 2163 (10) & D. 2172 (5) (Se)

¹⁴⁴ A-Wmi & F-Pn 8-YTH-51643 & I-Ms & I-Rsc & I-Vcg 59 A 196/4 & I-Vnm & I-Vqs & US-Wc Schatz 3659 (L), D-Bsb & P-La (S)

¹⁴⁵ A-Ee (L)

¹⁴⁶ F-Pn 8-YTH-51142 & 8-YTH-51899 & I-Bc Lo.3690 & I-FP,Fanan & I-Mb & I-Mr & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-V,Levi & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 7487 (L), I-Fc & B-Bc 2239 (S)

¹⁴⁷ I-Bu & I-Nc & I-Nn (L)

¹⁴⁸ I-PEc (L)

¹⁴⁹ D-Bsb (S)

¹⁵⁰ I-Mr (S)

Coronis (see: Apollo)

Creon (see: Antigone, Eteocles, Pallas Athene)

Creusa

LACOSTE / ROY *Créuse l'Athénienne* (Paris, 1712¹⁵¹)

CARDENA / RIZZI *Creusa* (Venice, 1739¹⁵²)

PEREZ / MARTINELLI *Creusa in Delfo* (Salvaterra, 1774¹⁵³)
RAUZZINI (London, 1783¹⁵⁴)

Cupid (see: Eros)

Cyclopes (see also: Galatea)

? / FRIGIMELICA ROBERTI *Il Ciclope* (Padua, 1695¹⁵⁵)

G. BONONCINI / ARIOSTI *Polifemo* (Berlin, 1702¹⁵⁶)

PORPORA / ROLLI *Polifemo* (London, 1734¹⁵⁷; London, 1735¹⁵⁸)
CORRADINI, CORSELLI, MELE (Madrid, 1748¹⁵⁹)

? / METASTASIO *Il Ciclope* (Vienna, 1754¹⁶⁰)
ASIOLI (Milan, 1787¹⁶¹)

F. CIPOLLA / ? *Il Polifemo* (Naples, 1786¹⁶²)

Cynthia (see: Artemis)

¹⁵¹ US-Wc Schatz 5354 & ML48.R4 (L)

¹⁵² I-Bc Lo.863 & I-Mb & I-Pmc & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 1622 (L)

¹⁵³ BR-Rn & I-Rsc & P-C & P-Ln L5792 P(7) & P-Lg & P-L, Teatro S. Carlo & US-Wc Schatz 7880 (L)

¹⁵⁴ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁵⁵ I-Fc & I-MAC & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-NOVc & I-Pci & I-Vcg & SI-Lsk (L)

¹⁵⁶ D-Bsb (S)

¹⁵⁷ F-Pc & GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/42 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.7739 & I-Vqs (L), ROLLI 1744 (Lc), GB-Lbl (S), B-Bc 5477 & 5498 & GB-Lbl (Se)

¹⁵⁸ D-HVI & GB-Lbl & GB-L, Theatre Museum & US-LAuc (L)

¹⁵⁹ US-Wc Schatz 2253 (L)

¹⁶⁰ I-Rsc (L), METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc)

¹⁶¹ I-Mr (S)

¹⁶² I-Bc Lo.6963 & I-Mc & I-Nc & I-Ra & I-Vgc Rolandi 3926 & US-Wc Schatz 2013 (L)

Daedalus

RAGUSA / SCAGLIA *Minos in Camico* (Palermo, 1777¹)

Damon

MORATELLI / ? *Damone e Pithia* (Dusseldorf, 1694²)

Danae

PHILIDOR / LENOBLE *Danae* (Marly, 1701)

G. REUTTER jr. / G.C. PASQUINI *L'Eroina d'Argo* (Vienna, 1739³)
BONNO (as *Danae*, Vienna, 1744) = unperformed

CANDEILLE / ? *Danae* (1796) = unperformed

Danaïds

MINISSARI / BADIALE *Il Lino generoso overo La tirannide vinta dal valore* (Rome, 1699⁴; Rome, 1706⁵)

GERVAIS, PHILIPPE OF ORLEANS / LAFONT *Hypermnestre* (Paris, 1716⁶; Lyons, 1742⁷)
V.A. / DOMINIQUE, ROMAGNESI (as *La bonne femme*, parody, Paris, 1728)

GIACOMELLI / SALVI after MONIGLIA *Ipermestra* (Venice, 1724⁸; Parma, 1724; Pesaro, 1733)

VIVALDI (Florence, 1727⁹)

BRIVIO, GIACOMELLI, HASSE, ORLANDINI, VINCI (Milan, 1727¹⁰)

FEO (Rome, 1728¹¹; Livorno, 1730¹²)

COSTANTINI a.o. (Prague, 1731¹³)

¹ I-PLn (L)

² D-DÜl & I-Fc & I-MOe (L)

³ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17990-1 (S)

⁴ I-Rn & I-Tu (L)

⁵ I-Rn (L)

⁶ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), B-Br Fétis 2663 & B-Bc 11031 (S)

⁷ US-Wc Schatz 3791b (L)

⁸ B-Br Fétis 4488 A III/4 & CZ-Pu & D-DI & F-Pn 8-YTH-51967 & I-Bc Lo.2151 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Ra & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc XIII.34 & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3813 (L), D-Rou Mus. saec. XVIII: 17/18-27 (S)

⁹ B-Bc 20750 & I-Bc Lo.5552 & I-Fc & I-Mc & I-Nc (L), US-BEm (Se)

¹⁰ I-Bc Lo.6648 & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb Racc. dramm. 6039/4 & I-Mc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 1327 (L), B-Bc 5394 (Se)

¹¹ CZ-Pu & F-Pn YD-5193 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.1609 & I-Fm & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Tci (L), D-Bsb L. 109/110 & I-Rc 2768 & I-Mc L 24 & D-MÜs (Se)

¹² I-Lg (L)

BRIVIO (Pesaro, 1733¹⁴)
 ? (Viterbo, 1733¹⁵)
 G.B. FERRANDINI, PELI (Munich, 1736¹⁶)
 R. DI CAPUA (Lisbon, 1741¹⁷)
 MEI (Pisa, 1754¹⁸; Pavia, 1778 = doubtful)

V.A. / MINGOTTI after GOLDONI, METASTASIO *Ipermestra* (Graz, 1736¹⁹; Hamburg, 1740²⁰; Linz, 1743-6; Hamburg, 1744 = doubtful; Hamburg, 1745²¹; Lübeck, 1746; Hamburg, 1746²²; Copenhagen, 1754)

HASSE, PREDIERI / METASTASIO *L'Ipermestra* (Vienna, 1744²³; Hubertusburg, 1751²⁴; Dresden, 1752²⁵)

GLUCK (Venice, 1744²⁶)
 V.A. (Verona, 1745²⁷)
 HASSE, PALELLA (Naples, 1746²⁸)
 BERTONI (Venice, 1748²⁹; Genoa, 1748³⁰; Treviso, 1753³¹)
 DUNI (Genoa, 1748³²)
 PESCECETTI? (Florence, 1749³³)
 GLUCK a.o. (Prague, 1750³⁴; Munich, 1751³⁵; Leipzig, 1751?)
 ? (Mantua, 1751³⁶)
 CAFARO (Naples, 1751³⁷; Naples, 1761³⁸)
 JOMMELLI (Spoleto, 1751³⁹)
 ADOLFATI (Modena, 1752⁴⁰)
 V.A. (Copenhagen, 1754⁴¹)
 PEREZ (Lisbon, 1754⁴²)

¹³ CZ-K & CZ-Pu (L)

¹⁴ I-Bc Lo.6649 & I-PESo (L)

¹⁵ I-Fm (L)

¹⁶ D-Mbs & I-Rsc (L)

¹⁷ P-Ln (L)

¹⁸ I-Bc Lo.3044 (L)

¹⁹ A-Gl (L)

²⁰ D-Bsb & D-ERu (L)

²¹ D-BÜ (L)

²² D-Bsb & D-DEI (L)

²³ A-Wgm & B-Bc 20751 & CZ-Pu & D-DI & D-W Textb. 235 & I-Mb & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 4542 (L), METASTASIO 2002-4 & I-Fm & I-Lg & I-Ms & I-Pci (Lc), A-Wgm Q 1463 & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17285 & I-Mc Nosedà G4 & D-DI (S)

²⁴ CZ-Pu & D-DI & US-Wc Schatz 4543 (L), I-Mc Part.Tr.ms.167 & B-Bc 3264 & D-Hs ND VI 2941 & 2942 (S), D-Hs ND M A / 1563 & D-LEm (Se)

²⁵ CZ-Pu & D-DI (L), F-Pn D-5433 (S)

²⁶ D-Bsb & F-Pn 8-YTH-51990 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3930 (L), GSW III/6 (S), B-Bc 12806 & F-Pn D-4712 (7) & D-4714 (23) & D-4715 (1, 8) (Se)

²⁷ I-Mcom & I-VEc (L)

²⁸ I-Mb & I-Rig (L), I-Mc (S), F-Sim (Se)

²⁹ I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 926 (L), F-Pn VM4-865 (1) (Se)

³⁰ B-Br Fétiš 4488 A II/6 & I-SA & I-Vcg (L), I-Gl & I-Vnm (Se)

³¹ I-Mb & I-Vcg (L)

³² B-Br Fétiš 4488 A II/11 (L), F-Pn D. 3623 (13-14, 20-22) (Se)

³³ I-Fc & I-PEc & S-Uu (L)

³⁴ CZ-Pnm (L)

³⁵ D-Mbs & I-Mb (L), I-MOe Mus. F. 498 (S)

³⁶ I-OS (L)

³⁷ F-Pn RES 8-BL-8272 & I-Taranto, Comunale (L), I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-238-40 (S), F-Pn MS. 1674 (1, 7, 8) (Se)

³⁸ I-Nc (L), F-Pn MS. 1670 (1-2) (S)

³⁹ I-Fm & I-PLcom & I-Rsc XVI.77 (L), GB-Lcm & I-Nc (S), US-Bp (S, Act I)

⁴⁰ I-Bc Lo.22 (L), F-Pn VM4-37 (S), F-Pn AB O-164 (1, 3) & I-Fc (Se)

⁴¹ DK-Kk (L)

HASSE, LAMPUGNANI (London, 1754⁴³)
 RE (Alessandria, 1755⁴⁴)
 SCIROLI a.o. (Casale Monferrato, 1757⁴⁵)
 V.A. (Pesaro, 1757⁴⁶)
 ? (Venice, 1757⁴⁷)
 B. GALUPPI (Milan, 1758⁴⁸; Venice, 1761⁴⁹; Pisa, 1761⁵⁰; Prague, 1764⁵¹)
 I. FIORILLO (Brunswick, 1759⁵²)
 V.A. (Genoa, 1759⁵³)
 EBERLIN (Salzburg, 1761⁵⁴)
 V.A. (Venice, 1765⁵⁵)
 ? (Florence, 1765⁵⁶)
 SARTI (Rome, 1766⁵⁷; London, 1797⁵⁸)
 V.A. (Parma, 1767⁵⁹)
 G.F. DE MAJO (Naples, 1768⁶⁰; Palermo, 1770⁶¹)
 MYSLIVECEK (Florence, 1769⁶²)
 N. PICCINNI (Naples, 1772⁶³)
 FORTUNATI (Modena, 1773⁶⁴)
 NAUMANN (Venice, 1774⁶⁵)
 MARTIN Y SOLER (Naples, 1780⁶⁶)
 RISPOLI (Milan, 1785⁶⁷)
 ASTARITA (Venice, 1789⁶⁸)
 PAISIELLO (Padua, 1791⁶⁹)
 BERTONI, FABRIZI, PAISIELLO, TARCHI (as *Le Danaïdi*, Venice?, 1797⁷⁰)

⁴² I-Rsc 8410 & P-C & US-Wc (L), CDN-Lu & GB-Lbl & I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-579-81 (S)

⁴³ GB-Lbl & US-Wc (L), B-Bc 5459 (Se)

⁴⁴ I-Tci & US-Wc Schatz 8618 (L)

⁴⁵ I-Pac (L)

⁴⁶ I-Bc Lo.6650 (L)

⁴⁷ B-Bc 20752 & I-Bc Lo.6651 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Ria & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L)

⁴⁸ I-Bc Lo.1879 & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Ms MUS.G.X.10 & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-Rsc VII.3 & I-Tn (L), B-Bc 3864-3942 & F-Pn D-4302 (5) (Se)

⁴⁹ A-Wmi & I-Mb & I-Ria & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3457 (L), P-La 44-VII-51a53 (S)

⁵⁰ P-La 54-II-34a36 & 44-VII-48a50 (S)

⁵¹ CZ-Pnm (L)

⁵² US-Wc Schatz 3201 (L)

⁵³ I-G, Berio (L)

⁵⁴ A-MB & A-Sca (L)

⁵⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-51532 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Pac & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L)

⁵⁶ I-Bc Lo.6652 & I-Rsc (L)

⁵⁷ B-Bc 20753 & I-Bc Lo.5036 & I-Vgc (L), GB-Lbl & I-Rdp & I-Rvat (S)

⁵⁸ GB-Lbl (L)

⁵⁹ I-Pac (L)

⁶⁰ I-Nc & P-Ln (L), I-Nc & P-La (S)

⁶¹ I-PL, Pagano (L)

⁶² I-Bc Lo.3180 & Lo.Villa.267(4) & I-Fc (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17796 & I-Fc & P-La (S)

⁶³ I-Nc & I-Ra & I-Vgc & US-NYp (L), I-Nc (S)

⁶⁴ I-FP, Fanan (L)

⁶⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-51545 & I-Bc Lo.3419 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 7049 (L), D-Dl (S)

⁶⁶ CDN-Tu & I-Fc & I-Rsc XVIII.200 (L), I-Nc & P-La (S)

⁶⁷ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.4585 & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc & I-Mcom & I-Ms & I-Pac & I-Rn & I-Rsc XXVII.1 & I-Tci & I-Vgc & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 8815 & ML48.A5v.1 (L), CDN-Lu (S)

⁶⁸ F-Pn 8-YTH-51651 & I-Bc Lo.344 & I-Mb & I-Pac & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 387 (L), F-Pn D-1352 (Se)

⁶⁹ B-Bc 20754 & F-Pa & F-Pn 8-YTH-52445 & 8-RO-8695 (1) & GB-Lbl & I-Pci & I-P, Saggiori & I-Vcg Padova Vol. 264 & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 7702 (L), GB-Lcm & I-Pc ATVa 21/I-II & CDN-Lu (S), I-OS Mss.Mus.B 1245 (Se)

⁷⁰ I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-1013 (S)

DUNI? / BARDELLA *L'Ipermestra* (Genoa, 1748⁷¹)
MILLICO / CALZABIGI *Ipermestra o Le Danaïdi* (Naples, 1783⁷²)
SALIERI / DU ROULLET, TSCHUDI (as *Les Danaïdes*, Paris, 1784⁷³)

ISOLA / SERTOR *Le Danaïdi* (Florence, 1792⁷⁴)
TARCHI (Milan, 1794⁷⁵)

Danaus (see: Danaïds)

Daphne (see also: Apollo)

B. PASQUINI / A. GUIDI *La Dafne* (Rome, 1692⁷⁶)

C.F. POLLAROLO / FRIGIMELICA ROBERTI *Il Pastore d'Anfriso* (Venice, 1695⁷⁷;
Brunswick, 1697⁷⁸; Salthal, 1699; Wolfenbüttel, 1703⁷⁹; Venice, 1704⁸⁰)

ARIOSTI / ? *Dafne* (Bologna, 1696) = doubtful

DURON, DE NAVAS / ? *Apolo y Dafne* (Madrid, 1697⁸¹)

L. LULLY / DANCHET *Apollon et Daphné* (Fontainebleau, 1698⁸²)

SABADINI / TAMAGNI *Gli amori d'Apollo e Dafne* (Parma, 1699⁸³)

? / ? *Die getreue Schäferin* (Weissenfels, 1698; Weissenfels, 1709)

HANDEL / HINSCH *Der beglückte Florindo* (also *Die verwandelte Daphne*, Hamburg,
1708⁸⁴)

? / ? *Daphne* (Leipzig, 1710) = doubtful

⁷¹ B-Br Fétiſ 4488 A II/6 (L)

⁷² I-Nc (L)

⁷³ US-Wc Schatz 9285 (L), B-Gc A 1408 & B 1054 (S)

⁷⁴ B-Br Fétiſ 4488 A XIX/6 & CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.2545 & I-Fc & I-Fn & I-Pci & I-PS & I-Vgc (L)

⁷⁵ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.5291 & I-Bca & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc Coll. libr. 215 & I-Ms & I-OS & I-Pac & I-Rsc & I-Vc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 10217 (L), I-Mr (S)

⁷⁶ I-Rli (L), GUIDI 1981 (Lc)

⁷⁷ A-Wmi & B-Bc 21356 & I-Bc Lo.6916 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-LAum no. 415 (L), CDN-Tu & F-Pn 8-YTH-51935 & I-Gu & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum no. 416 & US-Wc Schatz 8310 (L2), CZ-K 73 K I (S), F-Pn RES-VMA-MS- 967 & I-Rvat Barb. lat. 4133 & 4134 & 4174 (Se)

⁷⁸ B-Bc 21357 & D-Bsb & D-BS & D-HV1 & D-W Textb. 348 (L)

⁷⁹ D-HV1 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-W Textb. 711 (L)

⁸⁰ D-Mbs & F-Pn YD-4818 & I-Bc Lo.6918 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Mr & I-Ms & I-NOVc & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-AUS & US-LAum (L)

⁸¹ E-Mn (S)

⁸² DANCHET 1751 & US-Wc ML50.2.A73L9 (Lc)

⁸³ I-Bc Lo.4915 & I-MOe & I-Pac & I-Rsc (L)

⁸⁴ B-Br Fétiſ 4520 A V,3 (L), HHA (Se)

HANDEL / ? *Apollo e Dafne* (Hanover, 1710⁸⁵)
ALBINONI / MINATO? *Il nascimento dell'Aurora* (Venezia/Vienna, 1710?⁸⁶)

FUX / PARIATI *Dafne in lauro* (Vienna, 1714⁸⁷)
I.M. CONTI (as *Dafne in alloro*, Vienna, 173?⁸⁸)

FAGO / ? *La Dafne* (Naples, 1714⁸⁹)

PEPUSCH / HUGHES *Apollo and Daphne* (London, 1716; London, 1734⁹⁰)
HOOK (London, 1773)

F. MANCINI / ? *Dafne in alloro* (Naples, 1716⁹¹)

CALDARA / **BIAVI** *Dafne* (Salzburg, 1719⁹²)
? (Dachau, 1722)

? / GHISLIERI *Dafne cangiata in lauro* (Bologna, 1721⁹³)

? / ? *Gli amori delusi* (Prague, 1730⁹⁴)

G. REUTTER jr. / G.C. PASQUINI *Dafne* (Vienna, 1734⁹⁵)
G. PORTA (Munich, 1738⁹⁶)

BONNO / METASTASIO *Il vero omaggio* (Vienna, 1743⁹⁷; Vienna, 1754⁹⁸)
HERTEL (Schwerin, 1761⁹⁹)
DITTERSDORF (as *Der schöne Herbsttag*, Oels, 1796¹⁰⁰)

J.C. SMITH / POPE *Daphne* (London, 1746)

N. CONTI / N. CONTI *La Dafne* (Naples, 1747¹⁰¹)

KUNZEN / ? *Daphne* (Schwerin, 1752)

ARNOLD, COCCHI, MONSIGNY, PICCINNI, SHALON, VENTO / BICKERSTAFF after
CIBBER, SAINT-FOIX *Daphne and Amintor* (London, 1765¹⁰²)

⁸⁵ HG & HHA (S)

⁸⁶ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17738 (S)

⁸⁷ FUXGA & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17249 (S)

⁸⁸ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17527 (S)

⁸⁹ GB-Lbl (L)

⁹⁰ GB-Lbl (L)

⁹¹ I-Mb (L)

⁹² I-Vnm (L), DTO & A-Wgm (S)

⁹³ I-Rn (L)

⁹⁴ I-Mb (L)

⁹⁵ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17944 (S)

⁹⁶ D-Mbs (L)

⁹⁷ METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17578 (S)

⁹⁸ A-Wn & I-Rig & I-Vc (L)

⁹⁹ B-Bc 4181 & 4193 (Se)

¹⁰⁰ D-Dl (S)

¹⁰¹ I-Nn & I-Rli (L)

¹⁰² US-Wc Longe 26 (L)

MAYER / PITRA *Apollon et Daphné* (Paris, 1782)

PAISIELLO / GENNARO *Amor vendicato* (Naples, 1786¹⁰³; Naples, 1790¹⁰⁴)

LEGAT DE FURCY / SAINT-MARC *Apollon et Daphné* (Paris, 1790) = incomplete

? / HENSEL *Daphne oder Die Frühlingsfeier in Arkadien* (Hirschberg, 1799¹⁰⁵) = unperformed?

Daphnis (see also: Graces)

ALDROVANDINI / MANFREDI *Dafni* (Bologna, 1696¹⁰⁶)

A. SCARLATTI / PAGLIA (Naples, 1700¹⁰⁷; Piacenza, 1701¹⁰⁸; Camerino, 1709¹⁰⁹; as *L'amore non viene dal caso*, Jesi, 1715¹¹⁰)

? (Parma, 1716¹¹¹)

? (Munich, 1722¹¹²)

? (? , ?¹¹³)

C.F. POLLAROLO / FRIGIMELICA ROBERTI *Il Dafni* (Venice, 1705¹¹⁴)

? / **RAMPONI *Dafni*** (Genoa, 1709¹¹⁵)

ALBINONI / CASSANI *L'incostanza schernita* (Venice, 1727¹¹⁶; Bologna, 1728¹¹⁷; as *L'infedeltà delusa*, Vicenza, 1729¹¹⁸; Frankfurt, 1734¹¹⁹; Ferrara, 1735¹²⁰)

ALBINONI, PAMPINO (Fano, 1731¹²¹)

BOISMORTIER / LAUJON *Daphnis et Chloé* (Paris, 1747¹²²)

V.A. / GONDEAU (as *Les bergers de qualité*, parody, Paris, 1752)

RAMEAU / COLLE *Daphnis et Eglé* (Fontainebleau, 1753¹²³)

¹⁰³ B-Bc 19167 (L), I-Nc (S)

¹⁰⁴ D-WRtl & I-Bc Lo.7635 & I-Fc & I-Nc & I-Nn & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁰⁵ US-Wc Schatz 4635 & ML49.A2H3 (Lc)

¹⁰⁶ F-Pn YD-4985 & I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.6163 & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-Vgc 175 & I-Vnm & US-Wc ML50.2.D2 (L)

¹⁰⁷ I-Bu & I-Fm & I-FP,Fanan (L), Pro musica camerata 1993 (S)

¹⁰⁸ I-Bc Lo.8932 (L)

¹⁰⁹ I-IE (L)

¹¹⁰ I-IE (L)

¹¹¹ I-PAc (L)

¹¹² D-Mbs (L)

¹¹³ I-Bu (L)

¹¹⁴ B-Bc 19833 & F-Pn YD-4848 & 8-YTH-50901 & 8-YTH-51947 & I-Bc Lo.6164 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-PESo & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 520 & US-Wc Schatz 8279 (L)

¹¹⁵ F-Pn YD-5594 & I-Bc Lo.6165 & I-Mb (L)

¹¹⁶ GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.72 & Lo.9940 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-TSmt & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc (L)

¹¹⁷ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.75 & I-Fm & I-Rn & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L)

¹¹⁸ I-Vgc (L)

¹¹⁹ I-R,Rostirolla (L)

¹²⁰ I-Bc Lo.85 (L)

¹²¹ I-Fm (L)

¹²² F-Pn GD-8447 (L), Boismortier-Boivin-Le Clerc 1748 (S)

ROUSSEAU / CORANCEZ *Daphnis et Chloé* (Paris, 1775-9¹²⁴) = unfinished

ARQUIER / ? *Daphnis et Hortense* (Brussels, 1778)

SAINT-AMANS / ? *Daphnis et Témire* (Brussels, 1778)

ROCHEFORT / ? *Daphnis et Flore* (Paris, 1779)

Dardanus

RAMEAU / LA BRUERE *Dardanus* (Paris, 1739¹²⁵; Paris, 1744¹²⁶; Paris, 1760¹²⁷; Paris, 1761¹²⁸; Fontainebleau, 1763¹²⁹; Paris, 1768¹³⁰; Fontainebleau, 1769¹³¹)

V.A. / FAVART, PANNARD, PARMENTIER (as *Arlequin Dardanus*, parody, Paris, 1740)

SACCHINI / GUILLARD (Versailles, 1784¹³²; Paris, 1784¹³³; Fontainebleau, 1785; Paris, 1785¹³⁴; Paris, 1786¹³⁵; Paris, 1790¹³⁶; Paris, 1800¹³⁷)

V.A. / ? (as *Jean des Dardanelles*, parody, Paris?, ?)

K. STAMITZ / ? *Dardanus' Sieg, oder Die Befreiung des Landes* (St Petersburg, 1798)

Deianira (see: Heracles)

Deidamia (see: Achilles)

Deipyle

F. BIANCHI / ? *Deifile* (Venice, 1791¹³⁸)

¹²³ F-Pn 4-BL-3585 (2) & 4-BL-3587 (2) & 4-BL-3589 (2) & RES-YF-953 & RES-YF-1625 & YF-898 (L), F-Pn & F-Po (S)

¹²⁴ US-Wc M1500.R89 (L)

¹²⁵ F-Pn 8-RO-1224 & RES-YF-1969 & YF-707 & YF-876 (L), ROO & F-AG & F-Pa & F-Pc & F-Pn & F-Po & F-TLm & GB-Cfm (S)

¹²⁶ F-Pa GD-55 & F-Pn 8-RO-1225 & RES-YF-1969 & RES-YF-1970 (L), F-Po (S)

¹²⁷ F-Pa GD-45 & F-Pn RES-YF-932 & RES-YF-1971 (L)

¹²⁸ F-Pn 8-RO-4127 & US-Wc ML50.2.D27R2 (L)

¹²⁹ F-Pa 8-BL-13709 (2,2) & RES-8-BL-13710 (1,2) & F-Pn 8-RA3-220 (3) & 8-YTH-4462 & 8-YTH-4463 & 8-YTH-4465 & RES-YF-4475 (3) & YF-7831 & YF-7912 (L)

¹³⁰ F-Pa GD-41310 & F-Pn 8-RO-1226 & RES-YF-898 & RES-YF-1172 & RES-YF-1972 (L)

¹³¹ F-Pa 8-BL-13709 (6,8) & GD-83 & GD-8426 & F-Pn 8-RA3-240 & 8-RA3-241 (9) & 8-YTH-4464 & RES-YF-4482 & YF-7937 & (L)

¹³² Sacchini-Sieber 1785 & D-Rtt & F-Pn A-306 (A 1-3) & F-Prt & US-Wc (S)

¹³³ F-Pa GD-41309 & F-Pn 8-YTH-4466 & RES-YF-1350 & RES-YF-1351 & RES-YF-1352 & RES-YF-4487 & US-Wc Schatz 9217 (L)

¹³⁴ F-Pa GD-8427 & F-Pn 8-RA3-306 & 8-YTH-4467 (L)

¹³⁵ F-Pn 8-RO-1034 (3) & 8-RO-1227 & US-Wc Schatz 9248 (L), F-Po A-306 (A 1-3) (S)

¹³⁶ F-Pa GD-8428 & F-Pn 8-YTH-4468 (L)

¹³⁷ F-Pa GD-8429 & F-Pn 8-RO-1501 (L)

¹³⁸ D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.7734 & I-Vcg 57 A 4 & I-Vgc Rolandi 1859 & I-Vqs (L)

Demeter (see also: Alcestis, Persephone)

TERRADELLAS / ? *La Cerere* (Rome, 1740¹³⁹)

LA ROCCA / NATI *Il ritorno di Cerere in Sicilia* (in *Tripudio festivo di Palermo*, Palermo, 1740¹⁴⁰)

COSTANZI / ? *L'Iride* (Rome, 1745¹⁴¹)

JOMMELLI / SARCONE *Cerere placata* (Naples, 1772¹⁴²; Ajuda, 1773)

WOLF / EINSIEDEL *Ceres* (Hanover, 1773¹⁴³)

MARTIN Y SOLER / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Re Gerone, Cere, Cleomene* (Naples, 1779¹⁴⁴)

Deucalion

V.A. / PIRON *Arlequin-Deucalion* (Paris, 1723¹⁴⁵)

GRANDVAL / SAINT-FOIX *Deucalion et Pyrrha* (Paris, 1741¹⁴⁶)

BALLIERE DE LAISEMENT (Rouen, 1751)

BERTON, GIRAND / MORAND (Paris, 1755¹⁴⁷)

SARTI / BREDAL, THIELO (as *Deucalion og Pyrrha*, Copenhagen, 1772)

? (as *Deukalion und Pyrrha*, Berlin, 1777)

HOLLY / K.E. SCHUBERT (as *Deukalion und Pyrrha*, Wroclaw, 1780¹⁴⁸)

V.A. / WILHELMINE OF BAYREUTH, ? *Deucalion e Pirra* (Bayreuth, 1752)

GIBERT / WATELET *Deucalion et Pyrrha* (Paris, 1772)

DEMMLER / ? *Deucalion und Pyrrha* (Augsburg, 1774)

A. CALEGARI / SERTOR *Deucalion e Pirra* (Padua, 1781¹⁴⁹)

BERTONI / SOGRAFI *Deucalion e Pirra* (Venice, 1786¹⁵⁰)

¹³⁹ B-Bc 19627 & F-Pn YD-655 & GB-Lbl & I-Bca & I-Vgc & US-Wc ML50.2.C36T2 (L)

¹⁴⁰ GB-Lbl & GB-Ls (L)

¹⁴¹ B-Bc 20763 & I-Vgc Rolandi 4476 (L)

¹⁴² B-Bc 19628 & D-Sl & F-Pn 8-RA5-680 & I-CRg & I-Nc Sala 6a B Misc. 28/1 & I-Nn & US-Wc Schatz 4876 (L), B-Bc 2190 & D-Sl HB XVII 237 & F-Pn D6229/30 & X.1105-6 & I-Mc Nosedà F.64 & Part.Tr.Ms. 188 & I-Nc Cantate 360-1 & 362-3 & Rari 7.7.11-12 & P-La 44-IX-85/86 & US-Wc M1500.J72 C4 (S)

¹⁴³ US-Wc Schatz 11076 (L)

¹⁴⁴ I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁴⁵ FOIRE 1721-34 & PIRON 1776 (Lc)

¹⁴⁶ NOUVEAU RECUEIL 1742 & SAINT-FOIX 1762 (Lc)

¹⁴⁷ F-Pn MS A 194 (S)

¹⁴⁸ US-Wc Schatz 4769 (L)

¹⁴⁹ I-Pca & I-Pci (L), I-Pca (S)

Diana (see: Artemis)

Dido (see also: Achilles, Aeneas)

C. PALLAVICINO / FRANCESCHI *La Didone delirante* (Venice, 1686¹⁵¹)

A. SCARLATTI / PAGLIA (Naples, 1696¹⁵²)

MORATELLI / RAPPARINI *Didone* (Dusseldorf, 1688¹⁵³; Dusseldorf, 1692¹⁵⁴)

H. PURCELL / TATE *Dido and Aeneas* (Chelsea, 1689?¹⁵⁵; as *The loves of Dido and Aeneas*, London, 1774¹⁵⁶)

J. ECCLES, H. PURCELL (in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, London, 1700)

BREVI? / PASQUAL? *Iarba impazzito* (Bergamo, 1690¹⁵⁷)

DESMARETS / SAINTONGE *Didon* (Paris, 1693¹⁵⁸; Paris, 1694¹⁵⁹; Amsterdam, 1699¹⁶⁰; Strasbourg, 1701¹⁶¹; Paris, 1704¹⁶²; Brussels, 1714¹⁶³)

GRAUPNER / HINSCH *Dido, Königin von Carthago* (Hamburg, 1707¹⁶⁴)

? / ? *Didone abbandonata* (Brescia, 1709¹⁶⁵)

FASCH / ? *Die getreue Dido* (Naumburg, 1712)

RAMPINI / BRACCIOLI *La gloria trionfante d'amore* (Venice, 1712¹⁶⁶)

? / ? *Didone et Enea* (Bergamo, 1713¹⁶⁷)

PEPUSCH / BOOTH *The death of Dido* (London, 1716)

¹⁵⁰ I-Bc Lo.521 & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vnm Dramm.1339.3 & US-MSu (L)

¹⁵¹ B-Bc 19912 & D-W Textb. 781 & I-Bc Lo.3950 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-RE, Panizzi & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 7736 (L)

¹⁵² I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Rc (L), I-Bc & I-Bsp & I-Nc & I-OS & I-Rvat Barberini Lat. 4141 (Se)

¹⁵³ D-DÜl & D-HEu & D-MHav (L)

¹⁵⁴ PL-Kj (L)

¹⁵⁵ PURCELL (S)

¹⁵⁶ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁵⁷ I-Mb (L)

¹⁵⁸ F-Pn RES-YF-1987 & 8-RO-1087 & 4-BL-3752 (5) & GD-32 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles 2003 & B-Br Fétis 2651 A & F-Pn VM2.121 & RES F-936 (S), F-Pn X-619 (Se)

¹⁵⁹ F-Pn YF-7797 & 8-YTH-5177 & GD-9033 & 8-RO-1407 (5,2) & 8-RO-1408 (5,2) (L)

¹⁶⁰ F-Pn GD-88 (L)

¹⁶¹ F-Pn 4-BL-3744 (L)

¹⁶² F-Pn RES-YF-1988 (L)

¹⁶³ B-Br II 22738 A 10/125 (L)

¹⁶⁴ A-Wn 4274-B. Mus & 625278-B. The & B-Br Fétis 4520 A V,1 & US-Wc Schatz 4122 (L), D-Bsb & US-Wc (S)

¹⁶⁵ I-Ma (L)

¹⁶⁶ I-Vcg & US-Wc Schatz 8596 (L)

¹⁶⁷ I-BGc (L)

SARRO / METASTASIO *Didone abbandonata* (Naples, 1724¹⁶⁸; Naples, 1737¹⁶⁹)
 ? (? , 1724?¹⁷⁰)
 SARRO, A. SCARLATTI (Palermo, 1724) = doubtful
 ALBINONI (Venice, 1725¹⁷¹; Crema, 1726¹⁷²; as *Didone*, Prague, 1731¹⁷³; Ferrara, 1733¹⁷⁴; as *Didone*,
 Linz, ?¹⁷⁵)
 M.A. GASPARINI, ORLANDINI, SARRO, VIVALDI? (Florence, 1725¹⁷⁶)
 PORPORA (Reggio, 1725¹⁷⁷; Brunswick, 1726¹⁷⁸; Parma, 1745¹⁷⁹)
 VINCI (Rome, 1726¹⁸⁰)
 BIONI? (Wroclaw, 1726)
 ? (as *La Didone*, Mantua, 1727¹⁸¹)
 ALBINONI, GIAY, ORLANDINI, SARRO / GIOANNETTI (Turin, 1727¹⁸²)
 ? (Siracusa, 1728¹⁸³)
 ALBINONI, SARRO a.o. (Pesaro, 1729¹⁸⁴)
 GIACOMELLI a.o. (Milan, 1729¹⁸⁵)
 VIGNATI (Genoa, 1729; Rome, 1734) = doubtful
 ? (Lucca, 1729¹⁸⁶)
 B. GALUPPI, SARRO / BOLDINI (Venice, 1730¹⁸⁷)
 PORPORA, TELEMANN / HAMANN (as *Der Streit der kindlichen Pflicht und der Liebe, oder Die Flucht des Aeneas nach Latien*, Hamburg, 1731¹⁸⁸; Brunswick, 1734¹⁸⁹)
 BROSCI, DUNI, FINI, PORPORA, SARRO, VINCI (Rome, 1732¹⁹⁰)
 ? (Messina, 1733¹⁹¹)
 ? (Florence, 1734¹⁹²)
 SARRO a.o. (as *Didone*, Brno, 1734¹⁹³)
 SCHIASSI (Bologna, 1735¹⁹⁴)
 FIORINI (Milan, 1735)
 GIACOMELLI, HASSE, RISTORI, VINCI, VIVALDI (London, 1737¹⁹⁵)

¹⁶⁸ F-Pn YD-5243 & US-Wc ML50.2.D55S2 (L), METASTASIO 2002-4 (Lc), D-MEIr Ed. 147v & I-Nc 31.3.12 (S), D-WD Slg. 895 & I-Nc Cantate 23 & I-Rc 2222 (Se)

¹⁶⁹ I-Nc 32.2.20 (S)

¹⁷⁰ I-Vnm Cod. It. IV 266 (S)

¹⁷¹ F-Pn 8-YTH-52040 & I-Bc Lo.69 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Rig & I-RVI & US-Wc Schatz 89 (L), METASTASIO 2002-4 (Lc)

¹⁷² I-Mb (L)

¹⁷³ CZ-KRE & CZ-Pu (L)

¹⁷⁴ I-Rsc (L)

¹⁷⁵ D-DO (L)

¹⁷⁶ I-Bc Lo.6208 & I-Fc (L), F-Pn Vm.7 7694 (Se)

¹⁷⁷ I-Bc Lo.4320 & I-MOe & I-REm (L), GB-Lbl Add.14119 (Se)

¹⁷⁸ US-Wc Schatz 90 (L)

¹⁷⁹ I-Mb (L)

¹⁸⁰ B-Bc 19902 & D-Mth & F-Pn YD-3531 & I-Bc Lo.5512 & I-Fm & I-IE & I-Mb & I-MAC & I-PEc & I-Rvat & US-Wc ML50.2.D55V4 (L), IOB 29 & D-MÜs Sant. 4242 & US-Cn Ms. Case VM 1500.V 77d (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17710 & B-Bc 4944 & 4951 & 4952 (Se)

¹⁸¹ I-VEc (L)

¹⁸² I-Rsc & I-T, Arch.Storico & I-Tci (L), F-Pn Vm. 7 7694 (Se)

¹⁸³ CZ-Pu (L)

¹⁸⁴ I-PESo (L), I-PEBo 2007 (S)

¹⁸⁵ I-LDE & I-Mb Racc. Dramm. 6040/2 & I-Mc & I-Rn (L)

¹⁸⁶ I-Bc Lo. Villa.56 (L)

¹⁸⁷ I-Bc Lo.5031 & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 9422 (L), I-Vqs cod. VIII, cl. XIV (Se)

¹⁸⁸ A-Wn 625377-B. The & B-Br Fétis 4520 A IX,2 & D-Bsb Mus. T 7 (L)

¹⁸⁹ D-HVI & D-W Textb. 349 (L)

¹⁹⁰ F-Pn YD-5264 & RES P-YD-174 & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 11380 (L), I-Rsc A 3709 (Se)

¹⁹¹ I-Rsc (L)

¹⁹² I-Fc & I-Fn (L)

¹⁹³ CZ-Bu (L)

¹⁹⁴ I-Bc Lo.5165 & I-Bca & I-PAc (L), B-Bc 4880 (Se)

CARCANI, GALUPPI, GIACOMELLI, HASSE, LAMPUGNANI, SCALABRINI, ZOPPIS /
 MINGOTTI (Graz, 1737¹⁹⁶; Graz, 1741¹⁹⁷; Ljubljana, 1742¹⁹⁸; as *Didone*, Hamburg, 1744¹⁹⁹;
 as *Didone*, Hamburg, 1746²⁰⁰; Hamburg, 1747; Dresden, 1747; Copenhagen, 1748²⁰¹)
 PAGANELLI / SCHUERMAN? (Bayreuth, 1738; as *Die von dem flüchtigen Aeneas verlassene Dido*,
 Brunswick, 1739²⁰²)
 LAMPUGNANI (Padua, 1739²⁰³; Alessandria, 1742²⁰⁴; Crema, 1745²⁰⁵; Naples, 1753²⁰⁶)
 BERNASCONI, BRIVIO, DUNI? (Milan, 1739²⁰⁷)
 CORTONA (? , 1740) = doubtful
 PAVENSI (Lucca or Pistoja, 1740²⁰⁸)
 B. GALUPPI? (Modena, 1740²⁰⁹)
 BERNASCONI / LALLI (Venice, 1741²¹⁰)
 ? (Arezzo, 1741)
 R. DI CAPUA (Lisbon, 1741²¹¹)
 ? (Vienna, 1741²¹²)
 ? (Florence, 1741)
 HASSE / ALGAROTTI (Hubertusburg, 1742²¹³; Dresden, 1743²¹⁴; as *Didone*, London, 1748²¹⁵;
 Versailles, 1753)
 ? (Palermo, 1742²¹⁶)
 BERNASCONI a.o. (Cesena, 1743²¹⁷)
 V.A. / IMER (as *Il Trojano schernito in Cartagine nascente e moribonda*, parody, Venice, 1743²¹⁸;
 Milan, 1744²¹⁹)
 HASSE, LOGROSCINO (Naples, 1744²²⁰)
 AURISICCHIO a.o. (Fano, 1745²²¹)
 V.A. (as *Didone abbandonata da Enea*, Mantua, 1745²²²)
 JOMELLI / ROCCAFORTE (Rome, 1747²²³; Stuttgart, 1751²²⁴)

¹⁹⁵ D-Hs (L), GB-Lbl 31607 (S)

¹⁹⁶ A-Gl & A-Gu & A-Wn 28534-B. Mus (L)

¹⁹⁷ D-B (L)

¹⁹⁸ SI-Lsk (L)

¹⁹⁹ B-Br Fétis 4520 A IX,11 & D-DEl & D-EU & D-HVl & D-LEm (L)

²⁰⁰ B-Bc 19903 (L)

²⁰¹ DK-Kk (L)

²⁰² D-W Textb. 328 (L)

²⁰³ I-Pci & I-Rsc (L), I-Rsc (S)

²⁰⁴ I-FP,Fanan (L)

²⁰⁵ I-Rsc (L)

²⁰⁶ E-Mn (Se)

²⁰⁷ I-Bc Lo.6209 & I-LDE & I-Mb Racc. dramm. 6061/2 & I-Mc (L)

²⁰⁸ I-Bc Lo. Villa.65 (L)

²⁰⁹ I-PAc (L)

²¹⁰ D-Bsb Mus. T 52,2 & I-Bc Lo.489 & I-Mb & I-RVI & I-Vcg 59 A 156/7 & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L), B-Bc 3718 & F-Pn D. 4303 (13) (Se)

²¹¹ I-Rsc & P-C (L)

²¹² A-Gl & A-Wn 443714-A. Mus (L)

²¹³ D-Bsb 8" Xq 7472 & D-Bsb & D-DI & D-Gs & F-Pc & S-Skma & US-Wc Schatz 4535 (L), B-Bc 2145 & D-Bpk mus.ms.9549 & 9549/1 & D-Hs ND VI 2938 & F-Pn Rés 1351 & I-Mc Nosedà F67 & I-Vc Ospedaletto XIX 324 & US-NYp *MS & US-Wc M1500.H35 D43 (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.4055 & B-Bc 4110 & 4129 & 4133 & 4168 & 5175 & 5176 & D-W Codex Guelferbytanus 118 mus.hs. (Se)

²¹⁴ D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Mth & PL-Wu & S-Skma (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.1044 & F-Pn D.5947 (S), D-W Mus. Ms. 118 & Mus. Ms. 125 & I-Bc FF 244 (1) (Se)

²¹⁵ CDN-Lu & GB-Lbl & I-Mb (L), B-Bc 17220 (Se)

²¹⁶ I-PL, Pagano (L)

²¹⁷ I-Bc Lo.489 (L)

²¹⁸ F-Pn 8-YTH-51832 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc ML48.A5v.10 (L), I-LDE & I-Ma & I-RVI (Lc)

²¹⁹ I-LDE & I-Ma & I-RVI (L)

²²⁰ GB-Lbl & I-Mc (S)

²²¹ I-Bc Lo.360 & F-FAN (L)

²²² I-Rsc (L)

ADOLFATI (Venice, 1747²²⁵)
 CHIARINI (Brescia, 1748²²⁶; Cremona, 1756²²⁷)
 ADOLFATI? (Genoa, 1748²²⁸)
 BERTONI (Venice, 1748²²⁹)
 RISTORI (Dresden, 1748) = doubtful
 JOMMELLI, WAGENSEIL (Vienna, 1749²³⁰)
 TERRADELLAS (as *Didone*, Turin, 1750²³¹)
 PAMPANI (Vicenza, 1751)
 I. FIORILLO (Brunswick, 1751²³²)
 MANNA (Venice, 1751²³³)
 PEREZ (as *La Didone*, Genoa, 1751²³⁴; Reggio, 1752²³⁵; Lisbon, 1753²³⁶; Mantua, 1755²³⁷; Faenza, 1757²³⁸; as *Didone*, Lisbon, 1765²³⁹; Turin, 1779²⁴⁰)
 ZIGLIOLI (Livorno, 1752²⁴¹)
 BONNO (Vienna, 1752) = unperformed
 MAZZONI (Bologna, 1752²⁴²; Prague, 1761²⁴³)
 B. GALUPPI (Madrid, 1752²⁴⁴)
 B. GALUPPI a.o. (Florence, 1753²⁴⁵)
 SCOLARI (Barcelona, 1753²⁴⁶; Ferrara, 1763)
 ? (Pavia, 1753²⁴⁷)
 HASSE, C.H. GRAUN (Berlin, 1752²⁴⁸; Berlin, 1769²⁴⁹; Berlin, 1780 = unperformed)
 V. CIAMPI, LAMPUGNANI (as *Didone*, London, 1754²⁵⁰)
 CAPUTI (? , 1754) = doubtful
 FIORONI (Milan, 1755²⁵¹; Milan, 1759²⁵²)
 ? (Verona, 1755²⁵³)
 ? (Lucca, 1755²⁵⁴)

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- ²²³ B-Bc 19904 & I-Fc & I-Rn & I-Vgc (L), I-Mc & I-Nc (S)
²²⁴ D-Tu & US-Wc Schatz 4854-5 (L)
²²⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-52346 & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 57 (L)
²²⁶ I-Ma & I-Vc & US-BEm (L)
²²⁷ I-Rsc (L)
²²⁸ F-Pn 8-YTH-50189 (L)
²²⁹ I-Fm & I-Rsc & I-Vnm (L), I-PAc (Se)
²³⁰ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17948 & F-Pn 16-YD-509 & GB-Cfm (S)
²³¹ F-Pn FB-6901 & I-Rc & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Tci L.O.135 & I-Tn F.XIII.305(3) & I-T,Strona & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 10285 & ML.A5 v. 4 (L), I-Rsc (Se)
²³² D-HV1 & US-Wc Schatz 3200 (L), D-Wa (S)
²³³ I-Fm & I-Ria & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 5901 (L), D-Hs & D-MÜs (S)
²³⁴ GB-Lbl (S), B-Bc 4603-4 & 5177-9 (Se)
²³⁵ D-Mbs & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Rsc & I-REm (L)
²³⁶ I-PAc & I-Rsc & P-Ln L5793 P(3) (L), I-Vnm Codd. It. IV-214-6 / 9785-7 (S)
²³⁷ I-MAc (L)
²³⁸ I-FZc (L)
²³⁹ I-Rsc & P-Ln (L)
²⁴⁰ CDN-Lu (S)
²⁴¹ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.4313 (L)
²⁴² I-Bc Lo.3032 & Lo.9724 (L)
²⁴³ A-Wn 407379-A. Mus & CZ-Bu & CZ-Pnm & CZ-Pu (L)
²⁴⁴ I-Tn Ris.17.11 (L), METASTASIO 2002-4 (Lc), P-La 44-VI-69 & US-Wc (S), F-Pn D-4300 (2) (Se)
²⁴⁵ GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.6210 & I-Fc (L)
²⁴⁶ I-Bc Lo.6211 (L)
²⁴⁷ I-LDE (L)
²⁴⁸ D-Bsb Xq 7472 & D-Dl & D-MHrm & GB-Lbl (L), B-Bc 4065 (Se)
²⁴⁹ US-Wc Schatz 4536 (L)
²⁵⁰ GB-Lbl (L), B-Bc 5171-4 (Se)
²⁵¹ B-Bc 19905 & I-Bc Lo.1738 & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb Racc. dramm. 6076/4 & I-Rn & US-Wc Schatz 3206 (L)
²⁵² I-LDE (L)
²⁵³ I-Rsc (L)

BERNASCONI (Munich, 1756²⁵⁵; Munich, 1760²⁵⁶)
 TRAETTA (Venice, 1757²⁵⁷; Pavia, 1759²⁵⁸; Milan, 1763²⁵⁹; Naples, 1764²⁶⁰)
 ZOPPIS, ARAIA (St Petersburg, 1758²⁶¹)
 AULETTA, BRUNETTI a.o. (Florence, 1759²⁶²)
 BRUNETTI (Siena, 1759²⁶³)
 A. FERRANDINI (Lucca, 1760²⁶⁴)
 V.A. (Verona, 1760²⁶⁵)
 PEREZ, B. GALUPPI (London, 1761²⁶⁶)
 SARTI / LORENZI (Copenhagen, 1762²⁶⁷; Copenhagen, 1771²⁶⁸; as *La Didone*, Padua, 1782²⁶⁹;
 Eszterháza, 1784²⁷⁰; Lucca, 1786²⁷¹; Mantua, 1793²⁷²)
 JOMMELLI (Stuttgart, 1763²⁷³; Stuttgart, 1777²⁷⁴; Stuttgart, 1780²⁷⁵; Stuttgart, 1782²⁷⁶)
 SCOLARI (Ferrara, 1763²⁷⁷)
 B. GALUPPI (Venice, 1764²⁷⁸; St Petersburg, 1766²⁷⁹)
 TRAETTA, G.F. DE MAJO (Naples, 1764²⁸⁰)
 SCHWANENBERGER (Brunswick, 1765²⁸¹)
 ? (Pavia, 1767²⁸²)
 ? (Kassel, 1768²⁸³)
 BORONI (as *La Didone*, Prague, 1768²⁸⁴)
 CELONIAT, JOMMELLI / VERAZI (Milan, 1769²⁸⁵)
 G.F. DE MAJO (Venice, 1769²⁸⁶)
 V.A. (Lucca, 1770²⁸⁷)
 INSANGUINE (Naples, 1770²⁸⁸; Caserta, 1772²⁸⁹)

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- ²⁵⁴ I-Tn MV.L.851 (L)
²⁵⁵ I-Vgc (L), D-Mbs (S)
²⁵⁶ D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Mbs & D-MHrm & US-Wc Schatz 858 (L)
²⁵⁷ I-Mb & I-Ria & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 10402 (L), P-La & US-Wc (S), B-Bc 4912 & 5194 & D-Bsb (Se)
²⁵⁸ I-LDE (L)
²⁵⁹ I-Bc Lo.5339 & I-Ma & I-Mc Coll. libr. 133 & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L)
²⁶⁰ I-Nc & P-La (S)
²⁶¹ RU-SPsc (L)
²⁶² I-Bc Lo.6212 & I-Fc & I-Fn & I-PS (L), I-Fc (S)
²⁶³ I-Rsc (L)
²⁶⁴ I-Fm (L), P-La (S)
²⁶⁵ I-VEc (L)
²⁶⁶ GB-Lbl & GB-L, Hicke (L), B-Bc 5177-9 & 5441 (Se)
²⁶⁷ IOB & US-Wc Schatz 9432 (L), IOB 84 & DK-Kk & I-Vnm & US-Wc (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.19207 (Se)
²⁶⁸ DK-Ku (L)
²⁶⁹ I-Pci (L), F-Pn & I-Gl & I-Pl & P-La & CDN-Lu (S)
²⁷⁰ CZ-Radenin, Zámecké knihovna & H-Bn (L), CZ-Radenin, Zámecké knihovna & H-Bn (S)
²⁷¹ CDN-Lu & I-FE, Walker & I-L, Arch. di Stato & I-Lg & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc & US-AA & US-AUS (L)
²⁷² CDN-Lu & I-Mac & I-OS (L)
²⁷³ B-Bc 19906 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Sl & F-Pn 8-RA6-219 & I-Bu & US-AA & US-Wc Schatz 4855 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.16488 & D-Bsb Mus. Ms. 11246 (S)
²⁷⁴ D-Sl HB XVII 242 & 735 nr. 4 & F-Pn YD-588 (L), D-Sl (S)
²⁷⁵ B-Bc 19908 (L)
²⁷⁶ D-As & D-Mth & D-MHrm & F-Pn 8-RA6-245 (L)
²⁷⁷ I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 9806 (L)
²⁷⁸ I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-V, Levi & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3503 (L), I-Nc & P-La 44-VI-66a68 (S), B-Bc 2097 (Se)
²⁷⁹ RU-SPsc & SF-Hy (L), RU-SPtob & I-Nc (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.2405 (Se)
²⁸⁰ US-NYp (L), I-Nc (Se)
²⁸¹ D-W Mus. Ms. 241 (Se)
²⁸² I-Mcom (L)
²⁸³ D-BFb & D-Ful (L)
²⁸⁴ CZ-Pu (L)
²⁸⁵ I-Bc Lo.947 & I-Fc & I-Ms Mus.C.LXIII 1 & I-Rsc (L), F-Pn D-1907-9 & I-Tf & P-La (S)
²⁸⁶ I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 5855 (L), D-MH & P-La (S)
²⁸⁷ I-Baf (L)

N. PICCINNI (Rome, 1770²⁹⁰)
 V.A. (Bologna, 1772²⁹¹)
 MORTELLARI (Florence, 1772²⁹²)
 COLLA (as *Didone*, Turin, 1773²⁹³)
 SACCHINI a.o. (London, 1775²⁹⁴)
 ANFOSSI (Venice, 1775²⁹⁵; Lucca, 1775²⁹⁶; Warsaw, 1776²⁹⁷)
 MOMBELLI (Crescentino, 1776)
 ANFOSSI a.o. (Cremona, 1776²⁹⁸)
 SCHUSTER (Naples, 1776²⁹⁹; Venice, 1779³⁰⁰)
 V.A. (Florence, 1778³⁰¹)
 J. HAYDN a.o. (Eszterháza, 1778)
 PEREZ a.o. (as *Didone*, Genoa, 1778³⁰²)
 HOLZBAUER (as *La morte di Didone*, Mannheim, 1779³⁰³)
 OTTANI (as *La Didone*, Forli, 1779³⁰⁴)
 V.A. (Kassel, 1780³⁰⁵)
 HOLZBAUER / KLEIN (as *Der Tod der Dido*, Mannheim, 1780³⁰⁶; as *Die Zerstörung Karthagos*, Mannheim, 1784)
 ASTARITA (Pressburg, 1780³⁰⁷)
 F. ZANETTI (Perugia, 1781³⁰⁸)
 ? (Pavia, 1782³⁰⁹)
 PRATI (Munich, 1783) = doubtful
 PITICCHIO (Brunswick, 1784³¹⁰)
 ANDREOZZI (St Petersburg, 1784³¹¹)
 P.A. GUGLIELMI (as *Didone*, Venice, 1785) = doubtful
 V.A. (Bergamo, 1786³¹²; Bergamo, 1791³¹³)
 V.A. (Florence, 1786³¹⁴)
 GAZZANIGA, MORTELLARI, N. PICCINNI, SACCHINI a.o. (as *Didone*, London, 1786³¹⁵)
 V.A. (Genoa, 1787³¹⁶)

²⁸⁸ B-Bc 4221 (Se), I-Nc & P-La (S), I-Nc (Se)

²⁸⁹ B-Bc 27546 (L)

²⁹⁰ F-Pn YD-5393 & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vgc (L), I-Mc & I-Nc & I-Rvat & P-La & US-Wc (S)

²⁹¹ CDN-Tu & I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.6214 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L)

²⁹² I-Bc Lo.6213 & I-Fc (L), B-Bc 4432 & GB-Lbl (Se)

²⁹³ D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.1246 & I-Fm & I-Rsc & I-T, Arch.Storico & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T, Provinciale & I-T, Strona & I-Vgc Rolandi 4144 & US-Wc Schatz 2107 (L), I-Tf & P-La (S), D-MH & I-Gl (Se)

²⁹⁴ D-Gs & GB-Lbl & US-Wc Schatz 11231 (L), B-Bc 4768 & 4770 (Se)

²⁹⁵ I-Bc Lo.206 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L), F-Pn D. 117-8 & P-La (S), F-Pn D. 222 (2-4) (Se)

²⁹⁶ I-Fc & I-Vgc 366 & US-Wc Schatz 233 (L)

²⁹⁷ PL-Kl & PL-Wu (L)

²⁹⁸ B-Bc 19907 & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L)

²⁹⁹ CDN-Tu & I-Mc & US-NYp (L), I-Nc (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.10746 & 10748 & B-Bc XY 8289 / 1781 & 4881 & 8146 & B-Br Fétis 2624 MS II 4045 (Se)

³⁰⁰ F-Pn 8-YTH-51562 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L)

³⁰¹ I-Bc Lo.6215 & I-Fc (L)

³⁰² US-NYp (L)

³⁰³ D-Bsb (S)

³⁰⁴ I-Bc Lo.3610 & US-Wc Schatz 7364 (L), I-Tf (S)

³⁰⁵ B-Br Fétis 4489 A V, 27 (L)

³⁰⁶ US-Wc Schatz 4772 (Lc), US-Wc (S)

³⁰⁷ A-Wn Mus.Hs.16528 & 16538 & CDN-Lu (S)

³⁰⁸ D-Mbs & I-Fc & I-PEc & I-PE, S. Filippo Neri & US-Wc ML48.A5v.5 (L)

³⁰⁹ US-CA (L)

³¹⁰ I-Bc Lo.4262 & D-BS (L), D-Wa (S)

³¹¹ CDN-Lu & D-Wa (S)

³¹² CDN-Lu & I-Vcg (L)

³¹³ CDN-Tu & CDN-Lu & I-BGc & I-Fc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc (L)

³¹⁴ CDN-Lu & I-Bc Lo.6216 & I-Fc (L)

³¹⁵ B-Bc 5442 (Se)

GAZZANIGA (as *La Didone*, Vicenza, 1787³¹⁷)
 ANFOSSI (Naples, 1788³¹⁸)
 V.A. (Venice, 1790³¹⁹)
 SARTI a.o. (Padua, 1791³²⁰)
 PAISIELLO, SARTI (Madrid, 1792³²¹)
 S. STORACE / HOARE (as *Dido, queen of Carthage*, London, 1792)
 PAISIELLO (Naples, 1794³²²; as *La Didone*, Florence, 1795³²³; Verona, 1796³²⁴; St Petersburg, 1796³²⁵; as *La Didone*, London, 1799³²⁶)
 L. KOZELUCH (Vienna, 1795) = lost
 V. FEDERICI (London, 1796) = doubtful
 MARINO / CARAVITA (Lisbon, 1799³²⁷)

RISTORI / MARIA ANTONIA WALPURGIS *Didone abbandonata* (Dresden, 1748³²⁸)

? / BOCELLA *L'Ombra di Didone* (also *La conquista di Cartagine*, Modena, 1765³²⁹)

BRACCI / BALDANZA *Il trionfo della gloria* (Palermo, 1766³³⁰)

HOOK / BRIDGES *Dido* (London, 1771³³¹)

J. HAYDN / BADER *Dido* (Eszterháza, 1776³³²; Eszterháza, 1778)

MERICOURT / ? *Didon heureuse* (Paris, 1776)

N. PICCINNI / MARMONTEL *Didon* (Fontainebleau, 1783³³³; Paris, 1783³³⁴; Moscow, 1787)

N. PICCINNI / HERKLOTS (as *Dido*, Berlin, 1799³³⁵)

KRAUS / KELLGREN after GUSTAVUS III, LE FRANC DE POMPIGNAN *Aeneas i Carthago, eller Dido och Aeneas* (Stockholm, 1799³³⁶)

³¹⁶ CDN-Lu & I-Gu & I-Rsc & I-S.Margherita, Comunale & I-T, Strona & I-Vnm & US-NYp (L)

³¹⁷ CDN-Lu & I-Vcg & I-VIb (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.10382 (Se)

³¹⁸ CDN-Tu & F-Pn YD-5466 & I-L, Arch. di Stato & I-Nc & I-Ra & I-Rsc & US-NYp (L), I-Nc (S)

³¹⁹ A-Wmi & CDN-Lu & F-Pn 8-YTH-51134 & 8-YTH-51894 & I-Mb & I-Vcg (L)

³²⁰ CDN-Lu & I-Pci & I-Vgc (L)

³²¹ CDN-Lu & I-Nc Rari 15.10/4 (L)

³²² B-Bc 19909 & CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.3932 & I-Fm Melodrammi.2337.7 & I-Nc Rari 10.3.2/5 & I-Nn & I-Ra & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L), A-Wgm & D-Bsb & F-Pn & GB-Lbl & I-Nc 16.8.36-37 & I-Rsc A-Ms. 377-9 & I-Vnm 10183-4 & US-Bp (S), I-Nc Arie 113A(10) & Arie 464 & Arie 467.A.2 & Arie 471 & Arie 683.10 & I-Vnm 11336 (Se)

³²³ GB-Lbl & US-Wc Schatz 7699 (L), I-Mc Nosedà O 4.7 (Se)

³²⁴ CDN-Lu & I-Vcg Verona 57.F.73 & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & I-VEc (L)

³²⁵ RU-SPtob (S)

³²⁶ GB-Lbl (L), Kelly (Se)

³²⁷ I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 5968 (L)

³²⁸ D-DI (S)

³²⁹ I-Bca & I-Vgc (L)

³³⁰ I-Rsc (L)

³³¹ US-Wc Longe 32 (L)

³³² HW (Se)

³³³ F-Pn (L), B-Br Fétis 2686 C & B-Br 7C 1153 Mus. & B-Bc 1899 & D-Mbs & F-Pn A-300 (A 1-3) & F-Po & I-Nc (S)

³³⁴ US-Wc Schatz 8088 (L)

³³⁵ US-Wc Schatz 8089 (L)

³³⁶ S-Skma & S-St (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17639 (Se)

MOROLIN / ? *Le seconde nozze di Didone* (Venice, 1799³³⁷)

Diomedes (see also: Heracles)

SABADINI / AURELI *Diomede punito da Alcide* (Piacenza, 1691³³⁸)
ALBINONI (Venice, 1701³³⁹)

BERTIN DE LA DOUE / PELLEGRIN *Diomède* (Paris, 1710³⁴⁰)
SCHWEITZELSPERGER / DIETRICH (as *Diomedes*, Durlach, 1717)
STOELZEL / STOELZEL (as *Diomedes*, Bayreuth, 1718)

NOVI / NOVI *Il Diomede* (Bologna, 1716³⁴¹)

PAGANELLI / ? *Diomede* (Udine, 1733)

Dionysus (see also: Apollo, Ariadne, Midas)

STEFFANI / MAURO *Bacchanali* (Hanover, 1695³⁴²)

BADIA / CUPEDA *Bacco, vincitore dell'India* (Vienna, 1697³⁴³)

GILLIER / ? *Les plaisirs de l'amour et de Bacchus* (Paris, 1697³⁴⁴)

J.P. KRIEGER a.o. / ? *Bacchus* (Weissenfels, 1700) = doubtful

? / ? *Il satiro deluso* (Venice, 1701)

F.B. CONTI / PARIATI *I satiri in Arcadia* (Vienna, 1714³⁴⁵; as *Chloris und Thyrsis*, Vienna, 1721)

DUPLESSIS jr. / MASSIP *Les fêtes nouvelles* (also *Le triomphe de l'Amour sur Bacchus*, Paris, 1734)

? / ? *Le nozze di Bacco* (Madrid, 1739³⁴⁶)

? / ? *Serenata festevole tra Bacco, Diana ed il Reno* (Bonn, 1767³⁴⁷)

³³⁷ I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L)

³³⁸ I-Bc Lo.4905 & I-MOe & I-PAc & US-Wc Schatz 9194 (L), I-MOe (Se)

³³⁹ D-Bsb & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 14 (13) & F-Pn 8-YTH-50983 & I-Bc Lo.51 & I-CMbc & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 481 & US-Wc Schatz 107 (L)

³⁴⁰ F-Pn YF-709 & YF-710 & GD-38 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 & I-Vgc Rolandi 1758 (Lc), Ballard 1710 (S)

³⁴¹ I-Bc Lo.3506 (L)

³⁴² GB-Lbl (L & S)

³⁴³ A-Wn 792410-B. 10 The & CZ-Pu & US-Wc (L)

³⁴⁴ F-Pn (S)

³⁴⁵ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17190-1 (S)

³⁴⁶ B-Bc 21188 (L)

Dioscouri (see also: Zeus)

RAMEAU / GENTIL-BERNARD *Castor et Pollux* (Paris, 1737³⁴⁸; Paris, 1754³⁴⁹; Paris, 1757³⁵⁰; Paris, 1763³⁵¹; Paris, 1764³⁵²; Paris, 1770³⁵³; Paris, 1772³⁵⁴; Paris, 1775³⁵⁵; Paris, 1777³⁵⁶; Paris, 1778³⁵⁷; Paris, 1782³⁵⁸; Paris, 1795³⁵⁹; Paris, 1796³⁶⁰)

V.A. / RICCOBONI, ROMAGNESI (parody, Paris, 1737³⁶¹)

? / ? (Brussels, 1754³⁶²)

RAMEAU / FRUGONI (as *Castore e Polluce*, Parma, 1758³⁶³)

TRAETTA / FRUGONI (as *I Tindaridi*, Parma, 1760³⁶⁴; Florence, 1768³⁶⁵; Parma, 1769³⁶⁶)

F. BIANCHI / FRUGONI (as *Castore e Polluce*, Florence, 1779³⁶⁷; Padua, 1780³⁶⁸)

TOZZI? / FRUGONI (as *I due gemelli Castore e Polluce*, Barcelona, 1783³⁶⁹)

SARTI / MORETTI (as *Castore e Polluce*, St Petersburg, 1786³⁷⁰)

VOGLER / FRUGONI (as *Castore e Polluce*, Munich, 1787³⁷¹; Munich, 1788³⁷²; Prague, 1797³⁷³)

ZINGARELLI / FRUGONI (as *Castore e Polluce*, ?, 1790)

CANDEILLE, RAMEAU (Paris, 1791³⁷⁴)

³⁴⁷ D-KNu (L)

³⁴⁸ F-Pn 8-RO-1207 & GD-44 & GD-19751 & RES-YF-890 & RES-YF-1926 & RES-YF-1927 & RES-YF-1928 & US-Wc ML50.2.C29R2 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), Duval 1737 & F-A & F-AG & F-AIXc & F-CLO & F-Dc & F-Mc & F-Nac & F-Pa & F-Pn & F-Po & F-TLm & GB-Cfm & I-Baf & US-I (S)

³⁴⁹ F-Pn 8-RO-1208 & GD-49 & RES-YF-964 & RES-YF-1929 (L), Hue 1754 & F-Pc (S)

³⁵⁰ F-Pn 8-RO-4111 (L)

³⁵¹ F-Pn 8-BL-13709 (2, 4) & 8-RA3-220 (5) & 8-RO-4112 & 8-YTH-2766bis & 8-YTH-2767 & 8-YTH-2768 & GD-19752 & RES-8-BL-13710 (1, 4) & RES-YF-4475 (5) & YF-7914 (L)

³⁵² F-Pn 8-RO-1209 & GD-49 & RES-YF-948 & RES-YF-1930 & US-Wc Schatz 8590 (L)

³⁵³ F-Pn 8-BL-13709 (7, 2) & 8-BL-13710 (5, 2) & 8-RA3-245 (1, 3) & 8-RO-4113 & 8-YTH-2771 & 8-YTH-22369 & GD-73 & GD-19753 & RES-YF-4483 (3) & YF-7865 & YF-7940 (L)

³⁵⁴ F-Pn 4-BL-3738 & 8-RO-1210 & RES-YF-850 & RES-YF-1074 & RES-YF-1326 & RES-YF-1931 (L)

³⁵⁵ F-Pn 8-RO-4114 (L)

³⁵⁶ F-Pn 8-RA3-272 & 8-YTH-2769 & 8-YTH-2770 & 8-YTH-2772 & 8-YTH-23230 & YF-8254 (L)

³⁵⁷ F-Pn 8-RO-1211 & RES-YF-1924 (L)

³⁵⁸ US-Wc ML48.M2L (L)

³⁵⁹ F-Pn GD-19754 (L)

³⁶⁰ F-Pn 8-RO-4116 & US-Wc Schatz 8586 & 11751 (L)

³⁶¹ F-Pn (L)

³⁶² US-Wc ML48.P2 (L)

³⁶³ I-Bc Lo.4516 & I-CRg & I-Ma & I-PAc & US-Wc Schatz 8589 (L)

³⁶⁴ I-Bc Lo.5335 & I-CRg & I-Mr & I-MOe & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L), RUSSO 2005 (Lc), A-Wn

Mus.Hs.17859-60 & US-Wc (S)

³⁶⁵ D-Mbs & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Lg & I-PAc & US-CA & US-Wc (L)

³⁶⁶ I-Bc Lo.5335 (L)

³⁶⁷ I-Bc Lo.528 & I-Bca & I-Fc & I-Fn & I-Mr & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L), I-Pl & P-La (S)

³⁶⁸ B-Br Fétis 4488 A XI/3 & I-Mr & I-Pci & I-P, Saggiori & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vcg (L)

³⁶⁹ US-CA (L)

³⁷⁰ RU-SPsc & RU-SPtob (L), D-Hs & F-Pn & I-Fc & I-Mc & I-Nc & RU-SPtob (S)

³⁷¹ D-KA & D-Mbs (L)

³⁷² D-Mbs & D-Mth & US-Wc Schatz 10800 (L)

³⁷³ CZ-Pu (L)

³⁷⁴ F-Pn 8-RO-1374 & GD-73 & RES-YF-1925 (L), F-Po (S)

Echo (see: Narcissus, Pan)

Egeria (see also: Artemis)

P.P. BENCINI / S. STAMPIGLIA *Componimento: Diana, Egeria, Irene* (Rome, 1721¹)

G. DE MAJO / TORRIANI *Egeria* (Naples, 1732²)

HASSE / METASTASIO *Egeria* (Vienna, 1764³)
TANARI (as *L'Egeria*, Bologna, 1800⁴)

Electra (see also: Clytemnestra, Iphigenia, Orestes)

CANNABICH / DALBERG *Elektra* (Mannheim, 1781⁵)

LE MOYNE / GUILLARD *Electre* (Paris, 1782⁶)

HAEFFNER / RISTELL *Electra* (Drottningholm, 1787⁷)

GRETRY / THILORIER after EURIPIDES *Electre* (Paris, 1781-2) = unperformed

? / ROCHEFORT *Electre* (Versailles, 1783) = doubtful

Endymion (see also: Artemis, Callisto)

- / A. GUIDI, CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN *L'Endimione* (Rome, 1691⁸)

MAGNI, GRIFFINI / LEMENE *Endimione* (Lodi, 1692⁹)

MAGNI, GRIFFINI? (Mantua, 1698¹⁰)

G. BONONCINI? (Modena, 1698¹¹)

MAGNI, GRIFFINI? / D' AVERARA (Turin, 1699¹²)

SCHUERMANN (also *Endymion*, Salzthal, 1700¹³; Wolfenbüttel, c. 1700¹⁴; Salzthal, 1717?¹⁵;

¹ I-Vgc Rolandi 1575 (L)

² I-Fm (L)

³ A-Wn & A-Wst & CZ-Pu & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Rsc & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vc & I-Vgc (L), METASTASIO 1953-65 & I-Fm & I-MAC & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-AUS (Lc), B-Bc 2171 & 3271 & I-Mc Part.Tr.ms.151 & A-Wn Mus.Hs.18280 & I-MOe Mus. F546 & US-Wc M1500.H35 E4 (S)

⁴ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.5272 & Lo.7749 & I-Bca & I-Bu (L)

⁵ US-Wc Schatz 1574 (L), D-DS & GOB X (S)

⁶ F-Pn 8-RO-1327 & GD-41519 & RES-YF-1371 & RES-YF-1372 & RES-YF-2026 (L), Le Duc 1782 (S)

⁷ S-St (S)

⁸ GUIDI 1981 & F-Pn 8-BL-8246 (10, 2) & 8-RE-3911 & 8-RE-3911 & 8-RE-4196 & YD-5255 & I-Bc Lo.6290 & I-Fm Melodrammi 2251/11 I-Ms & I-Rn & I-Vgc (Lc)

⁹ I-Bc Lo.2775 & I-Fm & I-LOcl & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc & I-SA (L), & I-LDE (L2), LEMENE 1692 & F-Pn 8-BL-8425 & I-FAN & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-MAC & I-PAc & I-Vnm (Lc)

¹⁰ I-Bc Lo.6291 & I-Mb & I-Rc (L)

¹¹ I-Bc Lo.6292 & I-MOe (L)

¹² I-Tci & I-Tn & I-Vgc (L)

- as *Endimione*, Wolfenbüttel, 1720¹⁶)
 G. BONONCINI, THALMAN, JOSEPH I / BERNARDONI (Vienna, 1706¹⁷; Vienna, 1720)
 ? (Cremona, 1709¹⁸)
 KEISER / KOENIG (as *Die entdeckte Verstellung, oder Die geheime Liebe der Diana*, Hamburg, 1712¹⁹)
 A. BONONCINI (Naples, 1721²⁰)
 KEISER, G. BONONCINI / KOENIG (as *Der sich rächende Cupido*, Hamburg, 1724²¹)
 G.B. MANCINI (Bologna, 1729²²)
- D. PURCELL / D'URFEY *Cinthia and Endymion: or, the Loves of the Deities* (London, 1696²³; London, 1697²⁴)
- PHILIDOR / ? *Diane et Endymion* (Versailles, 1698²⁵)
- KEISER / NOTHNAGEL *Der gedemüthigte Endymion* (Hamburg, 1700²⁶; *Der siegende Phaeton*, Hamburg 1702²⁷)
- ? / ? *Diana und Endymion* (Weissenfels, 1703) = doubtful
- A. SCARLATTI / ? *Endimione e Cintia* (Rome, 1705²⁸)
- BONIVENTI / MAZZARI** *L'Endimione* (Venice, 1709²⁹)
 BIONI (Wroclaw, 1727³⁰)
- DESMARETS / SAINTONGE *Diane et Endymion* (Nancy, 1711)
- LEO / PAPIS? *Diana amante* (Naples, 1717³¹)
- ? / ? *Endymion* (Koburg-Meiningen, 1717)
 ? (Leipzig, 1719)
- F. GASPARINI / PARIATI *L'oracolo del fato* (Barcelona, 1709³²; Vienna, 1719³³)

¹³ D-HV & D-W Textb. 291 & Textb. Sammelbd 3 (4) (L) & D-W, Landesbibliothek (L)

¹⁴ D-W Textb. 291.1 (L)

¹⁵ D-HV (L)

¹⁶ D-BS & D-HV1 & D-W, Landesbibliothek (L), D-BS & D-HV1 & D-W Textb. 645 (Lc)

¹⁷ A-Wn & B-Gu A 1163/8 & D-DO & D-Ju & D-SAAu & I-Gu & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17685 & US-Wc (S), B-Bc 15138 & 15155 & H-Bb 1.577b (Se)

¹⁸ I-Bc Lo.6293 (L)

¹⁹ A-Wn 625292-B. The & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5224-no.28 & US-Wc Schatz 5088 (L), D-Bsb & D-Bsb & D-SW1 (Se)

²⁰ B-Bc 20112 & I-Bc Lo.624 & I-Nn & I-Rn (L), I-Mgallini & I-Nc Cantate 69 & I-Rc & PL-Wu (Se)

²¹ B-Br Féris 4520 AVII,9 & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5225-no.37 & 4" Yp 5230-no.9 & US-Wc Schatz 5129 (L), D-Bsb (S)

²² GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.6295 & I-Bu & I-Rn (L)

²³ GB-Lbl (L)

²⁴ US-Wc Longe 224 (L)

²⁵ F-Pn (S)

²⁶ B-Br Féris 4520 A III,15 (L)

²⁷ A-Wn 4349-B. Mus & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5223-no.3 (L)

²⁸ B-Bc & D-MŮs SANT Hs 3927 (S)

²⁹ F-Pn 8-YTH-50885 & 8-YTH-51762 & I-Bc Lo.6294 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-NOVc & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-CA & US-LAum n. 574 & US-Wc Schatz 1190 (L)

³⁰ US-Wc Schatz 1043 (L)

³¹ B-Bc 19898 (L), I-Nc (S)

³² A-Wn Mus.Hs.17253 (S)

GILLIER / D'ORNEVAL, FUZELIER, LESAGE after DOMINIQUE *Arlequin Endymion* (Paris, 1721³⁴)

SARRO? / METASTASIO *Endimione* (Naples, 1721³⁵)

ALBERTI (Venice, 1737³⁶)

PESCETTI (as *Diana e Endimione*, London, 1739³⁷)

TREU? (Hirschberg, 1741)

BERNASCONI (Venice, 1742³⁸)

HASSE (Naples?, 1743 = doubtful; Dresden, 1750-60³⁹)

? / CALDARI (as *Le gare fra gli dei*, Florence, 1746⁴⁰)

MELE (as *Endimione e Diana*, Madrid, 1749)

N. CONTI / ? (Naples, 1752⁴¹)

I. FIORILLO (Brunswick, 1754⁴²; as *Diana ed Endimione*, Kassel, 1763⁴³)

HERRANDO? (as *Indimión y Diana*, Madrid, 1755)

SABATINI (Dublin, 1758⁴⁴)

JOMELLI (as *L'Endimione, ovvero Il trionfo d'Amore*, Stuttgart, 1759⁴⁵; as *L'Endimione*, Queluz, 1780⁴⁶)

CONFORTO (Madrid, 1764)

SIGISMONDO (Naples, 1764 or 1765⁴⁷; Vienna, 1767)

BERNASCONI / GIUNTI (Munich, 1766⁴⁸)

A. RUGARLI (Parma, 1769⁴⁹)

BERNASCONI? (Koblenz, 1769⁵⁰)

J.C. BACH, JOMELLI / VERAZI (Mannheim, 1770⁵¹; Mannheim, 1774⁵²)

J.C. BACH / BOTTARELLI (London, 1772⁵³)

M. HAYDN (Grosswardein, 1773/8?)

SCHMITTBAUER (Karlsruhe, 1774⁵⁴)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / SERIO (also *Diana amante*, Naples, 1781⁵⁵)

CARVALHO / MARTINELLI (Lisbon, 1783⁵⁶)

ZINGARELLI (as *Il trionfo d'Amore*, c. 1785)

G. RUGARLI (Parma, 1795)

? / STROMBECK (as *Diana und Endymion*, Brunswick, 1795⁵⁷)

³³ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17278 (S)

³⁴ B-Br Faber 1567 IV Mus. (L), FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

³⁵ METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc), I-Mb & I-Rn (Lc)

³⁶ I-Mb & I-Rsc (L)

³⁷ D-Hs M A/667 (S)

³⁸ I-Mb & I-Pac & I-RVI & I-Vcg S. Gio. Grisostomo 157 & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 869 (L)

³⁹ D-Dl 2.477-L-5 (S)

⁴⁰ I-Bc Lo.6495 (L)

⁴¹ I-Nc & I-Nn (L)

⁴² D-Kl & D-Wa 46 Alt 79 (S)

⁴³ D-Dl & D-Ful & D-Kl (L)

⁴⁴ GB-Lbl (L), US-LAuc (L2)

⁴⁵ D-Sha A21 Bü. 637 & D-Tu & US-Wc Schatz 4856 (L), D-Sl HB XVII 735 nr. 5 & 802 nr. 5 & D-Hs SANT Hs 2259 & I-Nc & S-Skma & US-Wc (Se)

⁴⁶ BR-Rn & I-Rsc & P-C & US-Wc Schatz 4895 (L), P-La 44-X-6/7 (S)

⁴⁷ I-Nc (S)

⁴⁸ D-Mbs & F-Pn 8-BL-8426 (L), D-SWI & D-MÜs (Se)

⁴⁹ I-Bc Lo.4836 & I-Pac & I-Rsc (L)

⁵⁰ F-Pn 8-YTH-48023 (L)

⁵¹ JCBACH & D-HEu (L)

⁵² JCBACH & D-MHav & D-MHrm & D-W Lo Sammelbd 94 (8) (L), JCBACH (S), F-Pn D-635 (12) (Se)

⁵³ JCBACH & F-Pn YD-5471 (1) (L), JCBACH (S)

⁵⁴ D-FRu (L)

⁵⁵ CDN-Tu & I-FP,Fanan & US-BEm (L), D-SWI 2235 & F-Pn D. 5103 & X. 909 (1-2) (S), B-Bc 4069-88 & D-Rtt Guglielmi 1/I & D-WEY 602 (Se)

⁵⁶ BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC5553 & I-Pc & P-Ln L.5789 P(6) (L), US-Wc (S)

⁵⁷ D-W Lo 7450 & US-Wc Schatz 11604 (L)

? (Rovigo, ?⁵⁸)

? / ? *Amore sul monte ovvero Gli amori di Diana e d'Endimione nel Monte Lamo di Paria* (Mantua, 1722⁵⁹)

? / ? *La Luna et Endimione* (Perugia, 1724⁶⁰)

COLLIN DE BLAMONT / FONTENELLE *Endymion* (Paris, 1731⁶¹)

COLLIN DE BLAMONT / FUZELIER (as *Les amants transis*, Paris, 1731) = unperformed?

STOELZEL / STOELZEL *Endymion* (Gotha, 1740⁶²)

SBACCHI / BALDANZA *L'Endimione* (Palermo, 1755⁶³)

N. PICCINNI, ESPIC / LIROU *Diane et Endymion* (Paris, 1784⁶⁴)

LANCTIN / H. DE C. *Diane jalouse, ou Le triomphe de l'amour* (Bordeaux, 1784)

MARTIN Y SOLER / L. DA PONTE *L'Arbore di Diana* (Vienna, 1787⁶⁵; Milan, 1788⁶⁶; Prague, 1788⁶⁷; Venice, 1788⁶⁸; Brunswick, 1789⁶⁹; Eszterháza, 1789⁷⁰; Trieste, 1789⁷¹; St Petersburg, 1789⁷²; Ljubljana, 1790; Bologna, 1792⁷³; Pisa, 1792⁷⁴; Bonn, 1796; London, 1797⁷⁵)

MARTIN Y SOLER / NEEFE (as *Der Baum der Diana*, Mainz, 1788⁷⁶; Vienna, 1788; Berlin, 1789; Vienna, 1792; Weimar, 1793; Oels, 1795⁷⁷)

REY / ? *Diane et Endymion* (Paris, 1791)

⁵⁸ I-Mb & I-Rn (Lc?)

⁵⁹ B-Bc 19163 (L)

⁶⁰ I-PE,S.Filippo Neri & I-Rig & I-Rsc (L)

⁶¹ F-Pn GD-43 & GD-9649 & RES-YF-733 & RES-YF-2040 & YF-712 & US-Wc Schatz 1066 & ML48.R4 (L), F-Pc (S)

⁶² D-Gs (L)

⁶³ I-PLcom (L)

⁶⁴ D-SW1 (Se)

⁶⁵ A-Wn 32548-A. Mus & 641432-A. 15,8 Mus & US-Wc Schatz 6000 (L), ICCMU 2001 & A-Ee & A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17795 & B-Bc & B-Br Fétis 2597 MS II 4019 & D-Bsb & D-Dl & D-DO & D-Ds & D-SWth & F-Pc & I-Fc A.V.126-131 & D.I.358-359 & I-Gl & I-Tf & IRL-Dtc & P-La & US-NYp & US-R & US-Wc (S), Hochleiter 1788 & Patzho 1789 & Michaelsen 1792 (Se)

⁶⁶ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.2875 & I-BRq & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Mcom & I-Ms MUS.M.XXI.2 & I-Pac & I-Rn & I-Rsc & US-BEm & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 5999 (L), US-Eu (Se)

⁶⁷ CZ-Pu & D-DT & PL-Wu (L)

⁶⁸ A-Wmi & F-Pn 8-YTH-51125 & 8-YTH-52179 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.2876 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L)

⁶⁹ D-HV1 & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 4 (1) (L), D-SW1 3544 (S), D-W Mus. Ms. 157 (Se)

⁷⁰ A-Wn (L)

⁷¹ I-TSci & I-Vgc (L)

⁷² RU-SPtob (S)

⁷³ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.2877 & I-Ms & I-Nc & I-Rn & US-AUS (L)

⁷⁴ I-Pac (L)

⁷⁵ I-Vgc (L), GB-Lbl & GB-Lcm (S)

⁷⁶ D-BAR (S)

⁷⁷ US-Wc Schatz 6003 (L)

Eos (see also: Aphrodite, Artemis, Endymion)

TORRI / ? *Gli amori di Titone e d'Aurora* (?, 1691⁷⁸)

PIZZOLO / PRESCIMONO *La gara concorde dell'universo* (Palermo, 1701⁷⁹)

? / ? *Aurora und Hecastes* (Weissenfels, 1704)

KEISER / BREYMANN *Der Morgen des europäischen Glückes, oder Aurora* (Hamburg, 1710⁸⁰)

FUX / PARIATI *Le nozze di Aurora* (Vienna, 1722⁸¹)

? / ? *Cantata: Aurora, Febo, Oreto, Allegrezza* (in *La sacra apoteosi*, Palermo, 1726⁸²)

I.M. CONTI / G.C. PASQUINI *Dialogo trà l'Aurora e il Sole* (Vienna, 1727⁸³)
G. REUTTER jr. (Vienna, 1731)

D. SCARLATTI / ? *L'Aurora* (Lisbon, 1727⁸⁴)

PLATTI / ULRICH *Applauso festoso: Aurora, Circe, Ulisse* (Erbipoli, 1729⁸⁵)

PORPORA / COLUZZI *Genio della Germania, Aurora, Febo, Titone* (Rome, 1732)

V.A. / ZANOTTI *Per la augustissime nozze di sua Altezza Reale Fran.co Stefano duca di Lorena e della Serenissima Arciduchessa Maria Teresa d'Austria: Aurora, Germania, Imeneo, Augurio* (Ferrara, 1736⁸⁶)

D. PARADIES / LALLI *Il decreto del Fato* (Venice, 1740⁸⁷)

LA ROCCA / NATI *L'Aurora nascente* (in *Tripudio festivo di Palermo*, Palermo, 1740⁸⁸)

ABOS / ? *Componimento per musica: Religione, Fama, Aurora, Virtù, Inganno, Sebeto* (Naples, 1745⁸⁹)

⁷⁸ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17643 (S)

⁷⁹ I-PLcom (L)

⁸⁰ A-Wn 4327-B. Mus & B-Br Fétis 4520 A V,12 & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5224-no.23 & Yp 5230-no.4 (L), A-Wn & D-Bsb & D-SW1 (Se)

⁸¹ A-Wgm & A-Wn & D-DO & I-Mb & I-Vnm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17262 & A-Wgm Q 1383 (S)

⁸² I-PLcom (L)

⁸³ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17618 (S)

⁸⁴ P-C (L)

⁸⁵ D-WÜu (L)

⁸⁶ I-MOe & I-Vgc (L)

⁸⁷ I-Mb & I-Vnm Misc.2723.14 (L), GB-Cfm (S)

⁸⁸ GB-Lbl & GB-Ls (L)

⁸⁹ I-Vgc 12 (L)

MONDONVILLE / LA MARRE, LA MOTTE, VOISENEAU *Titon et l'Aurore* (Paris, 1753⁹⁰; Brussels, 1754⁹¹; Paris, 1763⁹²; Fontainebleau, 1764⁹³; Paris, 1773⁹⁴; Paris, 1774⁹⁵; Marseille, 1775⁹⁶)

V.A. / FAVART (as *Raton et Rosette*, parody, Paris, 1753⁹⁷; Vienna, ?⁹⁸)

V.A. / PORTELANCE, POINSINET (as *Totonet*, parody, Paris, 1753)

V.A. / VADE (as *Le rien*, parody, Paris, 1753⁹⁹)

V.A. / FRUGONI (as *Titone e l'Aurora*, Parma, 1759¹⁰⁰)

V.A. / BAILLY (as *Totonet*, parody, Paris, 1768)

CANDEILLE (Paris, 1796) = unperformed

SCHWEITZER / WIELAND *Aurora* (Weimar, 1772¹⁰¹)

PUGNANI / BOGGIO *L'Aurora* (Turin, 1775¹⁰²)

Erato (see: Muses)

Erebus

RICCI / LEUCADIO *La caduta di Erebo* (Assisi, 1780¹⁰³)

Erinyes (see: Iphigenia, Orestes, Orpheus)

Eros (see also: Aphrodite, Ares, Artemis, Daphne, Psyche)

SABADINI / AURELI *La gloria d'Amore* (Parma, 1690)

C.F. POLLAROLO / ? *Il moto delle stelle osservato da Cupido* (Padua, 1691¹⁰⁴)

FEDRIZZI / PARISETTI *Gl'inganni di Cupido* (Brunswick, 1691¹⁰⁵)

⁹⁰ F-Pa GD-49 & GD-57 & GD-48571 & F-Pn 8-RO-1265 & RES-YF-886 & RES-YF-994 (L), F-Pn 8-RF-11066 (Lc), Le Clerc 1753 & Société de musicologie de Languedoc 1992 (S)

⁹¹ F-Pn 8-RO-1449 & 8-YTH-17327 (L)

⁹² F-Pn 8-RO-1266 & RES-YF-947 & RES-YF-2474 & US-Wc ML50.2.T59M7 (L)

⁹³ F-Pa 8-BL-13709 (3, 7) & 8-BL-13710 (2, 7) & 8-RA3-224 & 8-RA3-227 (8) & GD-70 & GD-22443 & F-Pn 8-YTH-17328 & 8-YTH-17329 & 8-YTH-17330 & 8-YTH-17331 & RES-YF-4477 (8) & YF-7924 (L)

⁹⁴ F-Pa GD-22444 & F-Pn 8-RF-11067 (L)

⁹⁵ F-Pa GD-22445 (L)

⁹⁶ F-Pn 8-RF-11068 & US-Wc ML50.2.T59M73 (L)

⁹⁷ FAVART 1763-77 (Lc)

⁹⁸ F-Pn D. 8847 (S)

⁹⁹ US-Wc ML48.P2 (L), VADE 1775 (Lc)

¹⁰⁰ I-CRg & I-Ma & I-PAc (L)

¹⁰¹ D-LEm (S)

¹⁰² B-Bc 19387 & CDN-Tu & D-Mbs & I-NOVc & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Rig & I-Tc & I-Tn & I-T, Arch.Storico & I-T, Provinciale & I-VCc & US-BEm (L), I-Rsc & P-La (S)

¹⁰³ I-PEc (L)

¹⁰⁴ I-Mb Racc.Dramm 5729.9 (L)

? / GIANNINI *La gara delle virtù* (Reggio, 1696¹⁰⁶)

M.A. ZIANI? / ? *Prologo: Discordia, Amore, Costanza* (in *Le rivali generosi*, Rome, 1697¹⁰⁷)

? / ? *Der vergötterte Cupido* (Weissenfels, 1699)

BADIA / SPEDAZZI *Cupido fuggitivo da Venere e ritrovato a' piedi della Sacra Reale Maestà d'Amalia* (Vienna, 1700¹⁰⁸)

WEICHLEIN / ? *Die siegprangende Hochzeit der Liebe* (Graz, 1701)

COLLASSE / ? *L'Amour et l'Hymen* (Paris, 1701)

? / ? *Introduzione alla festa di ballo: Virtù, Amore* (Verona, 1701¹⁰⁹)

QUINTAVALLE / ? *Il trionfo d'Amore* (Mantua, 1703¹¹⁰)

GILLIER / ? *Les agréments de la Psyché de village* (Paris, 1704)

C.F. POLLAROLO / ? *De la Virtude ha la Bellezza onore* (Venice, 1704¹¹¹)

A. SCARLATTI / ? *Amore e Virtù, ossia Il trionfo della virtù* (Rome, 1706¹¹²)

A. SCARLATTI / ? *Cupido e Onestà* (also *Il trionfo dell'Onestà*, Rome, 1706)

? / ? *Serenata: Amante, Amore* (Bologna, 1706¹¹³)

PO DEL FINALE / N. ROSSI *La gloria pronuba ne' sponsali del Merto con la Costanza* (Bologna, 1706¹¹⁴)

? / AMADORI *Il trionfo di Amore e di Imeneo* (Rome, 1707¹¹⁵)

POLANI / PEDONI *La virtù trionfante d'Amore vendicativo* (Venice, 1708¹¹⁶)

LINGUA / CAPECI *Le corone amorose* (Rome, 1708¹¹⁷)

¹⁰⁵ D-HVl & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-W Textb. 179 & Textb. 642 & GB-Lbl & I-MOe (L)

¹⁰⁶ I-Rli (L)

¹⁰⁷ I-Fm & I-Rn & I-Vnm (L)

¹⁰⁸ A-Wn 792410-B. 11 The & 406774-B. Adl. 14 Mus & PL-LZu & SI-Lsk (L)

¹⁰⁹ I-VEc (L)

¹¹⁰ US-Wc ML50.2.T81Q3 (L)

¹¹¹ I-Rsc (L)

¹¹² B-Bc 31161 & B-Br III 71140 B (S)

¹¹³ I-B, S. Maria dei Servi & I-MOe (L)

¹¹⁴ I-Bc Lo.4268 & I-Bca & I-MOe (L)

¹¹⁵ B-Bc 21028 (L)

¹¹⁶ I-RVI (L)

¹¹⁷ B-Bc 19776 & I-Lg & I-Rn (L)

A. SCARLATTI / PAPIS *Serenata a tre voci e quattro cori: Amore, Pace, Provvidenza* (Naples, 1711¹¹⁸)

? / ? *Amore vince il tutto* (Salzburg, 1715¹¹⁹)

F. GASPARINI / MARISCOTTI *Applauso festivo: Amore, Arbia, Arno* (Siena, 1717¹²⁰)

F.B. CONTI / PARIATI *Amore in Tessaglia* (Vienna, 1718¹²¹)

ALBINONI / PARIATI *Il trionfo d'Amore* (Munich, 1722¹²²)

CALDARA / FOZIO *Il trionfo d'Amore e d'Imeneo* (Vienna, 1722¹²³)

? / ? *La gara d'Amore e Imeneo nel giardin del piacere* (Perugia, 1725¹²⁴)

F. GASPARINI / BONIS *Componimento per musica: Senna, Fama, Amore, Imeneo* (Rome, 1725¹²⁵)

DAQUIN / ? *L'union de l'Amour et de l'Hymen* (? , 1729) = doubtful

BOUVARD / ? *Le triomphe de l'amour et de l'hymen* (Versailles, 1729)

L.A. PREDIERI / METASTASIO *L'Amor prigioniero* (Vienna, 1732¹²⁶)

G. REUTTER jr. (Vienna, 1741¹²⁷)

ARAIA (Oranienbaum, 1755¹²⁸)

G. SCARLATTI (? , before 1772¹²⁹)

G.B. FERRANDINI (Munich, 1781¹³⁰)

BEVILACQUA (Gubbio, 1784¹³¹)

CALDARA / METASTASIO *L'asilo d'Amore* (Linz, 1732¹³²)

PAGANELLI (Brunswick, 1732¹³³)

PESCETTI (London, 1738)

HASSE (Naples, 1742?¹³⁴; Hubertusburg, 1743¹³⁵; Madrid, 1743¹³⁶; Naples, 1744¹³⁷; Leipzig, 1777¹³⁸)

¹¹⁸ I-Vgc (L)

¹¹⁹ D-DO (L)

¹²⁰ I-Fc & I-PEc & I-Vgc (L)

¹²¹ A-Wn cod.10260 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17212 & A-Wgm Q 713 (S)

¹²² D-Mbs & D-W Textb. 17 (1) & I-Mb (L)

¹²³ A-Wgm (S)

¹²⁴ I-PEc & I-PE,S.Filippo Neri & I-Rig & I-Vnm (L)

¹²⁵ F-Pn R-RA4-449 & RES-YD-122 & YD-1171 & GB-Lbl & I-Fc & I-Lg & I-MAC & I-Rig & I-Rli & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

¹²⁶ METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17544 (S)

¹²⁷ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17726 (S)

¹²⁸ RU-SPsc & RU-Mcm (L)

¹²⁹ D-Dl (S)

¹³⁰ D-Dl (S)

¹³¹ I-Vgc (L)

¹³² A-Gu & A-Wgm & I-Mb (L), A-Wn & I-Vc & US-CA (L2), METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc), A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17155-6 & B-Bc 2146 (S)

¹³³ D-HVl (L)

¹³⁴ B-Bc 2146 & D-Hs ND VI 2929 & I-Mc Part.Tr.ms.181 & I-Nc (S), US-BEm uncat. Ms. 834 (Se) (S)

¹³⁵ D-Bsb & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Mbs & F-Pc & B-Bc 19333 (L), D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Mbs (L2)

¹³⁶ D-Bsb Xk 1513 F-Pc (L)

? (Vienna, 1743¹³⁹)
 CORSELLI (Madrid, 1750¹⁴⁰)
 JOMMELLI (Stuttgart, 1758¹⁴¹)
 GASSMANN (as *Il trionfo d'Amore*, Vienna, 1765¹⁴²)
 SARTI / DESCHAMPS (as *L'asile de l'amour*, Copenhagen, 1769)
 V.A. / BADINI (as *La difesa d'Amore*, London, 1775¹⁴³)
 ZINGARELLI (?, 1785?)
 SKOKOV (Naples, 1787)
 SCHICHT (Leipzig?, 1789)
 BIEREY (Dresden, 1793)
 BISONI / ? (as *Il trionfo d'Amore*, Faenza, 1794¹⁴⁴)
 CORDEIRO (Lisbon?, ?¹⁴⁵)

GALLIARD / ? *The Nuptial Masque, or The Triumphs of Cupid and Hymen* (London, 1734)

CAROLI / MANFREDI *Serenata per musica: Partenope, Sebeto, Imeneo, Amore* (Bologna, 1738¹⁴⁶)

STATELLA / SANT'ANGELO *Le gelosie di Amore* (in *Tripudio festivo di Palermo*, Palermo, 1740¹⁴⁷)

LEO / ? *La contesa dell'Amore e della Virtù* (Naples, 1744¹⁴⁸)

ORLANDINI / ? *Cantata: Amore, Genio* (Florence, 1744¹⁴⁹)

N. GRIMALDI / BENEDETTONI *Virtù, Fede, Gloria, Costanza, Imeneo, Amore* (Rome, 1744)

COSTANZI / PIZZI *Amor prigioniero* (Rome, 1752¹⁵⁰)

? / MISCHI *Serenata: Amore, Venere, Minerva, Imeneo, Giunone, Apollo* (Parma, 1752¹⁵¹)

SUGARELLI / A. GUIDI *Il trionfo d'Amore* (Rome, 1753¹⁵²)

AGRICOLA / TAGLIAZUCCHI *Il tempio d'amore* (Berlin, 1755¹⁵³)

¹³⁷ US-BEm (S)

¹³⁸ D-Bsb (L)

¹³⁹ D-MHrm (L)

¹⁴⁰ I-Bc Lo.5948 & GB-Lbl & P-La (L)

¹⁴¹ D-Tu (L), D-Sl HB XVII 735 nr. 1 (S)

¹⁴² METASTASIO 1953-65 & A-Wn & CZ-Pu & I-Rsc & I-TSmt & US-Wc Schatz 3628 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18079 & D-Bsb (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.3978 (Se)

¹⁴³ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁴⁴ I-FZc (L)

¹⁴⁵ P-C (L)

¹⁴⁶ I-PIu & I-Vgc Rolandi 3138-9 (L), I-Bc Lo.872 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Fc & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (Lc)

¹⁴⁷ GB-Lbl & GB-Ls (L)

¹⁴⁸ F-Pc (S)

¹⁴⁹ D-B & GB-Lbl & I-Rn (L)

¹⁵⁰ GB-Lbl & I-Bca & I-Rli & I-Rsc & I-Vgc Rolandi 4446 (L)

¹⁵¹ I-PAc (L)

¹⁵² I-Vc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁵³ D-Bsb (L), D-DS (S)

HERBAIN / CHEVENNIERE *Iphis et Céline, ou Le temple de l'indifférence détruit par l'Amour* (Paris, 1756)

TRAETTA / FRUGONI *Il trionfo d'Amore* (in *Le feste d'Imeneo*, Parma, 1760¹⁵⁴)

SONAZZI / ? *Le gare d'Amore e d'Imeneo* (in *Rime de' Signori Accademici Velini per le nozze de' nobili signori Vincenzo Vincentini...*, Spleti, 1762¹⁵⁵)

AVONDANO / ? *Le difese d'Amore* (Lisbon, 1764¹⁵⁶)

? / BERTATI *Serenata per musica: Amore, Anfitrite, Po, Tebro* (Venice, 1764¹⁵⁷)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / BORGA *Componimento drammatico: Bellezza, Imeneo, Merito, Amore* (Venice, 1766¹⁵⁸)

? / ? *La pace tra la Virtù, la Gloria ed Amore* (Lucca, 1767¹⁵⁹)

GIORDANI / ? *The triumph of Cupido* (Dublin, 1768)

? / ? *Il trionfo d'Amore* (Mantua, 1769¹⁶⁰)

NEEFE / MICHAELIS *Amors Guckkasten* (Königsberg, 1772¹⁶¹; Leipzig, 1772)
REICHARDT (Berlin, 1772 = unperformed; Riga, 1773)

HOOK / GENTLEMAN *Cupid's revenge* (London, 1772¹⁶²)

FLOQUET / LEMONNIER *La cour d'Amour* (in *L'union de l'amour et des arts*, Paris, 1773)

RAUZZINI / BADINI *Le ali d'Amore* (London, 1776¹⁶³; London, 1777¹⁶⁴)

? / ? *Il trionfo d'Amore* (Palermo, 1777¹⁶⁵)

? / M.A. MANCINI *L'Amor prigioniero* (Paris, 1785¹⁶⁶)

N. PICCINNI / LORENZI *L'arco di Amore* (Naples, 1787¹⁶⁷)

¹⁵⁴ A-Wn & D-Mbs & F-Pn 8-RA5-857 & 8-YTH-48028 & YD-665 & YD-1312 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5336 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-CRg & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-R, Burcardo & I-Rn & I-Rsc & US-AUS & US-Wc Schatz 10392 (L), RUSSO 2005 (Lc), A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17863-4 (S)

¹⁵⁵ I-Nn (L)

¹⁵⁶ BR-Rn & I-Rsc 4404 & P-C (L)

¹⁵⁷ I-Mb & I-Rsc & US-LAum (L), F-Pn 8-RA5-1516 & 8-YTH-52002 & 8-YTH-52003 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L2)

¹⁵⁸ I-Ms & I-Vcg (L)

¹⁵⁹ I-Lg (L)

¹⁶⁰ I-FP, Fanan & I-MAc & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁶¹ D-W Lo 5445:4 (L)

¹⁶² US-Wc Longe 244 (L)

¹⁶³ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁶⁴ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁶⁵ I-Nc (L)

¹⁶⁶ F-Pn 8-YTH-50020 (L)

¹⁶⁷ I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

ANDREOZZI / PIGNOTTI *La pace tra Amore ed Imeneo* (Florence, 1787¹⁶⁸)

? / MAROCHETTI *La pace fra Amore ed Imene* (Veccelli, 1797¹⁶⁹)

Eteocles (see also: Antigone)

LEGRENZI / FATTORINI *Eteocle e Polinice* (Venice, 1675¹⁷⁰; Naples, 1680¹⁷¹; Venice, 1684; Milan, 1684¹⁷²)

GIANNETTINI, LEGRENZI (Modena, 1690¹⁷³)

A. BONONCINI / S. STAMPIGLIA *La presa di Tebe* (Vienna, 1708¹⁷⁴)

C.H. GRAUN, J. CHRISTOPH BACH I / FREDERICK II, TAGLIAZUCCHI after RACINE *I fratelli nemici* (Berlin, 1756¹⁷⁵)

J. CHRISTOPH BACH I, C.H. GRAUN, REICHARDT (Berlin, 1781¹⁷⁶)

Eumenides (see: Iphigenia, Orestes, Orpheus)

Europa (see also: Cadmus)

J. ECCLES / MOTTEUX *The rape of Europa* (in Wilmot's *Valentinian*, London, 1694)

DE BETHIZY / DE BETHIZY *L'enlèvement d'Europe* (Paris, 1739)

DUGUE / FUZELIER *Jupiter et Europe* (Versailles, 1749)

Euryale (see: Gorgons)

Eurydice (see: Orpheus)

Euterpe (see: Muses)

¹⁶⁸ I-Fm (L)

¹⁶⁹ I-VCs (L)

¹⁷⁰ CDN-Tu & D-LEm & D-HVl & D-W Textb. 647 & I-Bc Lo.2679 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Ms & I-NOVc & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 199-200 & US-Wc Schatz 5535 (L), B-Bc 2193 (S)

¹⁷¹ B-Bc 20193 (L), I-RVI & I-Vnm & US-LAum (Lc), F-Pn & I-MOe (S)

¹⁷² I-Bc Lo.6352 & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-MOe (L)

¹⁷³ I-FZc & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Mcom & I-MOe & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁷⁴ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18262 & D-Dl (S)

¹⁷⁵ D-Bsb Mus. T 49 & D-Sl & D-W Lo 693 (L), D-Bsb Mus. Ms. 8234/2 (S), GRAUN 1773-4 & D-W Mus. Ms. 96 (Se)

¹⁷⁶ D-Bsb Mus. Tg 873 (L)

Flora (see also: Apollo, Artemis, Daphnis, Hermes, Pomona, Zephyros)

L. LULLY / DU BOULLAY *Zephyre et Flore* (Paris, 1688¹)

L. LULLY, DESTOUCHES (Paris, 1715²)

J.-L. LULLY & L. LULLY (Brussels, 1774/84³)

TOSI / L. LOTTI *L'età dell'oro* (Piacenza, 1690⁴)

A. SCARLATTI / BUONACCORSI *Flora pellegrina* (Rome, 1705⁵)

M.A. ZIANI, JOSEPH I / BERNARDONI *La Flora* (Vienna, 1706⁶)

A. SCARLATTI / PAPIS *Il genio austriaco: Il Sole, Flora, Zeffiro, Partenope e Sebeto* (Naples, 1713)

? / ? *Die vergnügte Flora* (also *Mars der Gärtner*, Augsburg, 1716)

? / ? *Zéphire et la lune, ou La nuit d'été* (Paris, 1733)

STOELZEL / ? *Die gekrönte Flora* (Gotha, 1736)

STOELZEL / ? *Die opfernde Flora* (Gotha, 1738)

COLLIN DE BLAMONT or STUCK / ? *Zéphire et Flore* (Fontainebleau, 1739)

BALLIERE DE LAISEMENT / BALLIERE DE LAISEMENT *Zéphire et Flore* (Paris, 1754)

BRUNETTI / EUGENIO *Componimento drammatico: Arno, Flora, Alfea* (Pisa, 1761⁷)

PICCINNI / PIAZZA *Componimento drammatico: Flora, Cerere, Bacco, Saturno* (Venice, 1763⁸)

? / LANFRANCHI-ROSSI *La Flora consolata* (Florence, 1765) = unperformed?

TRIAL / SAINT-MARC *La fête de Flore* (Paris, 1771)

SAINT-AMANS (Paris, 1784)

BERGANCINI / C.A.V. *Flora sull'Adige* (Verona, 1789⁹)

FAY / DU BUISSON *Flora* (Paris, 1792)

¹ RECUEIL 1703-45 & D-W Lm Sammelbd 99 (1) & Lm Sammelbd 103 (7) (Lc)

² F-Po (S)

³ D-W Lm Sammelbd 15 (8) (L)

⁴ B-Bc 20189 & D-Mth & F-Pc & F-Pn YD-1398 & GB-Lbl & GB-Lv & I-Fm & I-Lg & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-NOVc & I-NV & I-PAc & I-PCc & I-Rsc & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vgc & US-CA (L)

⁵ I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rli (L), B-Bc (S)

⁶ BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18027-8 & D-Dl (S), I-Vnm (Se)

⁷ I-PIu & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

⁸ I-Mb & I-Ria & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L)

⁹ I-VEc (L)

GAULTIER / CUVELLIER *Zéphire et Flore, ou la Rose d'amour* (Paris, 1796)

MONETA / G.G.P.A. *Le varie poi fauste vicende di Flora* (Florence, 1799¹⁰)

SARTI / CHEVALIER *Les amours de Flore et de Zéphire* (Gatchina, 1800)

Furies (see: Iphigenia, Orestes, Orpheus)

¹⁰ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.3219 & I-Vgc (L)

Galatea (see also: Cyclopes, Daphnis, Protheus)

J.-B. LULLY / CAMPISTRON *Acis et Galathée* (Anet, 1686¹¹; Hamburg, 1689¹²; Hamburg, 1695¹³; Stuttgart, 1698¹⁴; Paris, 1702¹⁵; Paris; 1704; Paris, 1718; Paris, 1725; Paris, 1734; Paris, 1744; Versailles, 1749; Paris, 1752)

GILLIER / DUFRESNY, REGNARD (as *La Foire St. Germain*, parody, 1695¹⁶)

J.-B. LULLY? / ? (as *Acis et Galatée*, Brunswick or Wolfenbüttel?, c. 1700¹⁷)

V.A. / FAVART (as *Tircis et Doristée*, parody, Paris, 1752)

GLUCK / FAVART (as *Tircis et Doristée*, parody, Laxenburg, 1756¹⁸)

V.A. / FUZELIER (as *Parodie d'Acis et Galatée*, Paris?, ?¹⁹)

J. ECCLES / MOTTEUX *Acis and Galatea* (in *The Mad Lover*, London, 1700)

? / ? *Acis und Galatea* (Leipzig, 1702)

LITERES / CANIZARES *Acis y Galatea* (Madrid, 1708)

DURON (Madrid, ?²⁰)

? / ? *Aci e Galatea* (Salzthal, 1709²¹)

HANDEL / GIUVO *Aci, Galatea e Polifemo* (Naples, 1708²²; Piemonte, 1711; Naples, 1713; Padua?, ?²³)

STOELZEL / STOELZEL *Acis und Galathea, oder Die Triumphirende Liebe* (Prague, 1715 or 1717²⁴; Gotha, 1729)

BLINZIG (Durlach, 1716; as *Galathea*, Nuremberg, 1719)

PASSERI / ASTANCOLLI *L'Acì* (Todi, 1717²⁵)

F.B. CONTI / PARIATI *Galatea vendicata* (Vienna, 1719²⁶; Vienna, 1724²⁷)

HANDEL / GAY, HUGHES, POPE after DRYDEN *Acis and Galatea* (Cannons, 1718²⁸; London, 1739; London, 1740; London, 1741; Dublin, 1742; Soho, 1756)

HANDEL / HUMPHREYS (London, 1732²⁹; Oxford, 1733³⁰; London, 1734; London, 1736)

¹¹ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹² A-Wn 4362-B. Mus & B-Br Fétis 4520 A I,13 (L)

¹³ A-Wn 4220-B. Mus (L)

¹⁴ US-Wc Schatz 5757 (L)

¹⁵ D-W Lm 4° Kapsel 1 (4) (L)

¹⁶ GHERARDI 1700 & GHERARDI 1701 (Lc)

¹⁷ D-W Textb. 601 (L)

¹⁸ US-Wc ML49.A2F1 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17881 & CZ-K & I-Tn (S)

¹⁹ F-Pa (L)

²⁰ E-Mn (Se)

²¹ D-HV1 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-W Lm Sammelbd 46 (13) (L)

²² HG & HHA (S)

²³ I-Pci (L)

²⁴ D-Bsb (L)

²⁵ I-PESo (L)

²⁶ A-GÖ & A-Wgm & A-Wn (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17214 & A-Wgm Q 1282 (S)

²⁷ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18137 (S)

²⁸ HG & HHA (S)

²⁹ F-Pc & GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/41 (L)

³⁰ F-Pc (L)

HANDEL / ? (as *Aci, E Galatea*, Florence, 1772)
 HANDEL, JOHNSEN (as *Acis och Galathea*, Stockholm, 1773³¹)
 ? (London, 1777) = doubtful
 HANDEL, MOZART / VAN SWIETEN (Vienna, 1788³²)
 HANDEL / GERVINUS (Vienna, 1797³³)

COMITO / METASTASIO *La Galatea* (Naples, 1722³⁴)

ALBERTI (Venice, 1738)
 NICKELMANN (Venice, 1740³⁵)
 SCHUERER (Dresden, 1746 or 1747³⁶)
 FREDERICK II OF PRUSSIA, HASSE, C.H. GRAUN, QUANTZ, NICKELMANN / VILLATI (as
Galatea ed Acide, Potsdam, 1748³⁷)
 TIEPOLO / TIEPOLO (as *Acide cangiato in fonte*, Venice, 1753³⁸; as *La Galatea*, Venice, 1759³⁹)
 UTTINI (Drottningholm, 1754)
 ZOPPIS (St Petersburg, 1759⁴⁰)
 BRUNETTI (Brunswick, 1762⁴¹)
 SCHWANENBERGER (Brunswick, 1763)
 J.C. BACH (London, 1764⁴²)
 MANGO (Eichstätt, 1767⁴³)
 OLIVEIRA (Queluz, 1779⁴⁴)
 BERTONI (Venice, 1781⁴⁵)
 BONAO-FURLANETTO (?, 178?)
 SANTOS (Lisbon, ?⁴⁶) = unperformed
 LIMA (Lisbon, 178?)
 SCLART (Cingoli, 1789⁴⁷)
 TRENTO (Venice, 1791⁴⁸)
 MOROSINI (as *Polifemo*, Faenza, ?⁴⁹)
 ACCADEMICO FILARMONICO (Udine, ?⁵⁰)

? / ? *Aci e Galatea* (Lisbon, 1724⁵¹)

? / KURZ *Galathea und Alcides* (Potsdam, 1748)

J. HAYDN / MIGLIAVACCA *Acide* (Eszterháza, 1763⁵²; Eszterháza, 1774)

³¹ S-Skma & S-St (S)

³² NMA (S)

³³ A-Wn 51719-A. Alt Mag & 296667-B. Mus (L)

³⁴ I-Rig (L), METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc)

³⁵ I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L)

³⁶ D-W Textb. 534 (L), B-Bc 2356 & D-DI (S)

³⁷ D-Bsb & D-Mbs & D-SI & F-Pn YD-5654 & US-Wc Schatz 4541 (L), D-Bsb Mus.ms. 9540 (S)

³⁸ I-Mb (L)

³⁹ I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Tn (L)

⁴⁰ RU-SPan (L)

⁴¹ D-W Textb. 47 (L)

⁴² JCBACH & GB-Lbl (L)

⁴³ D-Es (L)

⁴⁴ BR-Rn & P-Ln L5790 P(1) (L)

⁴⁵ D-Rp & I-Vcg (L), I-OS (S)

⁴⁶ P-La (S)

⁴⁷ I-MAC (L)

⁴⁸ US-Wc (L)

⁴⁹ I-Vcg (L)

⁵⁰ I-Bc Lo.6488 (L)

⁵¹ BR-Rn & US-Cn (L)

⁵² A-Wgm & H-Bn (L), HW XXV/1 (S), D-Bsb & F-Pn & F-Po & H-Bn (Se)

? / ? *Acis e Galatea* (Parma, 1769⁵³)

T. GIORDANI / FARRANIO *Acis and Galatea* (London, 1777⁵⁴)

F. BIANCHI / FOPPA after BEAUMARCHAIS *Acis, e Galatea* (Venice, 1792⁵⁵; as *La vendetta di Polifemo*, Palermo, 1793⁵⁶; London, 1795⁵⁷)

BRUNI / POULTIER D'ELMOTTE *Galathée* (Paris, 1795) (see: *Acis*, *Daphnis*)

? / ? *La Galatea* (Venice, ?⁵⁸)

Ganymede

NEBRA / CANIZARES *Cautelas contra cautelas y el rapto de Ganímedes* (Madrid, 1745)

DEMLER / ? *Ganymed in Vulkans schmiede* (Augsburg, 1797⁵⁹)

Gorgons (see also: *Perseus*)

GERVAIS / BOYER *Méduse* (Paris, 1697⁶⁰)

Graces (see also: *Eros*, *Paris*, *Poseidon*)

? / ? *Serenata epitalamica: Aglaja, Tali, Eufrosina, Fama, Gloria, Immortalità* (Modena, 1703⁶¹)

TORRI / ? *Enone* (Brussels, 1705?⁶²)

? / ? *Corona Ariadnae* (Palermo, 1720⁶³)

REINHARDT / PARIATI *Il giudizio di Enone* (Vienna, 1721⁶⁴)

CALDARA / ZENO *Enone* (Vienna, 1734⁶⁵)

⁵³ I-Bu & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L)

⁵⁴ F-Pc (L)

⁵⁵ D-MHrm & F-Pn 8-YTH-51665 & I-Bc Lo.564 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-T,Legger & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 993 (L)

⁵⁶ I-Nc (L)

⁵⁷ D-Bsb & GB-Lbl & I-Fc & US-Bp (L) I-Fc & I-Nc (Se)

⁵⁸ I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Tn (L)

⁵⁹ US-Wc Schatz 2505 (L)

⁶⁰ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁶¹ I-Bca & I-Lg (L)

⁶² I-Mbs (Se)

⁶³ I-PLcom (L)

⁶⁴ I-Vnm & A-Wgm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17964 & A-Wgm Q 989 (S)

⁶⁵ A-Wgm & I-Mb & I-Pmc & I-Vnm (L), ZENO 1785 (Lc), A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.18224-5 (S)

CALDARA / METASTASIO *Le Grazie vendicate* (Vienna, 1735⁶⁶)

G.B. FERRANDINI (Munich, 1753)

SANTOS (as *Le Grazie vindicate*, Lisbon, 1762⁶⁷)

RAMEAU / COLLE *Daphnis et Eglé* (Fontainebleau, 1753)

TRAETTA / PEZZANA *Egle* (in *Le feste d'Imeneo*, Parma, 1760⁶⁸)

? / ? *Le Grazie placate* (Perugia, 1770⁶⁹)

JOHNSON, UTTINI / ADLERBETH after LAUJON *Aeglé* (Stockholm, 1774⁷⁰)

VOGLER? (Stockholm, 1787)

SARTI / FASTING, CARSTENS after POINSINET DE SIVRY *Aglæ eller Støtten* (Copenhagen, 1774⁷¹)

ORAZI / ? *L'Egle* (Florence, 1776⁷²)

AULETTA / CARTA *Cantata: Partenope, Egle, Nerina, Genio* (Naples, 1776⁷³)

? / BERGER *Lykon und Agle* (Leipzig, 1778)

ANDRE / HEMPEL *Die Grazien* (Berlin, 1778⁷⁴)

DIBDIN / DIBDIN *The Graces* (London, 1782⁷⁵)

PIO / SERTOR *Nettuno ed Egle* (Venice, 1783⁷⁶)

CARVALHO (Lisbon, 1785⁷⁷)

? / FRANCESCHI *La pace fra le Grazie e Imeneo* (Lucca, 1792⁷⁸)

⁶⁶ METASTASIO 1953-65 & I-Bc Lo.8359 & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-FP,Fanan (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17614 (S)

⁶⁷ P-La 48-111-4 (S)

⁶⁸ A-Wn & D-Mbs & F-Pn 8-RA5-857 & 8-YTH-48028 & YD-665 & YD-1312 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5336 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-CRg & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-R,Burcardo & I-Rn & I-Rsc & US-AUS & US-Wc Schatz 10392 (L), RUSSO 2005 (Lc), A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17863-4 (S)

⁶⁹ I-PEc (L)

⁷⁰ S-Skma & S-St (S)

⁷¹ US-Wc Schatz 9423 (L)

⁷² I-Bc Lo.3511 & I-Rsc (L)

⁷³ I-Rsc (L)

⁷⁴ US-Wc Schatz 187 & 11754 (L)

⁷⁵ US-Wc Longe 256 (L)

⁷⁶ F-Pn 8-YTH-51567 & I-Bc Lo.4252 & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 8188 (L)

⁷⁷ B-Bc 21159 & BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC 10924 & P-C & P-Lg & P-Ln 5615 P(10) & US-Wc Schatz 1671 (L)

⁷⁸ I-Lg & I-Vgc (L)

Hades (see: Orpheus, Persephone)

Halcyone (see: Alcyone)

Harmonia (see: Cadmus)

Hebe (see also: Heracles, Pallas Athene)

? / ZANELLI *Componimento per musica: Ebe, Piacere* (Modena, 1728¹)

Hector (see also: Andromache)

FIOCCHI / ? *L'addio d'Ettore* (Florence, 1798²)

Hecuba

- / DURANDI *Ecuba* (Turin, 1766³) = unperformed
CELONIAT (Turin, 1769⁴; Bologna, 1770⁵; Pavia, 1770⁶)

Helen (see also: Achilles, Dido, Paris, Theseus)

A.S. FIORE / STAMPA *Elena* (Milan, 1725⁷)

ALBINONI / BERGALLI *L'Elenia* (Venice, 1730⁸)

? / ? after RIZZI? *Elena sacrificata* (Vienna, 1736⁹)

C.G. FOIGNET / ? *Hélène* (Paris, 1794)

¹ I-MOe & I-Rsc (L)

² I-Fc (L)

³ DURANDI 1766 (Lc)

⁴ D-Mbs & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch. Storico & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Provinciale & I-T,Strona & I-Vgc Rolandi 3417 & I-Vnm & US-AA & US-Wc Schatz 1771 (L), I-Tf (S)

⁵ B-Bc 20091 & I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.948 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Vgc Rolandi 3418 & US-BEm (L)

⁶ I-BRq (L)

⁷ I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc Coll. libr. 81 & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L)

⁸ B-Bc 20075 & F-Pn 8-YTH-51785 & 8-YTH-51786 & I-Bc Lo.80 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 105 (L)

⁹ A-Wn 443743-A. Mus & D-RT (L)

Hephaistos (see also: Aphrodite)

? / ? *La vendetta di Vulcano contro Marte* (Vienna, 1722¹⁰)

Hera (see also: Amazons, Aphrodite, Atlas, Heracles, Ixion, Pallas Athene, Paris)

SABADINI / AURELI *Il favore de gli dei* (Parma, 1690¹¹)

DE LUCA / S. STAMPIGLIA *La nova gara delle dee* (Rome, 1694¹²)

A. DRAGHI / ? *Giunone e la Fama* (Perugia, 1703¹³)

? / BUONACCORSI *Le gare festive* (Rome, 1704¹⁴)

G. BONONCINI / BERNARDONI *La nuova gara di Giunone e di Pallade terminata da Giove* (Vienna, 1705¹⁵) = unperformed?

G. BONONCINI / S. STAMPIGLIA *Il natale di Giunone festeggiato in Samo* (Vienna, 1708¹⁶)

BOTTIS / MOSCA? *Serenata a tre voci: Giunone, Imeneo, Notte* (Naples, 1709¹⁷)

FUX / ZANELLI *Giunone placata* (Vienna, 1725¹⁸)

? / ? *Giunone* (in *Ataulfo*, Modena, 1729)

A. BENCINI / ? *Le tre dee tornate in gara* (Rome, 1730)

BONNO / G.C. PASQUINI *La gara del Genio con Giunone* (Laxenburg, 1737¹⁹)
? (Siena, 1751²⁰)

PEREZ / MARINI *Il natale di Giunone* (Palermo, 1742²¹)

¹⁰ I-Mb (L)

¹¹ A-Wn & B-Bc 28228 & F-Pn 8-RA5-834 & YD-1128 & GB-Lbl & GB-Lwi & I-Bc Lo.4904 & I-Bu & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Gu & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-NOVc & I-NV & I-PESo & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-FP,Fanan & I-TSmt & I-Vc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-I & US-Nyp & US-R & US-Wc ML50.2.F237S2 & US-Ws (L)

¹² I-Rc Misc. in 4°.111(9) (L)

¹³ B-Bc 20591 & I-PEc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁴ B-Bc 20454 & GB-Lv & I-Mc & I-Rig & I-Rli & I-Rvat (L)

¹⁵ BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17718 (S)

¹⁶ A-Wn & SL-Lsk (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18271-2 (S)

¹⁷ I-Vgc Rolandi 2377 (L)

¹⁸ A-Wgm & A-Wn & D-B & D-DO & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 13 (4) & I-Mb (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17268 (S)

¹⁹ I-Fc (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18276 (S)

²⁰ I-Fc (L)

²¹ GB-Lbl & I-PLcom (L)

RAMEAU / LE VALOIS D'ORVILLE after AUTREAU *Platée, ou Junon jalouse* (Versailles, 1745²²)

RAMEAU / BALLOT DE SAUVOT (Paris, 1749²³; Paris, 1754²⁴)

BOLLANO / CAPSONI *Giunone placata* (Cagliari, 1750²⁵)

? / ? *Cantata: Eufrosina, Giunone Assiaca, Genio Publico, Genio della casa reale* (Ala, 1752)

AURISICCHIO / B. DE ROSSI *Giunone placata* (Rome, 1762²⁶)

CONFORTO / METASTASIO *La pace fra le tre dee* (Madrid, 1765²⁷)

N. PICCINNI / ? *La pace fra Giunone ed Alcide* (Naples, 1765²⁸)

LIDARTI / AUBERT ET ANDREA *La tutela contrastata fra Giunone, Marte e Mercurio col giudizio di Giove* (Livorno, 1767²⁹)

LENZI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Ispano, Giunone, Alcide* (Naples, 1772³⁰)

ORGITANO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Agesilao, Giunone, Marte* (Naples, 1773³¹)

? / MONTI? *Giunone placata* (Rome, 1779³²)

PAISIELLO / SERNICOLA *Giunone Lucina* (Naples, 1787³³)

Heracles (see also: Alcestis, Amazons, Aphrodite, Diomedes, Galatea, Hera, Pallas Athene)

? / BRESSAND? *Hercules* (Brunswick, 1693) = doubtful

? (Oettingen, 1701; Bayreuth, 1716; Naumburg, 1725; Weissenfels, 1729)

ECCLES / MOTTEUX *Hercules* (London, 1697³⁴)

CALDARA / PARIATI *Il più bel nome* (Barcelona, 1708³⁵)

BALLAROTTI, C.F. POLLAROLO, F. GASPARINI? / ? *L'Alcide* (?, 1709) = doubtful

²² F-Pa 4-BL-3594 (1) & GD-16162 & GD-45430 & F-Pn 8-RA3-189 & RES-YF-754 & YF-885 & YF-1134 & US-Wc ML52.2.P5 (L), ROO & Rameau-Boivin-Leclair 1749 & F-Pa & F-Pn & F-Po (S)

²³ F-Pa GD-45506 & GD-45507 & F-Pn 8-RO-1247 & RES-YF-2352 (L)

²⁴ F-Pa GD-47 & GD-56 & F-Pn 8-RF-7796 & RES-YF-2353 (L)

²⁵ I-Cagliari, Universitaria (L)

²⁶ I-Rsc & US-Wc ML50.2.G44A8 (L)

²⁷ METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc)

²⁸ D-Bsb & I-Nc & I-Nn & P-C (L)

²⁹ I-Bc Lo.8034 (L)

³⁰ I-Nn & I-Vgc (L)

³¹ I-FE, Walker & I-Nn (L)

³² GB-Lbl (L)

³³ I-Fc & I-N, Società Storia Patria (L)

³⁴ US-Wc Longe 127 (L)

³⁵ D-Cl Mus Cob Q 56,99 (L), B-Bc 584 (S)

CALDARA / PARIATI *Il nome più glorioso* (Vienna, 1709³⁶; Vienna, 1718)

HEINICHEN / ? *Hercules* (Leipzig, 1709?³⁷)

? / ? *Hercules ove Palladis ascriptus astris* (Palermo, 1731³⁸; Palermo, 1734³⁹)

G. VENIER / ? *Serenata: Alcide* (Venice, 1733⁴⁰)

? / VILLATI *Ercole Bavaro* (Munich, 1736⁴¹)

LA ROCCA / MARINI *Ercole in Italia* (Palermo, 1742⁴²)

HANDEL / BROUGHTON *Hercules* (London, 1745⁴³; London, 1749; London, 1752)

HANDEL / LOWTH *The choice of Hercules* (London, 1751⁴⁴; London, 1753; London, 1755)

ASTARITTA / BALDANZA *Il vaticinio di Carmenta* (Palermo, 1768⁴⁵)

STANLEY / ? *Hercules* (?, 176?) = doubtful

ROLLE / PATZKE *Die Taten des Herkules* (Magdeburg, 1770)

BALDI / BALDANZA *Ercole trionfante* (Palermo, 1771⁴⁶)

? / ? *Cantata: Alcide, Genio della Società, Egisto, Aspasia* (Bergamo, 1773⁴⁷)

MYSLIVECEK / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Alcide, Diana, Ispalo* (Naples, 1775⁴⁸)

RISPOLI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Agesilao, Alcide, Diana* (Naples, 1779⁴⁹)

GRETRY / PITRA *Les colonnes d'Alcide* (Paris, 1782⁵⁰) = unperformed

A. Youth and the crossroads

? / ? *Herculis Jugend und Tugend* (Gera, 1700)

³⁶ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18238 (S)

³⁷ D-SWl (Se)

³⁸ I-PLcom (L)

³⁹ I-PLcom (L)

⁴⁰ I-Vnm Contarini 9995 (S)

⁴¹ D-Mbs (L)

⁴² GB-Lbl (L)

⁴³ US-Wc Longe 306 (L), HG 4 & HHA I/22 (S)

⁴⁴ US-SM (L, e), HG 28 & HHA I/31 (S)

⁴⁵ I-PLcom (L)

⁴⁶ US-AUS (L)

⁴⁷ I-BGc (L)

⁴⁸ I-PESo & I-R, Rostirolla (L)

⁴⁹ F-Pa 8-BL-8333(2) & I-Nc & I-Nlp & I-Rsc (L)

⁵⁰ F-Po (S)

BIBER / ? *Ercole adolescente* (Salzburg, 1711⁵¹)

STOELZEL / STOELZEL *Hercules Prodicus, Oder: Die triumphirende Tugend* (Gotha, 1725; Hamburg, 1727⁵²)

? / ? *Ercole al bivio* (Milan, 1735⁵³)

M. GREENE / HOADLY *The Judgment of Hercules* (London, 1739?)

ADOLFATI, HASSE / MARTELLO, METASTASIO *Lo starnuto d'Ercole* (Venice, 1745⁵⁴; also *Ercole nell'Indie*, Venice, 1746⁵⁵)
BARBA (Verona, 1748⁵⁶)

HASSE / METASTASIO *Alcide al bivio* (Vienna, 1760⁵⁷; Vienna, 1761; Leipzig, 1763; Florence, 1766⁵⁸; Copenhagen, 1774⁵⁹; Vienna, 1781)

CONFORTO (Madrid, 1765⁶⁰)

? (Lisbon, 1769⁶¹)

UTTINI (Stockholm, 1773) = unperformed

HASSE / WIESSE (as *Die Wahl des Herkules*, Leipzig, 1777⁶²) = unperformed

BORTNYANSKI (as *Alcide*, Venice, 1778⁶³)

SANTOS (Lisbon, 1778⁶⁴)

PAISIELLO (St Petersburg, 1780⁶⁵)

ZINGARELLI (Milan, 1787)

V. RIGHINI (Koblenz, 1790⁶⁶)

T.A. ARNE / SHIRLEY *The birth of Hercules* (London, 1763) = unperformed

SCHWEITZER / WIELAND *Die Wahl des Herkules* (Weimar, 1773⁶⁷)

STABINGER (Weissenburg am Nordgau, 1781) = doubtful

? / FERRANTE *Ercole in fasce ovvero La nascita di Alcide* (Naples, 1775⁶⁸)

⁵¹ A-MB (L)

⁵² D-Bsb 4" Yp 5226-no.28 (L)

⁵³ I-Mb (L)

⁵⁴ I-Mb (L), MARTELLO 1980-2 (Lc)

⁵⁵ I-Rsc & I-Vnm 1261/9 (L), I-MOe Mus. F. 1539 (S)

⁵⁶ I-VEc (L)

⁵⁷ A-Wgm & A-Wn & CZ-Pu & D-Mbs & D-Rp & F-Pa 4-BL-2819 & F-Pn 8-RA6-227(2) & YD-1431 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.2512 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Vgc & S-Skma & US-Eu & US-Wc Schatz 4505 (L), METASTASIO 1953-65 & A-Wn & D-Mbs & D-W Lk 571:8 & F-Pc & F-Pn YD-5561 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Nn & I-Rc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & US-Cn & US-Wc Schatz 4506 (Lc), Breitkopf 1763 & B-Bc 2167 & I-Nc (S)

⁵⁸ I-Fc & I-Fm (L)

⁵⁹ DK-Kk & US-Wc Schatz 4507 (L)

⁶⁰ F-Pn 8-RA10-107 (L)

⁶¹ P-La (L)

⁶² D-Bsb Mus. T 39 & D-Sl (L)

⁶³ Berdennikov & GB-Lbl (S)

⁶⁴ I-Rsc 450 & P-Ln L5789 P(1) (L), P-La (S)

⁶⁵ RU-M, Muzej knigi & RU-SPsc & RU-SPtob (L), B-Bc 2259 & GB-Lcm & GB-Ob & I-Nc 14.1.29-30 (S), I-Mc Mus.Tr.ms. 928 & RU-SPit (Se)

⁶⁶ D-LEm & D-Mth (L), I-Bc QQ.46 (S)

⁶⁷ WIELAND 1794-1802 (Lc), D-Bsb (S)

⁶⁸ I-Vgc (L)

CAMBINI / DUBREUIL *Alcide* (Paris, 1782)

B. The twelve works

KEISER / POSTEL *Der aus Hyperboreen nach Cymbrien überbrachte güldene Apfel* (Hamburg, 1698⁶⁹)

ARIOSTI / BERNARDONI *La più gloriosa fatica d'Ercole* (Vienna, 1703⁷⁰)

? / MANCUSIO *Ercole Gallico* (Palermo, 1704) = doubtful

? / CAPECI *L'amicizia d'Hercole, e Theseo* (Rome, 1707⁷¹)

BADIA / BERNARDONI *Ercole, vincitore di Gerione* (Vienna, 1708⁷²)

GRAUPNER / BREYMANN after CAPECI? *Il fido amico, Oder: Der getreue Freund Hercules und Theseus* (Hamburg, 1708⁷³)

FUX / ANCIANI *La decima fatica d'Ercole, ovvero La sconfitta di Gerione in Spagna* (Vienna, 1710⁷⁴)

FACCO / CANIZARES *La hazaña mayor de Alcides* (Madrid, 1723)

KAEFER / DIETRICH *Der durch Siegen bezwungene Hercules* (Durlach, 1716)

- / CIGNA-SANTI *Ercole sul Tago* (Turin, before 1760⁷⁵) = unperformed
SANTOS (Queluz, 1765⁷⁶; Queluz, 1785⁷⁷)

G.F. DE MAJO / COLTELLINI *Alcide negli Orti Esperidi* (Vienna, 1764⁷⁸)

SCHMITTBAUR, SCHLAGER, SCHWEITZER? / MICHAELIS *Herkules auf dem Oeta* (Hanover, 1771⁷⁹; Leipzig, 1772⁸⁰)
GRAEFE (? , 1771)

D.C. MURATORI / AMAR *Alcide in Ilio* (Palermo, 1778⁸¹)

SILVA, MARTINELLI *Megara Tebana* (Lisbon, 1788⁸²)

⁶⁹ B-Br Féti 4520 A III,10 & D-Bsb Yp 5223-no.5 & Yp 5220-no.10 (L)

⁷⁰ BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc)

⁷¹ F-Pn YD-1193 & I-Lg (L)

⁷² A-Wn Mus.Hs.17701 (S)

⁷³ B-Br Féti 4520 A V,6 (L)

⁷⁴ FUXGA (S)

⁷⁵ CIGNA-SANTI 1760 (Lc)

⁷⁶ BR-Rn & I-Rsc 5650 & P-C (L), I-Rsc & P-La (S)

⁷⁷ I-Rsc CC 5651 & P-La & US-Wc Schatz 9395 (L)

⁷⁸ A-Wmi & A-Wn & I-Mc & I-M, Filodrammatici (L), I-Fn & I-PEc & I-Rn & I-Rsc XVII.2 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17187 & US-Wc (S)

⁷⁹ US-Wc Schatz 4061 (L)

⁸⁰ D-W 1280 Qu.N. (5) & US-Wc Schatz 9656 (L)

⁸¹ I-PLcom & I-PLn (L)

HAEFFNER / CLEWBERG-EDELCRANTZ *Alcides inträde i världen* (Stockholm, 1793⁸³)

AGLIOTTI / RUFFO *Leide in Culla* (Messina, 1799)

C. Omphale, Deianira, Hebe and death

SABADINI / AURELI *La gloria d'Amore* (Parma, 1690⁸⁴)

? / ? *Die nach dem Tode lebende Tugend, oder Der vergötterte Herkules* (Weissenfels, 1692)

L. LULLY, MARAIS / CAMPISTRON *Alcide, ou la Mort d'Hercule* (Paris, 1693⁸⁵; Paris, 1705⁸⁶; Paris, 1716; Paris, 1744)

L. LULLY, MARAIS / FUZELIER (as *La Déjanire*, parody, Paris, 1716)

C.F. POLLAROLO / FRIGIMELICA ROBERTI *Ercole in cielo* (Venice, 1696⁸⁷)

KEISER / POSTEL *Die an dem glücklichen Vermählungs-Tage... vorgebildete Verbindung des grossen Hercules mit der schönen Hebe* (Hamburg, 1699⁸⁸; as *Hercules und Hebe*, Hamburg, 1706⁸⁹)

C.F. POLLAROLO / PASSARINI *Le pazzie degli amanti* (Vienna, 1701?⁹⁰; Rovigo, 1711⁹¹; Vicenza, 1713⁹²; as *Le pazzie de gl'amanti*, Venice, 1719⁹³)

DESTOUCHES / LA MOTTE *Omphale* (Paris, 1701⁹⁴; Paris, 1702; Paris, 1721; Paris, 1733; Paris, 1752⁹⁵)

DESTOUCHES / FUZELIER (as *Hercule filant*, parody, Paris, 1721⁹⁶)

TELEMANN / TELEMANN (Hamburg, 1724⁹⁷)

DESTOUCHES / CAROLET (as *Polichinelle Alcide ou le héros en quenouille*, parody, Paris, 1733)

DESTOUCHES / ROMAGNESI, RICCOBONI (as *Les ennuis de carnaval*, parody, Paris, 1735)

DESTOUCHES / FAVART, MARCOUVILLE (as *Fanfale*, parody, Paris, 1752⁹⁸)

DESTOUCHES / VADE (as *La fileuse*, parody, Paris, 1753⁹⁹; Paris, 1766¹⁰⁰)

CARDONNE (Paris, 1769)

⁸² BR-Rn & I-Fc & I-Rsc (L)

⁸³ S-Skma & S-St & S-Uu (S)

⁸⁴ B-Bc 20607 & US-Wc Schatz 9198 (L)

⁸⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-376 & US-Wc Schatz 5785 & ML48.R4 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), F-Pn RES F-641 (S)

⁸⁶ F-Pn RES-YF-2282 & US-Wc ML50.2.A51L9 (L)

⁸⁷ B-Bc 20141 & F-Pn 8-YTH-50872 & 8-YTH-51938 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.6332 & I-Bu & I-Mb & I-MAc & I-MOe & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 427 & US-Wc Schatz 8284 (L), I-Rvat Barb. lat. 4.134 (Se)

⁸⁸ D-Bsb Mus. T 3 & Yp 5229-no.11 (L)

⁸⁹ D-Hs (L)

⁹⁰ A-Wn Mus.Hs. 17571 (S)

⁹¹ I-Bc Lo.6922 & US-Wc Schatz 8311 (L)

⁹² I-VIb (L)

⁹³ I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L)

⁹⁴ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), F-Pn (S)

⁹⁵ US-Wc Schatz 2549A (L)

⁹⁶ PARODIES 1731 (Lc)

⁹⁷ B-Br Fétis 4520 A VII,8 & US-Wc Schatz 10265 (L), WEICHMANN 1738 (Lc)

⁹⁸ FAVART 1763-77 (Lc)

⁹⁹ F-Pn (L), VADE 1775 & US-Wc ML49.A2V2 (Lc)

¹⁰⁰ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

LACEPEDE (Paris, 1783) = unperformed

M.A. ZIANI / MAZZA *L'Ercole vincitor dell'invidia* (Vienna, 1706¹⁰¹)

? / BERNARDONI *L'enigma del fato, sciolto da Giove* (Vienna, 1707¹⁰²)

HEINICHEN / ? *Hercules* (also *Der vergötterte Hercules*, Leipzig, 1709¹⁰³)

A.S. FIORE / PARIATI *Ercole in cielo* (Vienna, 1710¹⁰⁴; Vienna, 1713¹⁰⁵)

PORPORA / ? *Deianira, Iole ed Ercole* (Naples, 1711¹⁰⁶)

V.A. / G. ROSSI [*H*] *Ercole* (London, 1712¹⁰⁷)

AGAZZINI / G. ROSSI? *Ercole* (Novara, 1718¹⁰⁸)

G. REUTTER jr. / ? *Alcide trasformato in Dio* (Vienna, 1729¹⁰⁹)

PAGANELLI / ? *L'apoteosi di Alcide* (Padua, 1732¹¹⁰)

PORPORA / ? *Le nozze d'Ercole ed Hebe* (Naples, 1739¹¹¹; as *Le nozze d'Ercole e d'Ebe*, Venice, 1744¹¹²)

? / CIRILLO *Le nozze di Ercole e di Ebe* (Naples, 1740¹¹³)

LEO / ? *Le nozze di Jole ed Ercole* (Naples?, before 1744¹¹⁴)

RAMEAU / CAHUSAC *Le mariage d'Alcide et d'Hébé* (in *Les fêtes de Polymnie*, Paris, 1745¹¹⁵; Paris, 1753)

GLUCK / MINGOTTI *Le nozze d'Ercole e d'Ebe* (Dresden, 1747¹¹⁶)

STATELLA / SANT'ANGELO *Le nozze di Ercole e Dejanira* (Naples, 1750¹¹⁷)

? / ? *La caduta di Alcide* (Bayreuth, 1751)

¹⁰¹ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17570 (S)

¹⁰² BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc)

¹⁰³ D-SWl (Se)

¹⁰⁴ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17259-60 (S)

¹⁰⁵ A-Wgm & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17259 (S)

¹⁰⁶ A-Wn SA.68.C.10 Mus 26 (S)

¹⁰⁷ EIRE-Dtc & US-Bp & US-Ws (L)

¹⁰⁸ I-Ma & I-Tci (L)

¹⁰⁹ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18309 (S)

¹¹⁰ I-Vcg (L)

¹¹¹ I-Fc (L)

¹¹² I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 8374 (L)

¹¹³ I-Nn (L)

¹¹⁴ D-MÜp (L)

¹¹⁵ ROO & F-Pa & F-Pn & F-Po (S)

¹¹⁶ D-Bsb & D-W Textb. 704 & PL-Wu (L), B-Bc 12808 & DTB XXVI (S)

¹¹⁷ CDN-Tu (L)

DAUVERGNE / MARMONTEL *Hercule mourant* (Paris, 1761¹¹⁸)

CAFARO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Ercole, Dejanira, Acheloo* (Naples, 1769¹¹⁹)

VERMIGLIO / GAGLIANI *Alcide e Dejanira* (Palermo, 1774¹²⁰)

SIMONI / AZZALI *La morte ed apoteosi di Alcide* (Palermo, 1775¹²¹)

PERONI / CANOVAI *Ercole in cielo* (Florence, 1777¹²²)

FLOQUET / ROBINEAU *La nouvelle Omphale* (Versailles, 1782; Paris, 1782?)

BERTONI / BOTTURINI *Apoteosi di Ercole* (Venice 1782)

TARCHI (as *L'Apoteosi d'Ercole*, Venice, 1790¹²³)

LIMA / ? *Le nozze d'Ercole, e d'Ebe* (Lisbon, 1785¹²⁴)

HAEFFNER / ? *Alcides inträde i verladen* (Stockholm, 1793)

SHIELD / ? *Hercules and Omphale* (London, 1794) = doubtful

LASERNA / COMELLA *Hercules y Dejanira* (Madrid, 1796)

Hercules (see: Heracles)

Hermes (see also: Adonis, Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares, Hera, Pallas Athene, Perseus, Planets, Prometheus, Zephyros, Zeus)

NANNUCCI / CORSIGNANI *Il vero onore: Mercurio, Giunone, Venere, Fama, Flora, Arno, Vizio* (Florence, 1713¹²⁵)

J.C. BACH / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Mercurio, Marte, Temide* (Naples, 1762¹²⁶)

TRAETTA / BETTI *La pace di Mercurio* (Bolzano, 1765¹²⁷)

G.F. MAJO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Dusare, Partenope, Mercurio* (Naples, 1768¹²⁸)

¹¹⁸ F-Po (S)

¹¹⁹ I-Rsc (L)

¹²⁰ I-Plcom (L)

¹²¹ I-PLcom (L)

¹²² I-Fm & I-Vgc (L)

¹²³ A-Wmi & F-Pa 8-BL-8259 & F-Pn 8-YTH-51135 & 8-YTH-51572 & 8-YTH-51659 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 10212 (L)

¹²⁴ BR-Rn & I-Bc Lo.8920 & I-PAc & I-Rsc CC 11149 & I-Tci & I-Vgc & P-C & P-Ln L5803 P(9) & US-Wc Schatz 5618 (L)

¹²⁵ GB-Lv & I-Bc Lo.7477 & Lo.Villa.342 & I-Fn & I-LI & I-MOe & I-Vgc (L)

¹²⁶ D-LEm & I-Nc & I-Nlp (L)

¹²⁷ I-FP,Fanan & I-Mb & I-PEc & I-Vgc (L), I-BZ,Arch. di Stato & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17866 (S)

¹²⁸ I-Nc & I-Rsc (L)

CAFARO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Mercurio, Giove, Minerva* (Naples, 1770¹²⁹)

? / AUBERT *La gara: Mercurio, Minerva, Pace* (Livorno, 1791¹³⁰)

Hermione (see: Cadmus)

Hesione (see also: Heracles)

BALLAROTTI / D'AVERRA *Esione* (Turin, 1699¹³¹)

CAMPRA / DANCHET *Hesione* (Paris, 1700¹³²; Paris, 1703¹³³; Paris, 1709; Brussels, 1710¹³⁴; Paris, 1729; Paris, 1743)

CAMPRA / DOMINIQUE, ROMAGNESI (*Hesione, Parodie*, Paris, 1729¹³⁵)

SANTOS / MARTINELLI *Esione* (Ajuda, 1784¹³⁶)

Hippolyte (see: Amazons)

Hippolytus (see also: Theseus)

A. BONONCINI / BERNARDONI *Hippolito* (Vienna, 1710¹³⁷)

TORRI / LALLI *L'Ippolito* (Munich, 1731¹³⁸)

RAMEAU / PELLEGRIN *Hippolyte et Aricie* (Paris, 1733¹³⁹; Paris, 1742¹⁴⁰; Lyons, 1743¹⁴¹; Lyons, 1750¹⁴²; Paris, 1757¹⁴³; Paris, 1767¹⁴⁴)

RAMEAU / RICCOBONI (parody, Paris, 1733¹⁴⁵)

RAMEAU / ROMAGNESI (parody, Paris, 1733¹⁴⁶)

¹²⁹ F-Pn MS-1656 (S)

¹³⁰ I-Rsc & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc (L)

¹³¹ I-FOSc & I-Pmc & I-T, Arch. Storico & I-Tci L.O. 25 & US-Wc Schatz 592 (L)

¹³² DANCHET 1751 & RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), B-Br Fétis 2657 A (S)

¹³³ B-Br Faber 1.53 VII, 51 (L)

¹³⁴ B-Br Faber 1946 (L)

¹³⁵ PARODIES 1731 (Lc)

¹³⁶ BR-Rn & P-Lg & P-L, Teatro S. Carlo & I-Rsc CC 5783 (L), I-Rsc & P-La (S)

¹³⁷ A-Wgm Q 1204 (S)

¹³⁸ D-FUl & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-Mbs & D-MHrm & I-Rsc & D-Mbs (L), D-Mbs (S)

¹³⁹ B-Br Fétis 4499 A XV, 119 & F-Pn 8-RO-1193 & GD-43 & YF-728 & RES-YF-2158 & RES-YF-2159 & RES-YF-2160 & US-Wc ML50.2.H4R2 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), OOR & F-Dc & F-Pa & F-Pc & F-Pn & F-Po & F-V & GB-Cfm (S)

¹⁴⁰ F-Pn 8-RO-1194 & YF-729 & YF-730 & RES-YF-2161 (L), F-Pc & F-Pn & US-MED (S)

¹⁴¹ F-Pn 8-RO-1032 (11) & US-Wc Schatz 8587a (L)

¹⁴² F-Pn 8-RF-12627 (L)

¹⁴³ F-Pn RES-YF-917 & RES-YF-975 & RES-YF-1059 & RES-YF-2162 (L)

¹⁴⁴ F-Pn YF-731 & RES-YF-844 & RES-YF-2163 (L)

¹⁴⁵ FABBRICINO 1979 (Lc)

¹⁴⁶ FABBRICINO 1979 & ROMAGNESI 1998 (Lc)

F. COUPERIN, CUPIS / FAVART, PARMENTIER (as *Hipolyte et Aricie*, parody, Paris, 1742¹⁴⁷ ; Paris, 1759¹⁴⁸)
TRAETTA / FRUGONI (as *Ippolito ed Aricia*, Parma, 1759¹⁴⁹ ; Parma, 1765)
HOLZBAUER / VERAZI (as *Ippolito ed Aricia*, Mannheim, 1759¹⁵⁰)
ZUMSTEEG / FRUGONI, VERAZI (as *Le delizie campestri o Ippolito e Aricia*, Stuttgart, 1782¹⁵¹)
PAISIELLO / FRUGONI, SALVIONI (as *Fedra*, Naples, 1788¹⁵²)
NASOLINI / FRUGONI (as *Teseo a Stige*, Florence, 1790¹⁵³ ; Vienna, 1791¹⁵⁴)

GLUCK / CORIO *L'Ippolito* (Milan, 1745¹⁵⁵)

ALMEIDA / TEDESCHI *L'Ippolito* (Lisbon, 1752¹⁵⁶)

ROSEINGRAVE / SMITH *Phædra and Hippolitus* (Dublin, 1753¹⁵⁷)

LEMOYNE / HOFFMAN *Phèdre* (Fontainebleau, 1786; Paris, 1786¹⁵⁸)

? / SOYE *Hippolito* (Lisbon, 1794¹⁵⁹)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / BALSAMO *Ippolito* (Naples, 1798¹⁶⁰)

Hypermnestra (see: Danaids)

Hypsipyle (see also: Jason)

? / **LAZARA** *Isifile* (Padua, 1693¹⁶¹)

PORFIRI / AURELI *Issifile amazzone di Lenno* (Pesaro, 1697¹⁶²)

¹⁴⁷ F-Pn RES-YF-917 & RES-YF-975 & RES-YF-1059 & RES-YF-2162 (L), FAVART 1763-77 & I-Vgc Rolandi 4525 (Lc)

¹⁴⁸ F-Pn 8-YTH-8545 (L)

¹⁴⁹ IOB & I-Bc Lo.5334 & I-Bca & I-Fc & I-Mc & I-MOe & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & I-Vqs & US-CA (L), I-Tci (L2), RUSSO 2005 (Lc), IOB (S)

¹⁵⁰ D-Bhm & D-DI & D-HEu & D-Mbs & D-Mhav & D-MHrm & US-Wc Schatz 4784 (L)

¹⁵¹ D-As & D-MHrm & D-SI & US-CA (L)

¹⁵² B-Bc 20269 & CDN-Tu & D-Bsb & I-Bc Lo.3875 & I-Fc & I-Nc Rari 10.1.16/12 & 10.1.23/12 & I-Ra & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 7668 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.9986 & CDN-Lu & D-Bsb & F-Pn & GB-Lbl & GB-Ob & I-Nc 16.7.14-15 & P-La (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.10613 & 10624 & I-Mc Mus.Tr.ms. 886 & 929 & Nosedà O 5.6 & I-Nc Arie 463 & Arie 465/15 & Rari Cornice 1.6 (Se)

¹⁵³ B-Bc 21920 & CDN-Tu & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.3370 & I-Fc & I-Fm & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 7021 (L), A-Wn & F-Pn & I-Fc (S)

¹⁵⁴ D-MHrm & I-Rsc (L), A-Wn KT.442. Mus & Mus.Hs.9973 (S)

¹⁵⁵ B-Bc 20757 & I-Bc Lo.2229 & I-LDE & I-Mb Racc. dramm. 2457 & I-Mc & I-Ra & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 3931 (L), B-Bc 4027-43 & 12807 & F-Pc & US-Wc (Se)

¹⁵⁶ P-Ln (L)

¹⁵⁷ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁵⁸ F-Pn (L), US-Wc ML50.2.P35L2 (Lc)

¹⁵⁹ P-La (L)

¹⁶⁰ B-Bc 20758 & I-Bc Lo.2405 & I-Fm & I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁶¹ I-Bc Lo.6661 & I-Fm & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vcg (L)

¹⁶² I-IE & I-PESc & I-PESo & I-Rn (L)

F.B. CONTI / METASTASIO *L'Issipile* (Vienna, 1732¹⁶³; Jaromerice, 1733; Brunswick, 1733¹⁶⁴; Brunswick, 1736¹⁶⁵)
 ? (Rome, 1732¹⁶⁶) = unperformed
 BIONI (Wroclaw, 1732¹⁶⁷)
 HASSE (Naples, 1732¹⁶⁸)
 G. PORTA / LALLI (Venice, 1732¹⁶⁹; Lucca, 1735¹⁷⁰; Perugia, 1737¹⁷¹)
 FEO (Turin, 1733¹⁷²; Lucca, 1735)
 PORPORA (Rome, 1733¹⁷³)
 PORPORA, SANDONI, SCHIASSI / CORI (London, 1735¹⁷⁴)
 V.A. (Prague, 1735¹⁷⁵)
 F.B. CONTI / WENDT (as *Sieg der kindlichen Liebe oder Issipile, Printzessin von Lemnos*, Hamburg, 1737¹⁷⁶; Hamburg, 1738)
 B. GALUPPI (Turin, 1737¹⁷⁷; Bologna, 1750¹⁷⁸)
 CHIARINI (Brescia, 1740¹⁷⁹; Bergamo, 1743¹⁸⁰)
 BELLERMANN (Mainz, 1741)
 HASSE, LEO (Naples, 1742¹⁸¹)
 TERRADELLAS (Florence, 1742)
 VEROCAI (as *Hissifile*, Brunswick, 1743)
 J.C. SMITH (London, 1743¹⁸²) = unperformed
 TERRADELLAS? (Florence, 1744¹⁸³)
 MAZZONI (Macerata, 1748¹⁸⁴)
 V.A. (Brescia, 1749¹⁸⁵)
 GLUCK (Prague, 1752¹⁸⁶)
 ERRICHELLI (Naples, 1754)
 HOLZBAUER (Mannheim, 1754¹⁸⁷)
 B. GALUPPI a.o. (Parma, 1755¹⁸⁸)
 V. CIAMPI, COCCHI (London, 1758¹⁸⁹)

¹⁶³ A-Wgm & A-Wn & CZ-Pu & D-Mth & D-W Textb. 108 & I-Bc & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 2205 (L), METASTASIO 2002-4 (Lc), A-Wgm Q 1288 (S)

¹⁶⁴ D-HVI & D-W Textb. 689 (L)

¹⁶⁵ D-BS (L)

¹⁶⁶ CDN-Tu & GB-Lbl & I-Fm & US-AUS & US-Wc ML50.2.I78 (L)

¹⁶⁷ I-Mb (L), A-Wgm (S)

¹⁶⁸ US-Nyp It. Downes (L), I-MC 124/G/31 op.1-3 (S), D-W Mus. Ms. 125 & I-Mc Nosedà A31 & A-Wgm Q 2074 & I-Tco (Se)

¹⁶⁹ I-Bc Lo.4363 & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 8391 (L)

¹⁷⁰ I-Tci (L)

¹⁷¹ I-Vgc (L)

¹⁷² I-Nf (Se)

¹⁷³ B-Bc 20787 & F-Pn YD-5257 & GB-Lwi & I-Rn (L), I-MC 126 A 21 & GB-Lcm 687a & GB-Ob Mus.e.8 (Se)

¹⁷⁴ GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/41 & GB-Lbl (L), B-Bc 5498 (Se)

¹⁷⁵ CZ-Pu (L)

¹⁷⁶ A-Wn 625383-B. The (L), D-MGs (S)

¹⁷⁷ B-Bc 20788 & I-Rsc & I-T, Arch. Storico & I-Tci L.O. 91 & I-Tn & I-T, Strona & US-Wc Schatz 3499 (L), B-Bc 3864 & 3871 & 3882 (Se)

¹⁷⁸ D-Dl & US-Wc (S)

¹⁷⁹ I-Mb (L), I-Mb (S)

¹⁸⁰ CH-Zz (S)

¹⁸¹ I-Bc & I-Mc & I-Nc (Se)

¹⁸² GB-Lbl & J-Tn & US-Wc (Se)

¹⁸³ I-Bc Lo.6662 (L)

¹⁸⁴ US-Wc Schatz 6226 (L)

¹⁸⁵ I-Palazzolo, Civica & I-Vgc & I-V, Levi (L)

¹⁸⁶ CZ-Pnm (L), CH-Bel ML Hs 33 & B-Bc 12816 (Se)

¹⁸⁷ D-Dl & D-HEu & D-MHav & D-MHrm & US-Wc Schatz 4785 (L), D-Bsb (Se)

¹⁸⁸ BR-Rn & I-MOe & I-Pac & US-Wc Schatz 3514 (L), P-La (S), F-Pn D-4300(6) & D-4304(27) (Se)

¹⁸⁹ GB-Lbl (L), D-Hs & IRL-Dam & GB-Lbl & GB-Lcm & US-Wc (S)

GASSMANN (Venice, 1758¹⁹⁰)
 G. SCARLATTI (Vienna, 1760¹⁹¹)
 SARTI (Copenhagen, 1761¹⁹²)
 J.C. BACH, BERNASCONI, CAFARO, DE MEZZO, B. GALUPPI, HASSE, LAMPUGNANI,
 G. SCARLATTI, TRAETTA (Naples, 1763¹⁹³)
 ARANAZ Y VIDES / NIPHO (as *Ipsipile*, *La mayor gloria de un padre es la virtud de sus hijos*,
 Madrid, 1764)
 SCHWANENBERGER (Brunswick, 1767¹⁹⁴; Kassel, 1772¹⁹⁵)
 ANFOSSI / ANDREI (London, 1784¹⁹⁶)
 MARINELLI (Venice, 1796¹⁹⁷)

¹⁹⁰ I-Bc Lo.1944 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3622 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18077 (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.3971 (Se)

¹⁹¹ A-Wn 641432-A. 5,4 Mus & A-Wst & CZ-Pu & I-Bc Lo.5155 & I-Rn & US-Wc Schatz 9548-9 (L), D-Bsb & I-Tn (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.1906 & A-Wn SA.68.C.18. Mus 26 & B-Bc 4868-77 (Se)

¹⁹² DK-Kk (L)

¹⁹³ I-Ra (L)

¹⁹⁴ D-HVI & D-Ju (L), D-W Mus. Ms. 241 (Se)

¹⁹⁵ D-Kl & D-MGu (L)

¹⁹⁶ I-Bc Lo.268 (L)

¹⁹⁷ F-Pn 8-YTH-51167 & I-Bc Lo.2848 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Vt & US-Wc Schatz 5956 (L)

Idomeneus (see also: Telemachus)

CAMPRA / DANCHET *Idoménée* (Paris, 1712¹; Paris, 1731²)

MOZART / VARESCO (as *Idomeneo*, Munich, 1781³; Vienna, 1786)

B. GALUPPI / B. DE ROSSI, VACCARO? *Idomeneo* (Rome, 1756⁴)

ROLLE / PATZKE *Idamant, oder Das Gelübde* (Magdeburg, 1766⁵)

SANSONE / CIMAGLIA *L'Idomeneo* (Palermo, 1778⁶)

DELLA-MARIA / TRIBOULET *Idoménée* (Marseilles, 1787)

GAZZANIGA / SERTOR *Idomeneo* (Padua, 1790⁷)

PAER (Florence, 1794⁸)

R. PETRILLI / SALSI *Idomeneo* (Naples, 1792⁹)

PAISIELLO, C. GUGLIELMI (as *Il ritorno d'Idomeneo in Creta*, Perugia, 1792¹⁰; as *L'Idomeneo*, Lisbon, 1795¹¹)

Io (see also: Zeus)

RAMEAU / ? *Io* (Paris, before 1745?¹²) = unperformed

ROESSIG / ? *Io* (Bayreuth, 1779)

Iphigenia (see also: Clytemnestra, Electra, Orestes)

KEISER / POSTEL after DIETRICH *Die wunderbahr-errettete Iphigenia* (Hamburg, 1699¹³; Hamburg, 1710¹⁴)

KAEFER (as *Iphigenia*, Durlach, 1716; Hamburg, 1721)

C.H. GRAUN / SCHUERMANN (as *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Brunswick, 1728; also *L'Ifigenia*, Brunswick, 1731¹⁵; as *Iphigenia*, Hamburg, 1731¹⁶; Brunswick, 1734¹⁷)

¹ B-Br Fétis 4499 A X,77 (L), DANCHET 1751 & RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

² F-Pn (S)

³ D-Mbs & US-BEm & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 6818 (L), I-Fm (Lc), NMA (S)

⁴ D-MHrm & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-Wc ML50.2.I3G2 (L), P-La (S)

⁵ D-Bsb (S)

⁶ I-PLcom & I-PLn (L)

⁷ A-Wmi & B-Br Fétis 4488 A XVIII/2 & F-Pn 8-YTH-52444 & I-Bc Lo.2066 & I-M,Scala & I-Vcg & I-Vgc (L), D-Mh & US-Wc (S)

⁸ I-Bc Lo.3697 & I-Fc & I-Fn & US-AUS (L), I-PAc (S)

⁹ I-Nc (L)

¹⁰ I-PEc & I-Vgc (L)

¹¹ I-Rsc & US-Wc (L)

¹² F-Pc & F-Pn (S)

¹³ B-Br Fétis 4520 A III,12 (L), WEICHMANN 1725-38 (Lc)

¹⁴ D-Bsb 4" Yp 5223-no.2 & 4" Yp 5229-no.13 (L)

¹⁵ D-BS & D-W Textb. 687 (L)

¹⁶ D-Bsb Mus. T 7 & US-Wc Schatz 4103 (L)

DESMARETS, CAMPRA / DUCHE DE VANCY, DANCHET *Iphigénie en Tauride* (Paris, 1704¹⁸; Paris, 1762)

? / TARDIVELO *Ifigenia* (Padua, 1705¹⁹)

COLETTI / RIVA, AURELI *L’Ifigenia* (Venice, 1707²⁰)

D. SCARLATTI / CAPECI after SCAMACCA *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Rome, 1713²¹)

D. SCARLATTI / CAPECI after MARTELLO *Ifigenia in Tauri* (Rome, 1713²²; Turin, 1719²³)

FUX / PARIATI *Diana placata* (Vienna, 1717²⁴)

G. REUTTER jr. (as *Il sacrificio in Aulide*, Vienna, 1735²⁵)

G.B. FERRANDINI (Munich, 1755; Munich, 1758²⁶; Munich, 1766)

CALDARA / ZENO after RACINE *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Vienna, 1718²⁷; Vienna, 1723)

ORLANDINI (Florence, 1732²⁸)

G. PORTA (Munich, 1738²⁹)

GIACOMELLI (as *Achille in Aulide*, Rome, 1739³⁰)

ABOS (Naples, 1745) = doubtful

G.F. DE MAJO (Naples, 1762) = doubtful

SALARI (Casal-Monferrato, 1776)

ORLANDINI / PASQUALIGO after DOLCE, EURIPIDES, MARTELLO, RACINE, ZENO *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice, 1719³¹)

VINCI (Venice, 1725³²)

MAZZONI (Treviso, 1756) = doubtful

ARAI (St Petersburg, 1758) = doubtful

¹⁷ D-W Textb. 686 (L)

¹⁸ B-Br Fétiſ 4499 A VIII (L), DANCHET 1751 & RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹⁹ I-Mb & I-Pci (L)

²⁰ GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.1250 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pmc & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 2112 (L)

²¹ B-Bc 20654 & CDN-Tu & F-Pn YD-4910 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5135 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat (L)

²² B-Bc 20665 & I-Bc Lo.5136 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Rc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg (L)

²³ I-Bc Lo.5137 & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch. Storico & I-Tci & US-BEm (L), D-Dl Mus 1 F 30g (Se)

²⁴ I-Vnm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17181 (S)

²⁵ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17982-3 (S)

²⁶ D-HEu & D-Mbs (L)

²⁷ A-Wgm & A-Wn & B-Bc 20655 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-LEm & D-W Textb. 72 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Vnm (L), ZENO 1785 & I-Bc Lo.741 & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 1484 (Lc), A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.18255-6 & B-Bc 2048 & F-Pn D. 1720-1 (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17051 (Se)

²⁸ I-Bc Lo.3600 & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 7334 (L)

²⁹ D-Mbs & US-Wc Schatz 8360 (L), D-Dl Mus 2444 F 3 (S)

³⁰ B-Bc 18953 & F-Pn 8-BL-8309 & I-Bc Lo.2161 & I-Nlp & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & US-Wc ML 50.2.A26G3 (L)

³¹ B-Bc 20665 & D-Bsb & I-Bc Lo.3577 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 7335 (L), D-SHs M 18 & D-Rou Mus. saec. XVIII 64/22 & GB-T 1083 (Se)

³² F-Pn 8-YTH-51998 & GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/42 & I-Bc Lo.5509 & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 10750 (L), D-MÜs 4266 & D-Swl 4721 & GB-Lbl & I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-477 (Se)

PORPORA / ROLLI *Ifigenia in Aulide* (London, 1735³³)

C.H. GRAUN / VILLATI after EURIPIDES, RACINE *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Berlin, 1748³⁴; Berlin, 1750; Berlin, 1768³⁵)

NEBRA / GONZALEZ MARTINEZ *Para obsequio a la deydad nunca es culto la crueldad y Iphigenia en Tracia* (Madrid, 1747³⁶; Madrid, 1749)

JOMMELLI / ? after RACINE *L'Ifigenia* (Rome, 1751³⁷; Mannheim, 1751³⁸; Barcelona, 1755³⁹; Prague, 1762⁴⁰; Kassel, 1766⁴¹; Kassel, 1773⁴²)

ADOLFATI (Genoa, 1751⁴³)

JOMMELLI? (Livorno, 1753⁴⁴)

JOMMELLI, TRAETTA (as *Ifigenia in Aulide*, Naples, 1753⁴⁵)

I. FIORILLO, B. GALUPPI? (Brunswick, 1760⁴⁶)

BERTONI / CIGNA-SANTI *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Turin, 1762⁴⁷)

FRANCHI (Rome, 1766⁴⁸)

SARTI (Rome, 1776⁴⁹)

BERTONI / ANDREI (London, 1782⁵⁰)

G. GIORDANI (Rome, 1786⁵¹)

³³ F-Pc & F-Pn 8-BL-6390 (6) & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.7743 & I-Vqs (L), ROLLI 1744 (Lc), GB-Lbl (S), B-Bc 5498 & GB-Lam MS 136 & GB-Lbl (Se)

³⁴ D-Bsb & D-ERu & F-Pn YD-5645 (L), B-Bc 2115 & D-B Mus.ms. 8221 & D-DS Mus.ms 390 & D-Hs ND VI 2960 & D-LEm Becker III.8.15 & GB-Lbl R.M.22.d.12. & S-St I 5 (62) & D-W Mus. Ms. 92 (S), GRAUN 1773-4 & D-B Mus.ms 8238 & D-DS Mus.ms 402/5 & D-HER Mus.L 120:1-2 & D-Hs B/1951 & D-RH Ms 285-6 & 914 & D-SWI Mus.2118 & PL-WRu Muz. & S-L Saml.Kraus 35 & S-Skma O-R & Od-R & T-SE-R & S-Uu Instr. mus. i hs. 80:8 & Vok. mus. i hs. 54:29 (Se)

³⁵ D-Dl & US-Wc Schatz 4102 (L)

³⁶ D-Bsb 4" Xk 1513-no.2 (L), Alvarez Martinez 1997, E-E (S)

³⁷ B-Bc 20656 & I-MAC & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vgc & US-AUS (L), F-Pn & GB-Lbl R.M.22.f.18-20. & I-Mc & I-Nc Rari.7.8.8 & P-La (S), B-Bc 2182 & 4252 & 4254 & 4289 & D-SWI Mus.2990-1 & 2991a & 2993a & I-Nc Rari 7.8.9-10 & 7.8.11-12 & S-Skma T-SE-R & US-Wc M.1505.A1 Case (vols. 92, 95, 98, 99 & 100) (Se)

³⁸ D-HEu & D-Mbs & D-Mth & D-MHav & D-MHrm & D-MZp & D-MZs & I-Tci (L)

³⁹ US-CHH (L)

⁴⁰ CZ-Pu (L)

⁴¹ D-FUl & US-Wc Schatz 4862 (L)

⁴² D-DT & D-FUl (L)

⁴³ I-G,Berio & I-SA (L)

⁴⁴ I-Bam (L)

⁴⁵ I-Nc Rari 10.1 (2) & I-Nlp & US-Wc Schatz 4861 (L), I-MC (S), GB-Lbl (Se)

⁴⁶ D-BS (L), D-W Mus. Ms. 285 (Se)

⁴⁷ B-Bc 20657 & F-Pn FB-6925 & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch. Storico & I-Tci & I-FP,Fanan & I-Tn & I-Vgc Rolandi 1796 & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 914 (L), DIODATI 1765 (Lc), I-Tf 1 VIII 6-7bis & P-La (S), D-MÜs SANT Hs 467 & DK-Sa R 138 & HR-Sk LIV/678 & I-MAav Cart.8 n.15 & Cart.9 n.6 & Cart.9 n.19 & Cart.9 n.21-22 & I-OS & I-Tf 2 IV 9 & 2 IV 18 (Se)

⁴⁸ B-Bc 20658 & I-Bc Lo.1767 & US-Wc ML50.2.I4F7 (L), F-Pn D. 4232-4 (S), F-Pn D-14402 & I-Rc Mss. 5875 & 5851 & I-R,Rostirolla MS MUS 318 & I-Rvat & S-Skma T-SE-R (Se)

⁴⁹ B-Bc 20659 & CDN-Tu & I-FE,Walker & I-Rsc & I-Rvat (L), B-Bc 2342 & D-MÜs SANT Hs 3832 I.II & F-Pn & I-Bc KK.72 & I-Rmassimo & P-La & US-Wc (S), B-Bc 2343 & B-Br Fétis 2622 MS II 4043 & D-Hs M A/831 (Bd. 1, Nr. 6) & I-Bas IV 87/747 c,n.o 4 (Se)

⁵⁰ GB-Lbl & US-NYp (L)

⁵¹ B-Bc 20660 & I-Bc Lo.2196 & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L), I-R,Cagli 50 (Se)

TRAETTA / COLTELLINI *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Vienna, 1763⁵²; Milan, 1767⁵³; Mantua, 1768⁵⁴; as *L'Ifigenia in Tauride, o sia Le furie di Oreste*, Florence, 1773⁵⁵; Florence, 1776⁵⁶; Mantua, 1777⁵⁷; Naples, 1778; Florence, 1782⁵⁸)

GLUCK, TRAETTA / ROSSO (Florence, 1767⁵⁹)

? (Vienna, 1768⁶⁰)

B. GALUPPI (St Petersburg, 1768⁶¹)

TRAETTA / M.O.R. (as *Ifigenia in Etiopia*, parody, Florence, 1772⁶²)

MARINELLI (Trento, 1775⁶³)

MONZA (Milan, 1784⁶⁴)

TARCHI (Venice, 1785⁶⁵; Padua, 1786; Florence, 1786⁶⁶; Perugia, 1788⁶⁷)

TRAETTA, HAYDN (Eszterháza, 1786⁶⁸)

F. TORELLI (as *Le furie di Oreste*, Bologna, 1789⁶⁹)

G.F. DE MAJO / VERAZI after PASQUALIGO *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Mannheim, 1764⁷⁰)

MONZA (as *Oreste*, Turin, 1766⁷¹)

JOMMELLI (Naples, 1771⁷²)

JOMMELLI, SILVA (Salvaterra, 1776⁷³)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / BOTTARELLI after CIGNA-SANTI, VERAZI *Ifigenia in Aulide* (London, 1768⁷⁴)

GLUCK / DU ROULLET after RACINE *Iphigénie en Aulide* (Paris, 1774⁷⁵; Bordeaux, 1783⁷⁶)

⁵² IOB & A-Wmi & A-Wn & A-Wst & CZ-Pu & D-Mbs & F-Pc & GB-Lbl & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 10393 (L), GB-Lwi & I-Bca & I-CRg & I-Fc & I-Lg & I-LI & I-Pac & I-Ped & I-Vgc & US-Cn US-Wc Schatz 10393a & ML48.A5v.32 (Lc), IOB & B-Bc 2362 & I-Nc & I-Tu (S), DTO & B-Br Fétis 2548 MS II 3983 (Se)

⁵³ B-Bc 20667 & I-Bc Lo.5348 & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Nc (L)

⁵⁴ B-Bc 20667 & I-MAc & I-OS & I-Vgc (L)

⁵⁵ IOB & I-Fm Ms. Basevi 306 (S)

⁵⁶ D-HEu & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vgc (L)

⁵⁷ I-Bc Lo.5349 & I-Vgc & US-Wc ML48.A5v.24 (L)

⁵⁸ I-Fc & I-Vgc (L)

⁵⁹ I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Mb coll. Libr. 139 & I-Mc & I-Ms & I-Nc & I-PS & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L), B-Bc G 785 & A-Wn Mus.Hs.5172 (S)

⁶⁰ B-Bc 27544 (L)

⁶¹ CH-Gpu & RU-SPsc (L), US-Wc & RU-SPtob (S), F-Pn D. 4301 (21) (Se)

⁶² B-Bc 20664 (L)

⁶³ I-TRc (L)

⁶⁴ B-Bc 20668 & CDN-Tu & I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.3245 & Lo.9927 & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc coll. Libr. 186 & I-Ms & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 6610 & ML48.A5v.8 (L), F-Pc & P-La (S)

⁶⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-51570 & 8-YTH-51642 & I-Bc Lo.5281 & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 10221 (L), F-Pn (S), B-Bc 4891 (Se)

⁶⁶ I-Fc & I-Fm (L), I-Fc (S)

⁶⁷ I-Vgc (L)

⁶⁸ A-Ee (L), Haydn-Mozart Presse (Se)

⁶⁹ I-Bc Lo.5309 & I-Bca & I-B,Cassa di Risparmio & I-Vgc & US-AUS & US-Wc (L)

⁷⁰ D-DI & D-HR & D-HEu & D-KA & D-MH & D-MHav & D-MHrm & I-Bc Lo.2785 & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 5856-7 (L), RRMCE 46 & B-Br 44869 R 46 & D-Bsb & US-Wc (S), B-Bc 4384 (Se)

⁷¹ B-Bc 21261 & D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.3238 & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Provinciale & I-T,Strona & I-Vc & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 6611 (L), I-Tf & P-La (S)

⁷² D-Bsb & I-Fc & I-Ra & I-Vgc & US-NYp (L), A-Sm & D-Bsb 11254 & D-Mbs 3688 & DK-Kk & I-Fc & I-Mc Nosedà F.52 I/II & I-Nc Rari 7.8.13/15 & US-Wc M1505.J74.S6 (S)

⁷³ I-Rsc & P-C & P-Ln L5794 P(1) P-Lg & P-L,Teatro S. Carlo & US-Wc Schatz 4890 (L), P-La (S)

⁷⁴ GB-Lbl (L), GB-Lbl G.424.o.(2.) (Se)

⁷⁵ GSW & US-Wc Schatz 3898 (L), GSW (S)

⁷⁶ US-Wc ML48.M2L (L)

GLUCK, UTTINI (Stockholm, 1778⁷⁷)
DESPREAUX (as *Momie*, parody, Paris, 1778)

? / ? *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Copenhagen, 1774⁷⁸)

UTTINI / ADLERBETH after RACINE *Iphigénie* (Stockholm, 1777⁷⁹)

MARTIN Y SOLER / SERIO after ZENO *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Naples, 1779⁸⁰)

PRATI (Florence, 1784⁸¹)
L. ROSSI (Genoa, 1784⁸²; Cremona, 1785⁸³)
PLEYEL (Naples, 1785⁸⁴)
TARCHI (Padua, 1785⁸⁵)
MOSCA (Rome, 1799⁸⁶)
CURCIO (Florence, 1799⁸⁷)

PUENDTER / ? *Iphigenia* (Augsburg, 1779⁸⁸)

ROESSIG / ? *Iphigenia* (Bayreuth, 1779)

GLUCK / GUILLARD, DU ROULLET after LA TOUCHE *Iphigénie en Tauride* (Paris, 1779⁸⁹)

GLUCK / ALXINGER, GLUCK (*Iphigenia auf Tauris*, Vienna, 1781⁹⁰)
GLUCK / L. DA PONTE (as *Ifigenia in Tauride*, Vienna, 1783⁹¹; London, 1796⁹²)
PROT / FAVART, GUERIN DE FREMICOURT, VOISENON (as *Les rêveries nouvelées des Grecs*, parody, Paris, 1779)
V.A. / MOREL DE CHEDEVILLE (as *Panurge dans l'île des Lanternes*, parody, Paris, 1785)
V.A. / DUPERIER DE LARSAN (as *Iphigénie en Périgord*, parody, Paris, 1786?)

N. PICCINNI / DUBREUIL *Iphigénie en Tauride* (Paris, 1781⁹³)

MEYER VON SCHAUENSEE / ? *Iphigenie* (Luzern, 1785⁹⁴)

⁷⁷ S-St (S)

⁷⁸ DK-Kk (L)

⁷⁹ S-St (S)

⁸⁰ I-Nc & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 6028 (L), E-Mp & I-Nc 28.3.25-27 & P-La (S), D-MÜs SANT Hs 2518 –9 & I-BGi 17964 & I-Tci Mus.Ms 91 (Se)

⁸¹ B-Br Fétis 4488 A XIV/3 & I-Bc Lo.4405 & I-Fc & I-Fm & US-Wc Schatz 8451 (L), CZ-BER HU 646 & I-Tf 2 IV 16 & I-Mc Mus. Tr. ms 1073 & US-Wc M1505.A1 Case (vol. 150) (Se)

⁸² US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 8918 (L)

⁸³ I-Bc Lo.4614 & I-CRg (L)

⁸⁴ CDN-Tu & I-Fc & I-Nn & I-Vgc (L), I-Nc XXX.2.4-6 & XXX.2.7-8 & P-La (S), CH-E Th.707,14⁶ (Ms. 4693) & CH-SGd Ms. 57 (Ms. 10580) & CZ-Pnm XXXVIII A 303 & D-BFb P-le 20^{1,3-4} & D-HR III 4 1/2 4^o 240-1 & D-TEGha Ms 74 & F-Pn & H-P P 34 & HR-Zha LXXII.T (Se)

⁸⁵ I-P, Museo civico & I-P, Saggioli & I-Vcg & US-Wc Schatz 10231 (L), I-I & P-La (S)

⁸⁶ I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vgc (L), I-Rsc (Se)

⁸⁷ I-Bc Lo.1347 & I-Fc (L), I-PAc (S)

⁸⁸ US-Wc Schatz 8514 (L)

⁸⁹ GSW & US-Wc Schatz 3903 (L), GSW (S)

⁹⁰ GSW & US-Wc Schatz 3904 (L), GSW (S)

⁹¹ D-Bsb Mus. Tg 594/1 & US-Wc Schatz 3905 (L)

⁹² GB-Lbl (L)

⁹³ D-LEm & US-Wc ML50.2.I65P3 (L), D-LEm (Lc), B-Br Fétis 2589 & B-Bc 1846 & D-Mbs & F-Po & I-Fc & I-Nc (S)

⁹⁴ CH-Lz AML III,8 (Ms. 1537) (S)

MEI / ? *Ifigenia in Aulide* (?, 1786)

ZINGARELLI / MORETTI *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Milan, 1787⁹⁵; Cremona, 1795⁹⁶; Venice, 1796⁹⁷; Barcelona, 1799⁹⁸)
CHERUBINI (Turin, 1788⁹⁹; Milan, 1788¹⁰⁰; London, 1789¹⁰¹)

MONETA / GIOTTI *Il sacrificio d’Ifigenia* (Florence, 1789¹⁰²)

? / SISCO *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Trieste, ?¹⁰³)

Iris (see also: Apollo, Demeter)

CONFORTI / BROGLIO *L’Iride* (Loreto, 1778; Loreto, 1797¹⁰⁴)

Ixion

ALVERI / PARISETTI *L’Isione* (Brunswick, 1691¹⁰⁵)
STRUNGK (as *Ixion*, Leipzig, 1697) = doubtful

J. ECCLES / RAVENSCROFT *Ixion* (in *The Italian Husband*, London, 1697)

SCHUERMAN / FIEDLER *Ixion* (Brunswick, 1704?¹⁰⁶; Brunswick, 1722¹⁰⁷)

KAEFER / FIEDLER? *Ixion* (Durlach, 1717)

BERNASCONI, HASSE / ? *Ixion* (Brunswick, 1746)

⁹⁵ D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.5644 & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc & I-Mr & I-Ms MUS.Z.VII.11 & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vnm & US-AUS & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 11250 & ML48.A5v.7-8 (L), CH-N XB obl. 114 & XB 118 & F-Pn & I-Mc Part.Tr.Ms.480 & US-Wc (S), CH-N XB 170 & I-BGc E.1.15 & I-CHf C 9 (Se)

⁹⁶ I-CRg & I-PAc (L)

⁹⁷ F-Pn 8-YTH-51160 & 8-YTH-51204 & I-Bc Lo.5645 & I-Mb & I-OS & I-Pmc & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Vt (L), I-Mc Mus. Tr. ms. 1339/14 & 1340/4 & 1341/8 & 1345/4 (Se)

⁹⁸ US-Wc ML48.A5v.16 (L)

⁹⁹ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.985 & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Mcom & I-Ms & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 1838 (L), B-Bc 2062 & D-B Mus.ms. 3478 & D-Dlb & F-Pc & F-Pn D-2015-7 & I-Nc & I-Tn Giordano 76-78 & PL-Kj (S), B-Bc 3781 & CH-Gc R (L) 5 (Ms. 10203) & D-Bfb C-he 60 & DK-Sa R145 & F-Pn D. 2032 (9) & D. 14642-3 & L. 17511 & MS. 8063 & I-Mc Mus. Tr. Ms. 234 & 241-3 & I-Nc Rari 2.6.20 & I-Rrai P.S.M. 559 (Se)

¹⁰⁰ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.985 & I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Ma S.I.H.I 30 & I-Mb & I-Mcom & I-Mr & I-Ms & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 11684 (L)

¹⁰¹ D-LEm & GB-Lbl & US-Cn & US-Cu (L)

¹⁰² I-Bc Lo.3213 & I-Fc & I-Fm (L), I-Fc Ms B.ix.13 (Se)

¹⁰³ I-Bc Lo.9083 & I-Pmc & I-Vnm (L)

¹⁰⁴ I-PAc (L)

¹⁰⁵ D-BS & D-Gs & D-HVl & D-W Textb. 11 & I-MOe (L)

¹⁰⁶ D-W Textb. 229 (L)

¹⁰⁷ D-W Textb. 535 (L), D-Bsb (Se)

Janus

? / ? *Pallas a qualibet anni ætate lætis decorata plausibus seu Sapientia æternis exornata gloriis* (Palermo, 1716¹⁰⁸)

Jason (see also: Hypsipyle, Medea)

COUSSER / BRESSAND after CORNEILLE *Jason* (Brunswick, 1692¹⁰⁹; as *Die unglückliche Liebe des tapffern Jasons*, Hamburg, 1695¹¹⁰; Hamburg, 1697¹¹¹)
? (as *Jason*, Weissenfels, 1695)

COLLASSE / J.-B. ROUSSEAU *Jason, ou La toison d'or* (Paris, 1696¹¹²)

SCHUERMANN / PARISETTI after MINATO *Giasone, Overò Il conquisto del vello d'oro* (Brunswick, 1707¹¹³; Brunswick, 1708¹¹⁴; Brunswick, 1713)

SCHUERMANN / SCHUERMANN (as *Jason oder Die Eroberung des güldenen flüsses*, Brunswick, 1713¹¹⁵)

SCHUERMANN a.o. / SCHUERMANN? (as *Das von Jason eroberte güldene flüss*, Brunswick, 1722¹¹⁶)

A. BONONCINI, M.A. GASPARINI, LOTTI, SCHUERMANN, VIVALDI / SCHUERMANN (Hamburg, 1720¹¹⁷; Hamburg, 1721; Hamburg, 1722)

A.M. BONONCINI (as *La conquista del vello d'oro*, Reggio, 1717¹¹⁸)

KEISER / BRESSAND after BRESSAND, PARISETTI, SCHUERMANN *Jason, oder Die Eroberung des güldenen flüsses* (Hamburg, 1720¹¹⁹)

PORPORA / S. STAMPIGLIA *Giasone* (Naples, 1732¹²⁰; Brno, 1733¹²¹; Naples, 1742¹²²)

PESCETTI / CORI *La conquista del vello d'oro* (London, 1738¹²³)

SORDELLA (Turin, 1745¹²⁴)

ARENA / FIORILLI *Il vello d'oro* (Rome, 1740¹²⁵)

¹⁰⁸ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁰⁹ D-W Textb. 389 (L)

¹¹⁰ D-Bsb 4" Yp 5222 (L)

¹¹¹ D-Bsb 4" Mus. T 3020-II.3 (L)

¹¹² RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), F-Pa & F-Pn (S)

¹¹³ D-MEIr & D-W Textb. 665 & D-W, Landesbibl. (L), D-Bsb (S)

¹¹⁴ D-HVI (L)

¹¹⁵ I-Bca & D-W Textb. 683 (L)

¹¹⁶ D-W Textb. 517 (L)

¹¹⁷ D-Bsb 4240 (S)

¹¹⁸ I-Bc Lo.621 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-REm & I-Vgc Rolandi 2213 & US-Wc Schatz 1207 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18264 (S), D-DI 2209.F.6 & GB-Cfm 30.F.26 (Se)

¹¹⁹ US-Wc Schatz 5097 (L)

¹²⁰ CZ-Pu (L)

¹²¹ SI-Lsk (L)

¹²² I-MC 126 A 22 (S)

¹²³ GB-Lbl (L)

¹²⁴ I-Mb & I-PAc & I-Rc & I-Rsc & I-T, Arch.Storico & I-Tci L.O.116 & I-Tn & I-T, Strona & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 9961 (L)

¹²⁵ CDN-Tu & GB-Lbl & I-Bca & I-PESo & I-R, Caetani & I-Rvat & I-Vgc Rolandi 535 (L)

SCOLARI / PALAZZI? *Il vello d'oro* (Venice, 1748¹²⁶)

MELE / ? *Il vello d'oro conquistato* (Madrid, 1748¹²⁷; Madrid, 1749¹²⁸)

? / ? *La conquista del vello d'oro* (Wolfenbüttel, 1765¹²⁹)

CAFARO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Giasone, Peleo, Pallade* (Naples, 1766¹³⁰)

LIRON / LIRON *Jason* (178?) = unperformed

PERETTI / GONDOLO *La conquista del vello d'oro* (Vercelli, 1789¹³¹)

GAZZANIGA / SOGRAFI *Gli Argonauti in Colco ossia la conquista del vello d'oro*
(Venice, 1789¹³²; Trieste, 1791¹³³)

ANDREOZZI (as *Giasone e Medea*, Naples, 1793¹³⁴; as *Giasone e Medea*, Florence, 1800¹³⁵)

ISOLA / BOGGIO *La conquista del vello d'oro* (Turin, 1790¹³⁶)

Juno (see: Hera)

Jupiter (see: Zeus)

¹²⁶ I-Bc Lo.5181 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-V,Levi & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 9800 (L)

¹²⁷ GB-Lbl & I-Bu & I-Mb (L)

¹²⁸ I-Bc Lo.3049 (L)

¹²⁹ D-BS & D-W Textb. 205 (L)

¹³⁰ I-Lg & I-Nc & I-Nn (L), F-Pn MS-1656 (S)

¹³¹ D-Mbs & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Tci & I-Vgc & I-VC,Agnesiana & I-VCc & I-VC,Gorini & I-VC,Museo Leone & I-VCs (L)

¹³² B-Bc 19258 & B-Br Fétiſ 4488 A XVIII/1 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.2065 & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 3657 (L), D-Mbs & GB-Lbl & US-Wc (S)

¹³³ I-TSci (L)

¹³⁴ B-Bc 20519 & I-Bc Lo.160 & I-Fm & I-Mc & I-Nc & I-Ra & I-Rig & I-Vgc Rolandi 297 (L), I-Nc (S)

¹³⁵ I-Bc Lo.161 & I-Fc & I-Rsc (L)

¹³⁶ B-Bc 19719 & CDN-Tu & D-Mbs & F-Pn YD-5462 & I-Bc Lo.2473 & I-NOVc & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Provinciale & I-T,Strona & I-Vgc & I-VC,Gorini & US-Wc Schatz 4905 (L)

Kronos (see: Planets)

Latona (see: Leto)

Lavinia (see: Aeneas, Camilla, Dido, Turnus)

Leto (see also: Apollo, Artemis)

SCHMIDT / SILVA *Latona in Delo* (Warsaw, 1699¹)

? / ? *Sol ex Latona sub Iridis tutela natus seu Præclarus sapientiæ partus* (Palermo, 1730²;
Palermo, 1733³; Palermo, 1736⁴)

Mars (see: Ares)

Medea (see also: Jason, Theseus)

GIANNETTINI / AURELI *Medea in Atene* (Venice, 1675⁵; Venice, 1678⁶; Milan, 1681⁷)

? (as *Il Teseo in Atene*, Bologna, 1677⁸)

? (Lucca, 1683⁹)

FRESCHI (as *Teseo tra le rivali*, Venice, 1685¹⁰)

LOEHNER / LOEHNER (as *Theseus*, Nuremberg, 1688¹¹)

GIANNETTINI, SABADINI (as *Teseo in Atene*, Parma, 1688¹²)

GIANNETTINI / POSTEL (Wolfenbüttel, 1688¹³)

GIANNETTINI a.o. (Wolfenbüttel, 1692¹⁴)

GIANNETTINI, COUSSER? / POSTEL (as *Medea*, Hamburg, 1695¹⁵)

V.A. (as *Il Teseo in Atene*, Bologna, 1696¹⁶)

¹ F-Pn 8-RO-9435 (L)

² I-PLcom (L)

³ I-PLcom (L)

⁴ I-PLcom (L)

⁵ B-Bc 21022 & CDN-Tu & D-Bhm & D-HVl & D-LEm & F-Pn 8-YTH-50960 & GB-Lwi & I-Bc Lo.6750 & I-Bu & I-Fn & I-FAN & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-CA & US-LAum n. 204 (L), I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-435 (S)

⁶ CZ-Pu & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 28 (I) & F-Pn 8-YTH-50919 & 8-YTH-51738 & YD-5603 & I-Bc Lo.6751 & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rvat & I-REm & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 227 & US-Wc Schatz 11144 (L)

⁷ F-Po & I-Bc Lo.6752 & I-Rn & PL-LZu (L)

⁸ D-Tu & I-Bc Lo.7212 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-Vgc (L), I-Vnm Cod. It. 457 (S)

⁹ I-Lg & I-MOe (L)

¹⁰ US-Wc Schatz 3348 (L)

¹¹ XLIV Arien aus der Opera von Theseus (Se)

¹² I-MOe & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 11143 (L), I-MOe (Se)

¹³ D-BS & D-HVl & D-Sl & D-W Textb. 364 & P 504 4° Helmst. (L)

¹⁴ D-W Textb. 381 (L)

¹⁵ B-Br Féti 4520 A III,2 (L)

¹⁶ I-Bc Lo.7213 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mr & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-Vgc (L)

? (Augsburg, 1697)
SCHIEFERDECKER (as *Medea*, Leipzig, 1700)
? (Brunswick, 1715; Brunswick, 1724)
CAMPELLI (as *Teseo in Atene*, Piacenza, 1717¹⁷)

? / TORRI after CICOGNINI *Medea in Colco* (Brescia, 1690¹⁸)

CHARPENTIER / T. CORNEILLE *Médée* (Paris, 1693¹⁹)

SALOMON / PELLEGRIN *Médée et Jason* (Paris, 1713²⁰; Paris, 1716; Paris, 1727; Paris, 1729; Paris, 1736; Paris, 1749)

CHARPENTIER / RICCOBONI, ROMAGNESI, BIANCOLELLI (parody, Paris, 1727²¹; Paris, 1738²²)

V.A. / CAROLET (parody, Paris, 1736)

V.A. / D'ORVILLE (as *La femme jalouse ou le Mauvais ménage*, parody, Paris, 1749)

BRUSA / PALAZZI *Medea e Giasone* (Venice, 1726²³)

VINCI / FRUGONI *Medo* (Parma, 1728²⁴)

LEO, VINCI (Palermo, 1734²⁵)

A.S. FIORE, LEO, VINCI (as *Medea riconosciuta*, Vienna, 1735²⁶)

ZIOLI (Milan, 1747²⁷)

PEREZ / ? *Medea* (Palermo, 1744) = doubtful

G. GEBEL / KLOSS *Medea* (also *Das Orakel zu Delphi*, Rudolstadt, 1752) = lost

J.C. SMITH / STILLINGFLEET *Medea* (London, c. 1763²⁸) = unfinished

MYSLIVECEK / ? *Medea* (Parma, 1764) = doubtful or lost

LIONER / ? *Medea* (Stockholm, 1774)

G. BENDA / GOTTER *Medea* (Gotha, 1775²⁹; Hamburg, 1776³⁰; Vienna, 1778³¹; Vienna, 1781; Naples, 1789/90³²; Schwerin, ?³³)

POSSA / BORRONI (Pavia, 1780³⁴; Milan, 1783³⁵; Trieste, 1783³⁶; Milan, 1791³⁷)

¹⁷ I-Mb & I-Tci (L)

¹⁸ I-Mb (L)

¹⁹ F-Pn 8-RO-1088 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), CNRS 1987 & Ballard 1694 (S)

²⁰ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

²¹ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

²² B-Br II 3039 A III,5 & III 99093 A III,5 (L)

²³ F-Pn 8-YTH-50953 & 8-YTH-51777 & I-Bc Lo.699 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Rig & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 1374 (L)

²⁴ I-Bc Lo.5518 & US-Wc Schatz 10748 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17945 (S)

²⁵ B-Bc 2196 (S)

²⁶ A-Wn 444088-A. Neu Mag & D-Dl & D-BFb & US-Wc Schatz 10753 (L), F-Pn (S)

²⁷ I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb Racc. dramm. 6057/1 & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L)

²⁸ D-Hs (S)

²⁹ A-Wn 622365-A. The (L), US-Wc Schatz 774a (Lc), Supraphon 1976 & B-Bc 2379 (S)

³⁰ US-Wc Schatz 774 (L)

³¹ A-Wn (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.16840 & 19244 (S)

³² D-WRtl & I-Nc (L)

³³ B-Br FétiS 4521 A IV,7 (L)

NAUMANN / FILISTRI *Medea in Colchide o sia La partenza di Giasone da Colco* (Berlin, 1783³⁸; *Il ritorno di Giasone in Grecia*, Berlin, 1788³⁹)

VOGEL / DESRIAUX *Médée à Colchis ou La toison d'Or* (Paris, 1786⁴⁰)

WINTER / ? *Medea und Jason* (Munich, 1789)

MARINELLI / GIOTTI *La vendetta di Medea* (Venice, 1791⁴¹)

CHERUBINI / HOFFMAN *Médée* (Paris, 1797⁴²)

V.A. / SEWRIN (as *La Sorcière*, parody, Paris, 1797)

V.A. / CAPELLE, VILLIERS (as *Bébé et Jargon*, parody, Paris, 1797)

V.A. / BIZET, CHAUSSIER (as *Médée ou l'Hôpital des Fous*, parody, Paris, 1797)

PITICCHIO / BALSAMO *La vendetta di Medea* (Naples, 1798⁴³)

Medusa (see: Gorgons, Perseus)

Megaira (see: Iphigenia, Orestes, Orpheus)

Megara (see: Heracles)

Meleager (see also: Atalanta)

MARTINENGHI, MAGNI, SABADINI / LE NINFE DEL TESINO *Il Meleagro* (Pavia, 1705⁴⁴)

M.A. ZIANI / BERNARDONI *Il Meleagro* (Vienna, 1706⁴⁵; Brescia, 1710⁴⁶)
ALBINONI (Venice, 1718⁴⁷)

³⁴ I-PAc & US-Wc (L)

³⁵ I-Mc (L)

³⁶ I-TSci (L)

³⁷ I-FP,Fanan & I-Mr 2328 (L)

³⁸ D-Bsb & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-LEm & US-Cn (L), A-Wgm & D-Bsb & D-Dl (S)

³⁹ A-Wn 625903-A. The (L)

⁴⁰ F-Pn 8-RO-1354 & RES-YF-2475 & US-Wc ML50.2.T67V7 (L), B-Bc 1995 & B-Br Fétis 2736 (S)

⁴¹ A-Wn & F-Pn 8-YTH-51143 & 8-YTH-51898 & I-Mb & I-Mr & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-V, Levi & I-Vnm & US-BEm (L), B-Bc 2200 (S)

⁴² US-Wc ML50.2.M5C3 (L)

⁴³ I-Bc Lo.4263 & I-Fc & I-Nc & I-Nlp & I-Ra & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

⁴⁴ I-LDE & I-Mb & I-MOe & US-BEm (L)

⁴⁵ A-Wn 407368-A. Mus & D-DO & D-Ju & I-Bu & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk (L),
BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.17175-6 (S)

⁴⁶ I-Mb & US-Wc Schatz 11202 (L)

⁴⁷ I-Bc Lo.6757 & I-Mb & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 122 (L)

STUCK / JOLLY *Méléagre* (Paris, 1709⁴⁸)

FISCHER / ? *Meleagers Gelübdmäßiges Ehren-Feuer-Opfer zu Versöhnung Diane* (Rastatt, 1718)

F.B. CONTI / PARIATI *Meleagro* (Vienna, 1724⁴⁹)

MONETA / FEDERICI II *Meleagro* (Florence, 1785⁵⁰; Turin, 1788⁵¹)

- / PEPOLI *Meleagro* (Venice, 1789⁵²) = unperformed

ZINGARELLI / SCHMIDT *Meleagro* (Milan, 1798⁵³)

Melpomene (see: Muses)

Mercury (see: Hermes)

Merope

F. GASPARINI / ZENO after TORELLI, CAVALLERINO, LIVIERA *Merope* (Venice, 1711⁵⁴)

? (Florence, 1713⁵⁵)

? (Milan, 1715⁵⁶)

? (Naples, 1716⁵⁷)

A.S. FIORE (Turin, 1716⁵⁸)

ORLANDINI (Bologna, 1717⁵⁹; Recanati, 1719⁶⁰)

L.A. PREDIERI (Livorno, 1718⁶¹; Mantua, 1719 = doubtful; Florence, 1729⁶²)

TORRI (Munich, 1719⁶³; Munich, 1723⁶⁴)

⁴⁸ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), B-Br Fétis 2660 A (S)

⁴⁹ I-Vnm & A-Wgm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17224 & A-Wgm Q 1287 (S)

⁵⁰ I-Bc Lo.8935 (L)

⁵¹ I-Tci (L)

⁵² I-Mb & I-Pu & I-Rc & I-Vc & I-Vnm & US-R (L), I-Ms & I-Rc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & F-Pa & US-BEm & US-CA (L2), PEPOLI 1995 (Lc)

⁵³ A-Wmi & B-Bc 21034 & CDN-Tu & F-Pn 8-YTH-52525 & I-Bc Lo.5676 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-FP,Fanan & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc & I-Mcom & I-Mr & I-Ms MUS.Z.VII.14 & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 11254 (L), I-Mr (S)

⁵⁴ I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg 59 A 12/4 & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3573 (L), ZENO 1785 (Lc)

⁵⁵ CDN-Tu & I-Fm 2152.1 & I-Mb & I-Vgc & US-U (L)

⁵⁶ I-LDE & I-Mb Racc. dramm. 6020/4 & I-Nc (L)

⁵⁷ B-Bc 21045 & I-Bu & I-Nc & I-PAc & I-Vgc & US-Wc ML50.2.M6 (L)

⁵⁸ B-Bc 21046 & I-Bc Lo.1732 & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Tci & I-Tn (L)

⁵⁹ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.3567 & I-Bca & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vc & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 7348 (L)

⁶⁰ D-Sl & I-MAC (L)

⁶¹ I-Fn (L)

⁶² I-Fc & I-Fm 2095.8 & I-Fn & I-Vgc & US-CA (L)

⁶³ D-Mbs & I-FP,Fanan (L), D-Mbs (S), DDT (Se)

⁶⁴ D-DI & D-Mbs & D-Tu (L)

A. BONONCINI (Rome, 1721⁶⁵)
 ? (Perugia, 1727⁶⁶)
 BIONI, FINAZZI (Wroclaw, 1728) = lost
 ? (also *Die schmerzlich betäubte zuletzt aber wieder glücklich erfreute Merope*, Karlsruhe, 1729⁶⁷)
 BRILLANDI / PERUZZI (Brussels, 1729⁶⁸)
 ALBINONI a.o. (Prague, 1731⁶⁹)
 BROSCHI (Turin, 1732⁷⁰; Lucca, 1733⁷¹; London, 1736⁷²; Jaromerice, 1737⁷³)
 GIACOMELLI / LALLI (Venice, 1734⁷⁴)
 ? (Naples, 1736) = doubtful
 VIVALDI (as *L'oracolo in Messenia*, Venice, 1737⁷⁵; Vienna, 1742⁷⁶)
 BRIVIO (Milan, 1738⁷⁷)
 ? (Lisbon, 1739⁷⁸)
 G. SCARLATTI (Rome, 1740⁷⁹; Naples, 1755⁸⁰)
 JOMMELLI / VITTURI, SANVITALE (Venice, 1741⁸¹; Stuttgart, 1747 = doubtful; Barcelona, 1751⁸²; Pesaro, 1753⁸³)
 TERRADELLAS (Rome, 1743⁸⁴; Foligno, 1744⁸⁵; Livorno, 1744⁸⁶; Bologna, 1745⁸⁷; Ancona, 1746⁸⁸)
 ? (Florence, 1743⁸⁹)
 MAGGIORI, TERRADELLAS a.o. (Faenza, 1745⁹⁰)
 ? (Ferrara, 1745⁹¹)
 ARAIA, AURISICCHIO, BERNASCONI, R. DI CAPUA, GIACOMELLI, GLUCK, HASSE, JOMMELLI, KINZER, LAMPUGNANI, MAGGIORI, MAZZONI, PERGOLES, VINCI (Genoa, 1746⁹²)
 SCALABRINI a.o. / MINGOTTI (Hamburg, 1747⁹³; Dresden, 1747)
 COCCHI (Naples, 1748⁹⁴)

⁶⁵ B-Bc 21047 & F-Pn YD-4920 & YD-5276 & I-Bc Lo.6764 (L), F-Pn RES-192 (Se)

⁶⁶ I-PE, Universitaria (L)

⁶⁷ D-Bsb (L)

⁶⁸ B-Br VB 6464/25 A (L)

⁶⁹ CZ-KRE & CZ-Pu & I-Bc Lo.82 (L)

⁷⁰ B-Bc & I-FP, Fanan & I-Rsc & I-T, Arch. Storico & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T, Strona (L), A-Wgm Q 1222 (S), I-Rsc A.Ms.3721 (Se)

⁷¹ I-Bc Lo.686 & Lo.Villa.58 & I-PS (L)

⁷² GB-Lbl & US-Wc Schatz 1341 (L)

⁷³ A-Wgm & CZ-Bu (L)

⁷⁴ F-Pn 8-YTH-51976 & I-Bc Lo.2158 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3807 (L), I-Vnm (L2), DMV (Lc), DMV & B-Bc 2110 (S), B-Bc 3970 & 5034 & 5264 & 5266 (Se)

⁷⁵ I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg 57 D 52/7 & I-Vnm & SL-Lsk & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 10775 (L)

⁷⁶ A-Wn 294650-A. Mus (L)

⁷⁷ I-Bc Lo.680 & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Mb Racc. dram. 2366 & I-Mc & I-Rsc (L)

⁷⁸ P-C & P-La (L)

⁷⁹ B-Bc 21048 & F-Pn YD-5615 & I-Bc Lo.5141 & I-MAC & I-Nlp & I-Rvat (L), I-Nc (S)

⁸⁰ I-Mb (L), P-La (S)

⁸¹ F-Pn 8-YTH-51986 & I-Bc Lo.2557 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 4865 (L), D-Dl & D-Mbs & GB-Lbl Add.16041.1 & US-Wc (S)

⁸² I-Bc Lo.2558 (L)

⁸³ I-Bc Lo.2559 & I-PESc & I-PESo (L)

⁸⁴ F-Pn 8-RO-9230 & I-Bc Lo.5297 & I-Rsc & I-Tci (L), A-Wn SA.68.C.23. 1-3 Mus 26 & D-MÜs SANT Hs 4138 & GB-Lbl G.29 & I-Bc KK.157 & P-Ln C.I.C. 116 & US-Wc (S)

⁸⁵ I-MAC & I-Vgc (L)

⁸⁶ I-Fm 2072.2 (L)

⁸⁷ I-Bc Lo.6765 & I-Vgc & US-NYp (L), I-Bc KK.156 (S)

⁸⁸ I-Rsc (L)

⁸⁹ I-Fc & I-Fm 2398.1 (L)

⁹⁰ I-FZc (L)

⁹¹ I-Bc Lo.6766 (L)

⁹² I-G, Berio & I-SA (L)

⁹³ D-LEm I A 88 (L)

GIACOMELLI, JOMMELLI, PEREZ (Vienna, 1749⁹⁵)
 PESCECETTI? / GRIFONI? (Florence, 1749⁹⁶)
 PEREZ (Venice, 1750⁹⁷; Genoa, 1751; Alessandria, 1753⁹⁸; Mantua, 1757⁹⁹)
 CAPRANICA (Rome, 1751¹⁰⁰)
 PEREZ? (Modena, 1753¹⁰¹)
 GASSMANN (Venice, 1757¹⁰²)
 ? (Florence, 1757¹⁰³)
 SCIROLI (Milan, 1761¹⁰⁴)
 LATILLA (Venice, 1763¹⁰⁵)
 V.A. (Verona, 1763¹⁰⁶)
 ? (Cremona, 1767¹⁰⁷)
 V.A. (Alessandria, 1768¹⁰⁸)
 BORGHI (Rome, 1768¹⁰⁹)
 SALA (Naples, 1769¹¹⁰)
 INSANGUINE (Venice, 1772¹¹¹)
 P.A. GUGLIELMI (Turin, 1775¹¹²)
 MYSLIVECEK (Naples, 1775) = doubtful
 TRAETTA / STAGNOLI, MINUNZIO (Milan, 1776¹¹³)
 P.B., V. RIGHINI a.o. (Prague, 1776¹¹⁴)

? / ? after MAFFEI *Merope* (Blanckenburg, c. 1715¹¹⁵)

C.H. GRAUN / FREDERICK II, TAGLIAZUCCHI after VOLTAIRE *La Merope*
 (Berlin, 1756¹¹⁶; Berlin, 1764¹¹⁷)

V. RIGHINI / RISTELL *Merope* (Stockholm, 1778¹¹⁸)

⁹⁴ I-Mb & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 2049 (L), I-Mc (S), I-Nc (Se)

⁹⁵ D-MHrm & US-Wc Schatz 4866 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17948 (S)

⁹⁶ I-Bc Lo.6767 & I-Fc & I-Rsc (L)

⁹⁷ B-Bc 21049 & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Ria & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 7874 (L), F-Pn (S)

⁹⁸ I-Bc Lo.4086 (L)

⁹⁹ I-PAc (L)

¹⁰⁰ B-Bc 21050 & B-Br Fétis 4488 A II/7 & I-Bc Lo.785 & I-Fm & I-FP,Fanan & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁰¹ CDN-Tu & I-PAc (L)

¹⁰² F-Pn 8-YTH-52135 & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3619 (L), I-MAav & S-Skma & US-Wc (Se)

¹⁰³ I-Fc & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁰⁴ I-Bc Lo.5175 & I-Fm 2001.8 & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Ms MUS.S.XXVII.2 & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L), I-Nc & P-La (S)

¹⁰⁵ D-DI & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-V,Levi & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L), I-BGi (S), DK-Kk (Se)

¹⁰⁶ I-VE,San Bernardino & US-Wc ML50.2.M62 (L)

¹⁰⁷ I-LDE (L)

¹⁰⁸ US-BEm (L)

¹⁰⁹ F-Pn YD-5390 & I-Bc Lo.630 & I-MAC & I-Rsc (L), D-Bsb Mus.ms.2.243 & F-Pn D-14921 & US-Bu & US-SFsc M2.1 M58 (Se)

¹¹⁰ CDN-Tu & I-Pci & I-Nc & I-Ra & I-Tci (L), I-Nc 31.4.32-34 & P-La (S)

¹¹¹ F-Pn 8-YTH-51541 & I-Bc Lo.2542 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Vt & US-Wc Schatz 4834 (L), P-La (S), CH-Gc & I-Maav Cart.20 n.2(57) (Se)

¹¹² D-Mbs & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-T,Arch.Storico & I-Tci & I-Tn & I-T,Provinciale & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L), P-La (S), D-Hs & I-MAav Cart.20 n.5(60) & I-Tci & I-Tf 2 IV 4 (Se)

¹¹³ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.5351 & I-Fc & I-FEC & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc coll. libr. 165 & I-Mr & I-Ms MUS.T.XI.2 & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 10412 (L), I-Mc Mus.Tr.ms.1.277 & F-Pc (Se)

¹¹⁴ CZ-KRE & CZ-Pu (L), CZ-BER (Se)

¹¹⁵ D-W Textb. Sammelbd 8 (6) (L)

¹¹⁶ A-Sca & D-KNu & F-Pn YD-5488 & US-Wc Schatz 4105 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.19205 & D-DS Mus.ms 393 & 8235-6 & D-Bsb 8235/1 & US-Wc M1500.G78 M3 (S), GRAUN 1773-4 & US-Wc (Se)

¹¹⁷ B-Br Fétis 4489 A I,2 & D-Bsb & D-FUI & D-Mbs & I-Vgc (L), D-DS Mus.ms 1171 (S)

NASOLINI / BOTTURINI after VOLTAIRE *Merope* (also *Merope e Polifonte*, Venice, 1796¹¹⁹; Bologna, 1796¹²⁰; Bergamo, 1796¹²¹; Venice, 1797; Livorno, 1798¹²²; Milan, 1798¹²³; Parma, 1798¹²⁴; Trieste, 1799¹²⁵; Gorizia, 1799; Klagenfurt, 1800¹²⁶; Turin, 1800¹²⁷)

F. BIANCHI / L. DA PONTE (London, 1797¹²⁸)

Midas

DU HALDE / ? *Midas* (Caen, 170?)

METZGER / ? *Midas* (Paris, 170?)

? / ? *Midas* (London, 1734) = doubtful

BLAINVILLE / ? *Midas* (Paris, 1753)

V.A. / O'HARA *Midas* (Dublin, 1762¹²⁹; London, 1764¹³⁰; London, 1766¹³¹; London, 1768¹³²; Edinburgh, 1782; London, 1789¹³³)

GRETRY / ANSEAUME, D'HELE after O'HARA *Le jugement de Midas* (Paris, 1778¹³⁴; Paris, 1779¹³⁵)

GRETRY / ROTHMANN (as *Das Urtheil der Midas*, Munster, 1781¹³⁶)

ANDRE, BONIN, GRETRY / ROTHMANN? (as *Das Urtheil der Midas*, Berlin, 1781¹³⁷)

GRETRY / NEEFE (Bonn, 1781¹³⁸)

DEDIEU / PLANTERRE *Midas au Parnasse* (Paris, 1793)

¹¹⁸ F-Pn YL-473 (L), S-Skma T-SE-R (S)

¹¹⁹ B-Br Fétis 4488 A X/13 & F-Pn 8-YTH-51692 & I-Bc Lo.3381 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Tn & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 7005 (L), D-DS & F-Pn & GB-Lbl & I-Fc & I-Nc & US-Wc (S), B-Bc 12334 & CZ-Pnm & D-HVs (Se)

¹²⁰ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.3382 (L)

¹²¹ I-Fm 2386.15 (L)

¹²² CDN-Tu & I-Fc & I-Fm 2039.9 & I-LI & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-CA (L)

¹²³ I-Bc Lo.3383 & I-Mc Libretti O.130 (L)

¹²⁴ I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vnm Dramm.3269.003 (L)

¹²⁵ I-TSci & I-Vnm Dramm.3269.013 (L)

¹²⁶ CDN-Tu (L)

¹²⁷ I-Vnm Dramm.3270.017 (L)

¹²⁸ GB-Lbl 15991 (S), GB-Lbl G.811.m.(6.) & G.811.a.(10.) & H.1652.f.(23.) & US-Bu (Se)

¹²⁹ US-Wc Schatz 11753B (Lc)

¹³⁰ US-Wc ML50.2.M65 (L)

¹³¹ US-Wc Longe 46 (L)

¹³² I-BGc (L)

¹³³ US-Wc Longe 195 (L)

¹³⁴ US-Wc ML50.2.J9G7 (L), B-Br 1185 R 1/17 (S)

¹³⁵ US-Wc Schatz 4161 (L)

¹³⁶ US-Wc Schatz 4162 (L)

¹³⁷ US-Wc Schatz 4163 (L)

¹³⁸ US-Wc Schatz 4164 (Lc)

Minerva (see: Pallas Athene)

Minos (see: Ariadne, Daedalus, Perseus)

Muses (see also: Apollo, Pallas Athene, Thetis)

? / ? *Dialogo notturno di Clio e di Calliope* (Bologna, 1693¹³⁹)

? / ? *Il Monte Parnaso* (Vienna, 1694¹⁴⁰)

? / BRESSAND? *Doppelte Freude der Musen* (Wolfenbüttel, 1695) = doubtful

? / ? *Das Musenfest* (Dresden, 1696)

? / ? *Le festin des Muses* (Stuttgart, 1700)

? / ? *Tugend- und Musen-Gespräch* (Darmstadt, 1700)

? / ? *Der mit Freuden glücklich beigelegte Musenstreit* (Römhild, 1701)

SOPHIE CHARLOTTE OF PRUSSIA / ? *I trionfi di Parnaso* (Berlin, 1702¹⁴¹)

A. SCARLATTI / ? *Le muse Urania e Clio lodano le bellezze di Filli* (Rome, 1706¹⁴²)

MOURET / LAFONT *Les fêtes de Thalie* (Paris, 1714)

? / PAGLIARINI *Serenata: Urania, Clio* (Foligno, 1714¹⁴³)

? / ? *Gli applausi delle Muse* (Munich, 1722)

CAMPRA? / DANCHET *Les muses rassemblées par l'amour* (Versailles, 1722 or 1724)

STOELZEL / STOELZEL *Der Musenberg* (Gotha, 1723; *Der sich mit den Musen erfreuende Apollo*, Gotha, 1729)

COLLIN DE BLAMONT / FUZELIER *Le caprice d'Erato, ou Les caractères de la musique* (Paris, 1730)

HANDEL / G. ROSSI *Terpsicore* (in *Il pastor fido*, London, 1734¹⁴⁴)

A. BENCINI / ? *Il monte Parnaso* (Rome, 1734¹⁴⁵)

¹³⁹ I-Bu & I-Rn (L)

¹⁴⁰ A-Wn (L)

¹⁴¹ D-Lr (L)

¹⁴² D-MÜs (S)

¹⁴³ I-Foligno, Comunale & I-R, Rostirolla (L)

¹⁴⁴ HG (S)

- CORRETTE a.o. / CAROLET *Les audiences de Thalie* (Paris, 1734¹⁴⁶)
- B. GALUPPI, D. PARADIES / DE BELLI *Le Muse in Gara* (Venice, 1740¹⁴⁷)
- D'ALESSANDRO / GOLDONI *Il coro delle Muse* (Venice, 1740¹⁴⁸)
 ? (as *Il Monte Parnaso*, Venice, 1760¹⁴⁹)
- RAMEAU / CAHUSAC *Les fêtes de Polymnie* (Paris, 1745¹⁵⁰; Paris, 1753)
- J.-J. ROUSSEAU / J.-J. ROUSSEAU *Les muses galantes* (Paris, 1745; Paris, 1747)
- FINAZZI, HACKMEISTER, SCALABRINI, TELEMANN, WICH / VON BARRE *Il tempio di Melpomene su le rive dell'Alstra* (Hamburg, 1747¹⁵¹)
- V.A. / MINGOTTI *L'addio delle Muse* (Hamburg, 1747)
- ? / ? *Il ricorso al Parnaso* (Ancona, 1751¹⁵²)
- ? / ANSEAUME *La vengeance de Melpomène* (Paris, 1753)
- ARAIA / ? *Urania vaticinante* (St Petersburg, 1757¹⁵³)
- ? / FAVART *La parodie au Parnasse* (Paris, 1759)
- ? / CIGNA-SANTI *La gara delle Muse* (Turin, before 1760¹⁵⁴)
- V. MANFREDINI / LOCATELLI *Il consiglio delle Muse* (Moscow, 1763)
- GLUCK / METASTASIO *Il Parnaso confuso* (Vienna, 1765¹⁵⁵; Queluz, 1772 = doubtful; Steyermark, 1775¹⁵⁶)
 RUST (Dessau?, 1778) = doubtful
- ROLLE / PATZKE *Die Götter und Musen* (Magdeburg, 1765)
- HILLER / SCHIEBELER *Die Muse* (Leipzig, 1767¹⁵⁷)
- SCHWEITZER / REICHARD *Das Fest der Thalia* (Gotha, 1775)

¹⁴⁵ GB-Lbl & I-PEc & I-Rig & I-Rli & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁴⁶ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

¹⁴⁷ I-FP,Fanan & I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L), GB-Cfm (S)

¹⁴⁸ I-Mb & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L), GOLDONI 1954-6 (Lc)

¹⁴⁹ US-LAum (L)

¹⁵⁰ ROO & F-Pa & F-Pn & F-Po (S)

¹⁵¹ D-Bsb & D-DEI (L)

¹⁵² I-Bca & I-MAC & I-PEc & I-PESo & I-R,Rostirolla & I-Tn & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁵³ RU-SPan & RU-SPsc (L)

¹⁵⁴ CIGNA-SANTI 1760 (Lc)

¹⁵⁵ METASTASIO 1953-65 & GSW & A-Wn & CZ-Pu & D-HR & D-NBsb & I-Bc Lo.6903 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-MAC & I-Mb & I-Mr & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 3936 (Lc), GSW (S)

¹⁵⁶ D-Mbs (L)

¹⁵⁷ US-Bp (S)

BRACCI / GREGORIO *I dei palici* (Palermo, 1777¹⁵⁸)

BOTTARI / PARADISI *Le Muse fisiche* (Florence, 1777¹⁵⁹)

? / SERIO *Le Muse trionfanti* (Naples, 1777¹⁶⁰)

? / PALTINI *Il coro delle Muse* (Spoleto, 1780¹⁶¹)

PITICCHIO / ? *Il Parnaso* (Madrid, 1785¹⁶²)

FORTUNATI / F. PALLAVICINI *La contesa delle Muse* (Parma, 1788¹⁶³)

METKE / ? *Die Musen* (Oels, 1797)

¹⁵⁸ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁵⁹ I-Rig & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁶⁰ I-Nn & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁶¹ I-PEc (L)

¹⁶² I-Ms (L)

¹⁶³ GB-Lbl & I-Bca & I-Vgc (L)

Narcissus

BORZIO / LEMENE *Il Narciso* (Lodi, 1676¹)

? (Rome, 1679)

? (Pietra Bianca, 1682²)

? (Cremona, 1683³)

? (Mantua, 1689⁴)

BADIA (Vienna, 1699⁵)

COUSSER / FIEDLER *Narcissus* (Wolfenbüttel, 1692⁶)

BRONNER / BRESSAND *Narcissus* (Brunswick, 1693⁷; as *Echo und Narcissus*, Hamburg, 1694⁸)

PISTOCCHI / ZENO after **LEMENE** *Il Narciso* (Anspach, 1697⁹; Munich, 1701)

SARTI (Copenhagen, 1763¹⁰)

TELEMANN / ? *Narcissus* (Leipzig, 1701; Leipzig, 1709¹¹)

TELEMANN? (as *Echo und Narcissus*, Leipzig, 1712)

SARRO / GIUVO *Serenata a tre voci: Amore, Narciso, Eco* (Naples, 1708; Pesaro, 1720¹²; Pesaro, 1722¹³)

DU HALDE / ? *Narcisse* (also *L'amour de soi-même*, Caen, 170?)

STOELZEL / STOELZEL *Narcissus* (Wroclaw, 1711 or 1712; Gotha, 1734 or 1735)

D. SCARLATTI / CAPECI *Amor d'un'ombra e gelosia d'un'aura* (Rome, 1714¹⁴)

D. SCARLATTI, ROSEINGRAVE / ROLLI (as *Narciso*, London, 1720¹⁵)

SELLITTI / DE PALMA (Naples, 1725¹⁶)

N. FAGO / GIUVO? *E' più caro il piacer doppio le pene* (Naples?, 171?¹⁷)

¹ I-LDE & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-NOVc & I-Rc & I-Vgc Rolandi 2331 & US-Wc Schatz 1254 (L), LEMENE 1992 (Lc), I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-438 (S)

² I-Vgc Rolandi 2330 (L)

³ I-Mb & I-MOe (L)

⁴ I-Bc Lo.6792 (L)

⁵ A-Wgm & A-Wn 407371-A. Adl.6 Mus & CZ-Pu & I-Bc Lo.375 & I-Vnm (L), A-Wn 407371-A. Adl. 5 Mus (Se)

⁶ D-HAu & D-W Textb. 103 (L)

⁷ D-W Textb. 402 & Textb. Sammelbd. 6 (3) (L)

⁸ B-Br Fétis 4520 A II,14 & US-Wc Schatz 1334 (L)

⁹ D-Es & D-Gs & D-LEu & D-MHrm & D-Sl & D-W Textb. 345 (2) & I-Bc Lo.7496 & Lo.7497 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & US-Wc Schatz 8197 (L), ZENO 1785 (Lc)

¹⁰ DK-Kk & US-Wc Schatz 9450 (L)

¹¹ D-SHs (Se)

¹² I-PESo (L)

¹³ I-PESo (L)

¹⁴ B-Bc 19129 & F-Pa 8-BL-8229(21,3) & F-Pn YD-5123 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5138 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-MAC & I-Rc & I-Rn (L), RCOC Ediciones (S)

¹⁵ GB-Lbl & US-Ws (L)

¹⁶ US-Wc Schatz 9829 (L)

¹⁷ I-Rli (L)

PAGANELLI / ZANGARINI *Narcisso al fonte* (Padua, 1732¹⁸; Brunswick, 1738¹⁹)
PAGANELLI / ? (Munich, 1733²⁰; Hamburg, 1736²¹)
MYSLIVECEK (Padua, 1768²²)

? / ? *Il Narciso* (Florence, 1744²³)

COLLA / ? *Eco e Narciso* (Parma, 1769²⁴)

MISON / ? *Eco y Narciso* (176?)

LOMBARDO / CARI *L'Eco* (Palermo, 1774²⁵)

GLUCK / TSCHUDI *Echo et Narcisse* (Paris, 1779²⁶; Paris, 1780²⁷)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / PALOMBA? *Narcisso* (Naples, 1779²⁸)

CAPUZZI / PEPOLI *Eco e Narciso* (Venice, 1793²⁹)

Nemesis (see also: Pallas Athene)

LAPINI / ? *La Nemesis di Fidia in Ramnunte* (Siena, 1799³⁰)

Neoptolemus (see also: Achilles, Andromache, Polyxena)

VILLE-SAVOYE / BARBIER *Le retour de Pyrrhus Néoptolème en Epire après le siège de Troye* (Lyons, 1718)

ROYER / FERMELHUIS *Pirrhous* (Paris, 1730³¹)

PAISIELLO / DE GAMERRA *Pirro* (Naples, 1787³²; Venice, 1787³³; Palermo, 1788³⁴; as *Pirro Re di Epiro*, Trieste, 1789³⁵; Bologna, 1790³⁶; Genoa, 1790³⁷; Naples, 1790³⁸; Warsaw,

¹⁸ I-Vcg (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.16725 (S)

¹⁹ D-W Textb. 329 (L)

²⁰ I-Rsc (L)

²¹ D-Hs & D-HVl (L)

²² I-Vgc (L)

²³ I-Fas Med., F. 6424 (L)

²⁴ D-Hr & D-Mbs & I-PESo (L)

²⁵ I-PLn (L)

²⁶ GSW (L), GSW (S)

²⁷ GSW (L)

²⁸ D-Bsb (S)

²⁹ I-Vcg (L)

³⁰ I-Fm & I-Vgc (L)

³¹ B-Br Fétis 4499 A XIV,113 & F-Pn 8-RO-1186 & GD-42 & RES-YF-801 & YF-778 (L)

³² CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.3868 & I-Vgc & US-CA & US-NYp (L), GAMERRA 1789-90 (Lc), A-Wn & B-Bc 2268 & F-Pn & GB-Cpl & I-Nc & I-PAc & I-Rc & P-La & S-Skma & US-Bp (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.4211 & 9987-8 & I-CBp Pepe Ms. 357 & I-Mc Mus.Tr.ms. 1510 & Nosedà N.13.5-6 & I-Nc Rari Cornice 2.8(1-30) & 2.9(1-5) (Se)

³³ F-Pn 8-YTH-51122 & 8-YTH-51882 & I-Bc Lo.3869 & I-Mb & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L),

1790³⁹; Florence, 1791⁴⁰; Reggio, 1791⁴¹; Livorno, 1792⁴²; Reggio, 1792⁴³; Venice, 1792⁴⁴; Bergamo, 1793⁴⁵; Florence, 1793⁴⁶; Leipzig, 1793⁴⁷; Verona, 1794⁴⁸; as *Pirro Re di Epiro*, Trieste, 1794⁴⁹; as *Pirro Re di Epiro*, Ljubljana, 1795⁵⁰; Rome, 1798⁵¹; Verona, 1800⁵²)

ZINGARELLI (as *Pirro Re di Epiro*, Milan, 1791⁵³; as *Pirro Re di Epiro*, Florence, 1792⁵⁴; as *Pirro Re di Epiro*, Crema, 1792⁵⁵; ?, 1793⁵⁶; Vicenza, 1794⁵⁷; Venice, 1795⁵⁸; Faenza, 1796⁵⁹; as *Pirro Re di Epiro*, Livorno, 1798⁶⁰; Parma, 1799⁶¹; Bergamo, 1800⁶²)

F. BIANCHI, GARDI, NASOLINI, ZINGARELLI / PEPOLI (Venice, 1793⁶³; Venice, 1794⁶⁴)
? (Genoa, 1797⁶⁵)

WEIGL, ZINGARELLI (as *Pirro Re di Epiro*, Vienna, 1798⁶⁶)

Neptune (see: Poseidon)

Nereus (see: Thetis)

I-Vnm Codd. It. IV-831-2 / 10237-8 (S)

³⁴ I-Mr (L)

³⁵ I-TSci & I-UDc (L)

³⁶ D-LEm & F-Pn 8-RO-8707 & I-Bc Lo.3870 & I-B, Cassa di Risparmio & I-Mr & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Vgc & I-Nc & F-Pa (L), I-Bc II.72 (S)

³⁷ I-Rsc & I-Vnm (L)

³⁸ D-WRtl & I-Nc & I-Ra & I-Rsc & I-Taranto, Comunale (L)

³⁹ CZ-Pu & D-Bsb Mus. T 41 & PL-Wn (L)

⁴⁰ GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.3871 & I-Fc & I-Fm (L)

⁴¹ D-Mbs & I-REm (L)

⁴² I-Fc (L)

⁴³ I-Bc Lo.8369 & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc (L)

⁴⁴ A-Wmi & D-Bsb Mus. T 43 & F-Pn 8-YTH-51664 & I-Mb Racc.Dramm.4469 & I-Mr & I-Pci & I-Vcg
S. Benedetto 198 & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L)

⁴⁵ I-BGi & I-Mr & I-Rsc (L)

⁴⁶ D-MHrm & I-Bc Lo.3872 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Pci & I-Rsc (L)

⁴⁷ CZ-Pu & D-MHrm (L)

⁴⁸ I-Vgc (L)

⁴⁹ I-Vnm (L)

⁵⁰ I-Vcg & SL-Lu (L)

⁵¹ I-Rsc (L)

⁵² I-VEc (L)

⁵³ CDN-Tu & I-Bc Lo.5649 & I-Bca & I-BRq & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Mcom & I-Mr & I-Ms MUS.Z.VII.18 & I-Pac & I-Rsc & I-Tci & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Wc (L), D-DS & D-Dl & F-Pn & I-Bc & I-Fc & I-Mc & I-Nc & I-Pac & US-Wc (S)

⁵⁴ I-Bc Lo.5650 & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Rsc (L)

⁵⁵ CDN-Tu & I-Mr (L)

⁵⁶ I-Bc SS.92 (S)

⁵⁷ I-Mr & I-VIb (L)

⁵⁸ D-Bsb Mus. T 38 & I-Mb & I-Mr & I-OS & I-Pci & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & I-Vt & US-AUS (L)

⁵⁹ I-FZc & I-Mr & I-Vgc (L)

⁶⁰ I-Fc & I-Fm & I-LI (L)

⁶¹ I-Fm & I-Mr & I-Pac & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc (L)

⁶² I-BGc & US-AUS (L), A-Wn KT.348 Mus & Mus.Hs.3792 (S)

⁶³ A-Wmi & D-Bsb Mus. T 37 & F-Pa GD-23774 & F-Pn 8-YTH-51153 & 8-YTH-51671 & I-G, Ivaldi & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Ria & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L)

⁶⁴ D-Bsb & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L)

⁶⁵ I-Vc (L)

⁶⁶ A-Wn Mus.Hs.10788-9 & CZ-Pu (L)

Odysseus (see also: Circe, Eos, Pallas Athene, Penelope, Telemachus)

MELANI / MONIGLIA *Il ritorno d'Ulisse* (Pisa, 1656⁶⁷; Florence, 1669)

PORSILE (as *Il ritorno di Ulisse alla patria*, Naples, 1707⁶⁸)

GAZZANIGA (as *Il ritorno di Ulisse a Penelope*, Rome, 1779) = lost

G. GIORDANI (as *Il ritorno di Ulisse*, Mantua, 1782) = doubtful

M.A. ZIANI / NORIS *La finta pazzia d'Ulisse* (Venice, 1696⁶⁹)

BADIA / CUPEDA *La costanza d'Ulisse* (Vienna, 1700⁷⁰)

REBEL / GUICHARD *Ulysse et Pénélope* (Paris, 1703⁷¹; Amsterdam, 1707⁷²)

KEISER? / LERSNER? *Ulysses* (Copenhagen, 1722⁷³)

G. PORTA / LALLI *Ulisse* (Venice, 1725⁷⁴; Ferrara, 1733⁷⁵)

FEDELE, TREU (as *Ulysses* or *Ulisse e Telemacco*, Breslau, 1726⁷⁶)

CALDARA / CATENA *La partenza d'Ulisse* (Vienna, 1729⁷⁷)

J.C. SMITH / HUMPHREYS *Ulysses* (London, 1733⁷⁸)

? / LALLI? *Ulisse in Itaca* (Venice, 1737⁷⁹)

CAPUTI / RECCO *Ulisse in Cuma* (Naples, 1748⁸⁰)

SCIROLI / BADOARO *Ulisse errante* (Palermo, 1749) = doubtful

CATALISANO / BALDANZA *Ulisse in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1754⁸¹)

? / ? *Ulysses em Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1761⁸²)

G.F. DE MAJO / ? *Ulisse* (Rome, 1769) = doubtful

⁶⁷ MONIGLIA 1689-90 (Lc)

⁶⁸ I-Bc Lo.4340 & I-Bu & US-NYp (L), I-Rn (S), I-Nc Cantate 236 (Se)

⁶⁹ A-Wmi & B-Bc 20346 & D-Dl & D-W Textb. 316 & F-On & I-Bc Lo.5632 & I-Fm & I-FZc & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MOe & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-PAc & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 422 & US-Wc Schatz 11186 (L), I-Rvat (Se)

⁷⁰ A-Wgm & A-Wn & CZ-Bu & D-Bsb Yq 9081 & F-Pa & F-Pn 8-RA6-142 & I-Mb & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 5442 & ML50.2.C69B2 (L)

⁷¹ F-Pa GD-36 & F-Pn RES-YF-1107 & RES-YF-2485 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁷² F-Pa GD-18698 (L)

⁷³ D-W Textb. 543 (L)

⁷⁴ F-Pn 8-YTH-51775 & I-Bc Lo.4350 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & I-Vnm Dramm.1031.3 & 1229.2 & 3548.6 & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc (L)

⁷⁵ I-Bc Lo.4351 & I-Mb (L)

⁷⁶ D-Mth & US-Wc Schatz 10444 (L)

⁷⁷ A-Wgm (S)

⁷⁸ D-Hs (S), GB-Cfm & GB-Lcm (Se)

⁷⁹ I-Mb (L)

⁸⁰ GB-Lbl & I-MAC & I-Nn & I-Rli (L)

⁸¹ US-AUS (L)

⁸² I-Rsc 15672 (L)

DEMMLER / ? *Ulysses* (in *Sesostris, König in Aegypten*, Augsburg, 1772⁸³)

PEREZ / BORGONZONI *Il ritorno di Ulisse in Itaca* (Queluz, 1774⁸⁴; as *Il ritorno di Ulisse*, Lisbon, 1778⁸⁵)

SARTI / ? *L'amor della patria figurato nella partenza d'Ulisse dall'isola di Calipso* (Padua, 1779⁸⁶)

ALESSANDRI / FILISTRI *Il ritorno di Ulisse a Penelope* (Berlin, 1790⁸⁷; Berlin, 1791⁸⁸)

M.T. AGNESI / ? *Ulisse in Campania* (Milan, before 1795⁸⁹)

BASILI / ? *Il ritorno d'Ulisse* (Florence, 1798⁹⁰)

MAYR / PRIVIDALI *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in Itaca* (Milan, 1800⁹¹)

M. DI CAPUA / D'ELCI *Ulisse e Tiresia* (Vienna, 1800⁹²)

Oedipus

G.B. FERRANDINI, TORRI / LALLI after GIUSTINIAN *Edippo* (Munich, 1729⁹³)
? / LALLI (Venice, 1732⁹⁴)

GALLIARD / DRYDEN, LEE *Oedipus* (London, 1736⁹⁵)
T.A. ARNE (as *Oepedius, King of Thebes*, London, 1740)

G. GEBEL / KLOSS *Oedipus* (Rudolstadt, 1751) = lost

WILHELMINE VON BAYREUTH? / CORI? after VOLTAIRE *Edipo* (Berlin, 1756?⁹⁶)
= unperformed

GRETRY / GUILLARD *Oedipe à Colone* (Paris, 1785) = unfinished
SACCHINI (Versailles, 1786⁹⁷; Paris, 1787⁹⁸; Paris, 1790⁹⁹; St Petersburg, 1799; Hamburg, 1799¹⁰⁰)

⁸³ D-As (L)

⁸⁴ BR-Rn & I-Rsc 13299 & P-Ln L5790 P(7) (L)

⁸⁵ BR-Rn & I-PAc & I-Rsc 13300 & P-C & P-Ln L5790 P(8) (L)

⁸⁶ I-Pca & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vcg (L)

⁸⁷ D-Bsb 8" Bibl. Diez 1880 & Mus. T 69 & D-LEm & D-WRtl & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 149 (L)

⁸⁸ I-Rsc (L)

⁸⁹ I-Nc (S)

⁹⁰ I-Bc Lo.411 & I-Fc & I-Fn & I-Nc & I-PS & I-Rsc (L)

⁹¹ GB-Lbl & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc & I-Mr & I-Ms (L)

⁹² I-BZ, Toggenburg & I-Fc (L)

⁹³ D-Mbs & I-Mb (L), D-Mbs (S)

⁹⁴ US-LAum (L)

⁹⁵ GB-Lam & GB-Lcm (S)

⁹⁶ I-Vcg 58 A 84/8 (L)

⁹⁷ Imbault 1788 & Imbault 1792-4 & Imbault 1812 & Janet-Cotelle 1814-24 & D-Mo & F-Pn & F-Po A-317(A 1-2) & I-Nc & US-Wc (S)

⁹⁸ US-Wc Schatz 9234 (Lc), B-Gu BL8842 & A1008/5 (S)

⁹⁹ F-Pa GD-23670 (L)

SACCHINI / HERKLOTS (as *Oedip zu Colonos*, Berlin, 1797¹⁰¹)
SACCHINI / UYLENBROEK (as *Oedipus te Kolone*, Amsterdam, 1799¹⁰²)

MEREAUX / DUPRAT DE LATOULOUBRE *Oedipe à Thèbes* (also *Oedipe et Jocaste*, Paris, 1791¹⁰³)

KRAUS / ADLERBETH *Oedip* (Stockholm, 1785) = unfinished
KRAUS, UTTINI (Stockholm, 1792) = doubtful

Olympia

G. DE MAJO / CALZABIGI *Il sogno d'Olimpia* (Naples, 1747¹⁰⁴)

Omphale (see: Heracles)

Orestes (see also: Clytemnestra, Electra, Iphigenia)

C.F. POLLAROLO / LUCHESI *L'Oreste in Sparta* (Reggio, 1697¹⁰⁵)

? / FIDI? *La fedeltà degli amici ovvero L'Oreste* (Palermo, 1704¹⁰⁶)

MICHELI / BARLOCCI *L'Oreste* (Rome, 1722¹⁰⁷)
HANDEL (London, 1734¹⁰⁸)
PEREZ (Palermo, 1744)

CALDARA, G. REUTTER jr. / G.C. PASQUINI *La forza dell'amicizia, ovvero Pilade ed Oreste* (Graz, 1728¹⁰⁹)

GALLIARD (London, 1749) = unperformed

? / THEOBALD *Orestes* (London, 1731¹¹⁰)

FEO / ? *Oreste* (Madrid, 1738¹¹¹)

ROLLE / PATZKE *Orest und Pylades, oder Die Stärke der Freundschaft* (Magdeburg, 1768)

¹⁰⁰ D-W Lm 3182a (L)

¹⁰¹ US-Wc Schatz 9235 (L)

¹⁰² B-Br II 29494 A XII,6 (L)

¹⁰³ F-Pn RES-YF-1461 & RES-YF-1462 & Z BEUCHOT-1957 (L)

¹⁰⁴ I-Vgc (L)

¹⁰⁵ B-Bc 21263 & D-W Textb. 783 & I-Bc Lo.4286 & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-REm & I-RE,Panizzi & US-Wc Schatz 8306 (L)

¹⁰⁶ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁰⁷ B-Bc 21260 & I-Bc Lo.3162 (L)

¹⁰⁸ F-Pc (L), HHA II/Sup. 1 (S), HG 48, 102 (Se)

¹⁰⁹ A-Wgm & A-Wn 444199-A. Mus & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-W Textb. 459 & Textb. 467 & Textb. Sammelbd 12 (4) & I-Fm & I-Pci & I-Vnm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17112 & 19153-4 (S)

¹¹⁰ US-Wc Longe 191 (L)

¹¹¹ I-Nf (S)

J.F. AGRICOLA / LANDI *Oreste e Pilade* (Berlin, 1772¹¹²; as *I Greci in Tauride*, Potsdam, 1772; as *I Greci in Tauride*, Berlin, 1772¹¹³; as *Oreste e Pilade*, Berlin, 1786¹¹⁴)

CIMAROSA / SERIO *Oreste* (Naples, 1783¹¹⁵)

DE LANGLE / ? *Oreste et Pylade* (?, 1783) = unperformed

ZINGARELLI / ? *La vendetta giurata o sia L'Oreste* (?, c. 1793)

HORIZIZKY / HEINRICH OF PRUSSIA *Oreste* (Rheinsberg, 1795)

MONETA / GONELLA *Oreste* (Pisa, 1798¹¹⁶; Florence, 1798¹¹⁷)

Orion

BOXBERG / ? *Orion* (Ansbach, 1696)

BOXBERG, STRUNGK (Leipzig, 1696)

STOELZEL / STOELZEL *Orion* (Naumburg, 1713)

STUCK / LA FONT *Orion* (Paris, 1725¹¹⁸) = unfinished

LACOSTE / PELLEGRIN *Orion* (Paris, 1728¹¹⁹)

J.C. BACH / BOTTARELLI *Orione o sia Diana vendicata* (London, 1763¹²⁰; London, 1777)

Orpheus (see also: Thetis, Zeus)

SARTORIO / AURELI *L'Orfeo* (Venice, 1672¹²¹)

DIA (Palermo, 1676¹²²)

SARTORIO, P.A. ZIANI (Naples, 1682¹²³)

SARTORIO, SABADINI (as *Amor spesso inganna*, Piacenza, 1689; as *L'Orfeo*, Rome, 1694¹²⁴)

SARTORIO a.o. / LORBER (also *Orpheus*, Brunswick, 1690¹²⁵)

¹¹² D-Bsb Mus. Ta 370 (L)

¹¹³ US-Wc Schatz 68 (L)

¹¹⁴ D-Bsb Mus. T 66 (L)

¹¹⁵ B-Bc 21262 & I-Bc Lo.1072 & I-Fc & I-Fm Melodrammi 2198.2 & I-Nc Rari 8.3/8 & I-Tci & I-Vgc Rolandi 3881 & US-NYp & US-Wc Schatz 1966 (L), F-Pn & I-Nc 14.8.18-19 & 25.2.3-5 & I-Rmassimo & P-La (S)

¹¹⁶ US-Wc Schatz 6555 (L), I-Fc (S)

¹¹⁷ D-Mbs & F-Po & I-Bc Lo.3218 & I-Fc & US-AUS (L), I-Fc (S)

¹¹⁸ Mercure de France (Se)

¹¹⁹ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹²⁰ JCBACH & D-Bsb & GB-Lbl & US-NH & US-NYp (L), JCBACH (S)

¹²¹ B-Bc 21268 & D-LEm & F-Pn 8-YTH-50925 & YD-5389 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5090 & I-Fn & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-LAum n. 184 & US-Wc Schatz 9483 (L), DMV & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17940 & I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-443 (S), ROSAND 1991 (Se)

¹²² I-Mc & I-PLcom & I-PLn (L)

¹²³ I-Nc & I-Rc & I-Vgc (L), I-Nc 32.2.25 (S)

¹²⁴ F-Pa 8-BL-8432 & F-Pn YD-4794 & I-Bc Lo.4909 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Rc & I-Rn & I-Vgc (L), I-Rvat (Se)

SARTORIO a.o. / ? (as *L'Orfeo, o sia Amore, che spesso inganna*, Bologna 1695¹²⁶; as *Orfeo a torto geloso overo Amore spesso inganna*, Savona, 1697¹²⁷; as *Orfeo a torto geloso*, Genoa, 1706¹²⁸)

L. LULLY / DU BOULLAY *Orphée* (Paris, 1690¹²⁹)

C.H. GRAUN / VILLATI (*Orfeo*, Berlin, 1752¹³⁰; Mainz, 1757¹³¹; Hamburg, 1764¹³²; Berlin, 1769; Berlin, 1776; Berlin, 1785¹³³; Berlin, 1788¹³⁴)

? / ? *Orfeo a torto geloso, o sia Amore spesso inganno* (Turin, 1697)

? (Genoa, 1706)

GOODSON, WELDON / DENNIS *Orpheus* (Oxford, 1697)

BLADEN (London, 1705¹³⁵)

D. PURCELL (London, 1707) = doubtful

WELDON (London, 1710)

KEISER / BRESSAND *Orpheus* (Brunswick, 1698¹³⁶; as *Die sterbende Eurydice & Die verwandelte Leyer des Orpheus*, Brunswick, 1699¹³⁷; as *Die sterbende Eurydice & Orpheus ander Theil*, Hamburg, 1702¹³⁸; Brunswick, 1707?¹³⁹; as *Die biß in, und nach dem Todt unerhörte Treue des Orpheus*, Hamburg, 1709¹⁴⁰)

? (Naumburg, 1701)

TELEMANN (as *Orpheus, oder die Wunderbare Beständigkeit der Liebe*, Hamburg, 1726¹⁴¹; Durlach, 1728?; as *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Karlsruhe, 1728¹⁴²; *Die rachbegierige Liebe, oder Orasia, verwittwete Königin in Thracien*, Hamburg, 1736)

KEISER, SCHUERMANN / SCHUERMANN? (as *Orpheus*, Brunswick, 1727¹⁴³)

KUHNAU / BRESSAND? *Orpheus* (Leipzig, 1698)

CAMPRA? / RENARD *Orfeo nell'Inferi* (Paris, 1699¹⁴⁴)

V.A. / MINELLI *L'Orfeo* (Venice, 1702¹⁴⁵; as *Le finzze d'Amore*, Venice, 1703)

ORGIANI / LALLI *Euridice* (Padua, 1712¹⁴⁶)

¹²⁵ D-HVI & D-W Gräflisch Schulenburgische Bibliothek Km 1 (8) & US-Wc Schatz 9484 (L)

¹²⁶ I-Bc Lo.6866 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Mr & I-MOe & I-Rn (L)

¹²⁷ I-MOe & US-Wc Schatz 9485 (L)

¹²⁸ I-Bc Lo.6867 (L)

¹²⁹ RECUEIL (Lc)

¹³⁰ B-Br Fétis 4489 A I,1 & D-Bsb & D-Dl & D-MHrm & D-Sl & F-Pn YD-5647 & US-Wc Schatz 4115 (L), GRAUN 1773-4 & D-Hs M B/1951 (Se)

¹³¹ D-MHrm (L)

¹³² US-Wc Schatz 4109 (L)

¹³³ D-Bsb (L)

¹³⁴ D-Bsb & US-Wc (L)

¹³⁵ US-Wc Longe 79 (L)

¹³⁶ D-Bsb (Se)

¹³⁷ D-W Textb. 274 & Textb. 276 & Textb. 323 (L)

¹³⁸ B-Br Fétis 4519 A 13 & D-Bsb 4'' Yp 5223-no.21/22 & US-Wc Schatz 5106-7 (L)

¹³⁹ D-W Textb. 322 (L)

¹⁴⁰ B-Br Fétis 4520 A V,8 & D-Bsb Yp 5224-no.20 & 4'' Yp 5231-no.15 & US-Wc Schatz 5165 (L)

¹⁴¹ Private collection (S)

¹⁴² D-Sl (L)

¹⁴³ D-W Textb. 702 (L)

¹⁴⁴ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹⁴⁵ I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 490 (L), I-Vcg (L2)

FUX / PARIATI *Orfeo ed Euridice* (Vienna, 1715¹⁴⁷; Graz, 1728¹⁴⁸)
? (Karlsruhe, 1729)

ARAIA, HASSE, PORPORA, VINCI / ROLLI *Orfeo* (London, 1735¹⁴⁹; London, 1736)

WAGENSEIL / G.C. PASQUINI *I lamenti d'Orfeo* (Vienna, 1739¹⁵⁰)
RISTORI (as *I lamenti di Orfeo*, Dresden, 1749¹⁵¹)
G. SCARLATTI (Vienna, 1762¹⁵²)

LAMPE / SOMMER *Orpheus and Eurydice* (London, 1740¹⁵³; London, 1777)

HILL / HILL *Orpheus* (London, 1740¹⁵⁴)

BERNASCONI, B. GALUPPI, HASSE, HOLZBAUER, JOMMELLI, WAGENSEIL, /
TAGLIAZUCCHI *Euridice* (Vienna, 1750¹⁵⁵)

GLUCK / CALZABIGI *Orfeo, ed Euridice* (Vienna, 1762¹⁵⁶; Vienna, 1764¹⁵⁷; *Atto d'Orfeo*
in *Le feste d'Apollo*, Parma, 1769¹⁵⁸; Vienna, 1770¹⁵⁹; Breslau, 1770¹⁶⁰; with Monza's *Aristo*
e Temira, Bologna, 1771¹⁶¹; London, 1773¹⁶²; Naples, 1774¹⁶³; Rome, 1776¹⁶⁴; Genoa,
1780¹⁶⁵; Vienna, 1781¹⁶⁶; St Petersburg, 1782¹⁶⁷; Bologna, 1788¹⁶⁸; Siena, 1795¹⁶⁹)
J.C. BACH, GLUCK, GUADAGNI, P.A. GUGLIELMI / BOTTARELLI (London, 1770¹⁷⁰; London,
1771¹⁷¹; Naples, 1774¹⁷²)
J.C. BACH, GLUCK (Florence, 1771¹⁷³; Florence, 1773; Naples, 1774¹⁷⁴)

¹⁴⁶ I-Mb (L)

¹⁴⁷ IOB & A-Wn Mus.Ms.17231-2 (S)

¹⁴⁸ A-Wgm Q 763 (S)

¹⁴⁹ GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/43 & GB-Lbl & GB-L, Theatre Museum & I-Vqs & US-SM & US-Wc (L), ROLLI
1744 (Lc), B-Bc 5471 & 5498 (Se)

¹⁵⁰ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17604 (S)

¹⁵¹ D-Dl (S)

¹⁵² B-Bc 678 (S)

¹⁵³ US-Wc Longe 199 (L)

¹⁵⁴ GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁵⁵ A-Wn & CZ-Pu (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.18032 (S)

¹⁵⁶ GSW & A-Wn 820368-A. Adl.5 The & CZ-Pu & D-Dl & GB-Lbl & US-Wc ML50.2.O7G4 (L), GSW &
DTO & Chambon 1764 (S)

¹⁵⁷ B-Br Fétis 2575 C & US-PHf (L), B-Bc 2112 (S)

¹⁵⁸ A-Wn & D-HR & D-LEm & D-Mbs & D-Mth & GB-Lbl & GB-Lv & I-Bc Lo.2231 & I-Bca &
I-BA, Giovine & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Ms & I-PAc & I-PESo & I-R, Burcardo & I-Ria & I-Rn &
I-Rsc & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc & US-NYp & US-U & US-Wc Schatz 3897 & ML48.M2B (L), B-Bc 12841 &
CH-BEl (S)

¹⁵⁹ A-Wgm & A-Wn 641432-A. 6,10 Mus & CZ-Pu (L)

¹⁶⁰ US-Wc Schatz 3912 (Lc)

¹⁶¹ C-Tu & I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.2232 & I-Bca & I-Mr & I-MOe & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Vgc & US-AUS & US-BEm
& US-Wc Schatz 3934 (L)

¹⁶² F-Pc & GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁶³ I-Bc Lo.9044 & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁶⁴ I-Rvat & I-Vgc & US-AUS (L)

¹⁶⁵ US-NYp (L)

¹⁶⁶ CZ-Pu (L)

¹⁶⁷ RU-SPsc & US-Wc (L)

¹⁶⁸ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.2234 & Lo.10106 & I-Bca & I-Fc & I-Mr & US-Wc (L)

¹⁶⁹ I-Fn & I-Rsc & I-Vc (L)

¹⁷⁰ JCBACH & GB-Lbl & I-Vgc Rolandi 864 (L), JCBACH (S), B-Bc 5472 (Se)

¹⁷¹ GB-Lbl & US-NYcu (L)

¹⁷² I-Nc & I-Vgc Rolandi 865 (L)

GLUCK / ? (Munich, 1773¹⁷⁵)
 GLUCK, UTTINI / ROTHMAN (as *Orphee och Euridice*, Stockholm, 1773¹⁷⁶)
 GLUCK / MOLINE (as *Orphée et Eurydice*, Paris, 1774¹⁷⁷; Paris, 1782¹⁷⁸)
 TOZZI (Munich, 1775¹⁷⁹)
 V.A. / D'ORVIGNY, MOLINE (as *Roger-Bontems et Javotte*, parody, Paris, 1775¹⁸⁰)
 BERTONI (with *Aristo e Temira*, Venice, 1776¹⁸¹; Padua, 1776¹⁸²; Padua, 1778¹⁸³; Kassel, 1781¹⁸⁴;
 Rome, 1781¹⁸⁵; Hanover, 1783¹⁸⁶; with *Aristo e Temira*, Florence, 1784¹⁸⁷; Eszterháza,
 1788¹⁸⁸; Warsaw, 1789¹⁸⁹; Venice, 1795; Venice, ?¹⁹⁰)
 MOROSINI (Venice, 1780¹⁹¹)
 J.C. BACH, P.A. GUGLIELMI, GLUCK, HANDEL / ANDREI (as *Orpheus and Eurydice*, London,
 1785¹⁹²)
 NAUMANN / BIEHL (as *Orpheus og Euridice*, Copenhagen, 1786¹⁹³; Hamburg, 1787; Copenhagen,
 1790¹⁹⁴)
 NAUMANN / BIEHL, CRAMER (as *Orpheus und Euridice*, 1786¹⁹⁵) = unperformed
 BERTONI, REICHARDT (Berlin, 1788¹⁹⁶)
 MOROLIN (Venice, 1796¹⁹⁷)
 ? (as *Orpheus and Eurydice*, London, 1792¹⁹⁸)
 GLUCK / ? (as *Orpheus und Euridice*, ?, c. 1800¹⁹⁹)

BARTHELEMON / GARRICK *Orpheus* (London, 1767²⁰⁰)

? / L.B. *Orfeo* (Venice, 1774²⁰¹)

GERBONI / ELLEBICO *Orfeo vendicato* (Jesi, 1778²⁰²)

-
- ¹⁷³ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.2233 & I-Fm (L)
¹⁷⁴ JCBACH & I-Bc Lo.9044 & I-Nc & I-PAc & I-Ra & I-Vgc & US-NYp (L)
¹⁷⁵ D-Mbs (L)
¹⁷⁶ S-St (S)
¹⁷⁷ GSW & B-Br II 15107 A 57 2 & US-Wc ML50.2.O7G45 (L), GSW & Des Laurieris-Leduc 1774 &
 Lemarchand 1774 (S)
¹⁷⁸ US-Wc ML48.M2H (L)
¹⁷⁹ D-HR & D-Mbs & D-NBsb (L), B-Bc 2361 (S)
¹⁸⁰ B-Br II 10383 A IIIa/3 & II 14552 A IX,7 & II 15107 A 52 4 & Faber 516 A 2 & 1733 1 & 1548 XIX,3 &
 US-Wc Schatz 11510 (L)
¹⁸¹ CDN-Lu & F-Pn 8-YTH-51550 & I-Bc Lo.519,b & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm &
 US-Wc Schatz 916 (L), DMV 23 & A-Wn Mus.Hs.9949 & B-Bc 2043 & D-Dl & D-DS & D-FS & D-WRI &
 F-Pn & GB-Lbl & I-BGc & I-BRq & I-CMbc & I-Gl & I-Mc & I-OS & I-Pca & I-Tn & I-Vc & P-La (S)
¹⁸² B-Bc 21270 & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-Rsc (L), I-PAc (S)
¹⁸³ I-Pci (L)
¹⁸⁴ D-Kl (L)
¹⁸⁵ I-Rsc & I-Tci (L)
¹⁸⁶ D-BFb & D-W Gn Kapsel 65 (9) (L)
¹⁸⁷ I-Bc Lo.519 & I-Fc (L)
¹⁸⁸ H-Bn (L), H-Bn (S)
¹⁸⁹ PL-Kj (L)
¹⁹⁰ I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vgc (L)
¹⁹¹ I-Vcg (L)
¹⁹² GB-Lbl & I-R,Burcardo & US-Wc Schatz 3926 (L)
¹⁹³ DK-Kk (S)
¹⁹⁴ US-Wc Schatz 7052 (L)
¹⁹⁵ US-Wc Schatz 7053 (L)
¹⁹⁶ D-Bsb Mus. T 68,1 & US-Wc Schatz 917 (L), D-Bsb (S)
¹⁹⁷ I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L)
¹⁹⁸ GB-Lbl (L)
¹⁹⁹ D-W Textb. 206 (L)
²⁰⁰ GB-Lbl (L)
²⁰¹ I-Mb (L), I-Mb & I-V,Levi (L2)
²⁰² I-Bc Lo.7721 & I-Vgc (L)

ASPLMAYR / BURSAY, LAUDES *Orpheus und Euridice* (Vienna, 1779 or 1780)

TURINI / ? *Orfeo* (?, 178?)

S. STORACE / ARRIGHI *Orfeo negli Elisi* (Lucca, 1781²⁰³)

MONETA (Florence, 1788²⁰⁴)

TRENTO (Venice, 1789²⁰⁵)

T. GIORDANI / HOULTON *Orfeo ed Euridice* (Dublin, 1784)

F.W.H. BENDA / LINDEMANN *Orpheus* (Berlin, 1785²⁰⁶)

AMENDOLA / AZZALLI *Orfeo* (Palermo, 1788²⁰⁷)

LOCHNER / ? *Orpheus* (?, 179?)

J. HAYDN / BADINI *L'anima del filosofo, ossia Orfeo ed Euridice* (London, 1791²⁰⁸) = unperformed

PAER / DUPLESSIS *Orphée et Euridice* (Parma, 1791²⁰⁹)

STABINGER / ? *Orphée traversant l'enfer à la recherche d'Eurydice* (Moscow, 1792)

DAUVERGNE / MARMONTEL *La mort d'Orphée* (Paris, 1797) = unperformed

- / JACOBY *Der Tod des Orpheus* (Leipzig, 1792²¹⁰) = unperformed

BACHMANN / ? (as *Der Tod des Orpheus, oder Orpheus und Euridice*, Brunswick, 1798)

DROSTE-HUELSHOFF (179?) = unperformed

²⁰³ I-Vgc (L)

²⁰⁴ I-Rn (L)

²⁰⁵ I-Vcg & I-Vqs (L)

²⁰⁶ US-Wc Schatz 766 (L)

²⁰⁷ I-Mr (L)

²⁰⁸ HW & B-Bc 2178 (S), D-Bsb (Se)

²⁰⁹ US-Wc Schatz 7550 (L)

²¹⁰ US-Wc Schatz 537 (L)

Pallas Athene (see also: Achilles, Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares, Hera, Hermes, Jason, Odysseus, Paris, Perseus, Telemachus, Thetis, Zeus)

TORRI / ? *Gli oracoli di Pallade e di Nemese* (Munich, 1690¹)

A. SCARLATTI / FABBRINI *Prologo: Onestà, Pallade* (in *L'onestà negli amori*, Siena, 1690²)

? / ? *La Pallade trionfante coronata in Oreto* (in *Giornate festive di plausi laureati*, Palermo, 1694)

KEISER / HINSCH *Die Geburth der Minerva* (Hamburg, 1703³; as *Die betrogene Venus*, Hamburg, 1703⁴)

? / ? *Pallas et Fortuna virtuti vectigales* (Palermo, 1705⁵; Palermo, 1709⁶)

POLLICE / COLONNA? *La concordia di Pallade e Nettuno nella spiaggia di Mare Dolce* (Palermo, 1707⁷)

? / ? *Pallas astris coronata* (Palermo, 1708⁸; Palermo, 1710⁹; Palermo, 1716¹⁰)

M.G. GRIMANI / ? *Pallade e Marte* (Vienna, 1713¹¹)

SARRO / ALBORGHETTI *La contesa di Pallade, e Venere* (Naples, 1716¹²)

GIANNETTINI / TOMMASI *L'unione delle tre dee, Pallade, Giunone e Venere* (Modena, 1716¹³)

SCHUERMANN or STEFFANI / MAURO *La festa di Minerva* (Wolfenbüttel, 1719¹⁴)

F.B. CONTI / PARIATI *La via del saggio* (Vienna, 1721¹⁵)

F.B. CONTI / PARIATI? *Pallade trionfante* (Vienna, 1722¹⁶; Vienna, 1737)

MICHELÌ / S. STAMPIGLIA *Austria, Pallade, Giove* (Rome, 1722)

¹ A-Wn 792410-B. 8 The & D-Mbs (L)

² I-Bc Lo.5106 & I-Fc & I-IE & I-PAc & I-Rc (L)

³ D-Bsb 4" Yp 5223-no.26 (L)

⁴ B-Br Fétis 4520 A II,18 (L)

⁵ I-PLcom (L)

⁶ I-PLcom (L)

⁷ I-PLcom (L)

⁸ I-PLcom (L)

⁹ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁰ I-PLcom (L)

¹¹ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17741 (S)

¹² D-Mbs 1131 (S)

¹³ I-MOe (L)

¹⁴ D-BS & D-HV & D-W Textb. 651 & D-W, Landesbibliothek (L)

¹⁵ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17220 & A-Wgm Q 710 & Q 1284(S)

¹⁶ A-Wgm & A-Wn (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17216 (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17051-I/5 (Se)

? / ? *Palladis de Junone et Venere triumphus* (Palermo, 1724¹⁷; Palermo, 1727¹⁸)

AMADORI / GASPARRI *Palade e Marte* (Rome, 1725)

? / ? *Bellezza, Minerva, Giunone* (Rome, 1727)

G. REUTTER jr. / G.C. PASQUINI *Dialogo tra Minerva ed Apollo* (Vienna, 1728¹⁹)

AMADORI / BUTTARI *Pallade e il Tempo* (Rome, 1728²⁰)

CALDARA / G.C. PASQUINI *Il natale di Minerva Tritonia* (Vienna, 1735²¹)

? / ? *Pallade e Giunone* (in *Se sia più felice l'essere dotto e povero*, Venice, 1735)

? / ? *Il vaticinio di Pallade e di Mercurio* (Lisbon, 1731²²)

? / ? *Arborum disceptatio in coronanda Pallade* (Palermo, 1732²³)

BONNO / G.C. PASQUINI? *Il nume d'Atene* (Vienna, 1739²⁴)

? / ? *Il regno di Pallade* (Fermo, 1746²⁵)

? / ? *Bellona e Pallade* (in *Publio Cornelio Scipione Africano*, Modena, 1751²⁶)

SEAGLIES / ABBONDANZIERI *Pallade e Mercurio* (in *Le scienze ed arti nobili ravvivate in Arcevia*, Jesi, 1752²⁷)

? / ? *Il trionfo di Pallade* (Venice, 1752²⁸)

JOMMELLI, SAMMARTINI / PASCALI *La Reggia de' Fati* (Milan, 1753²⁹; Bologna, 1763³⁰)

SIGNORILE / BALDANZA *La concordia tra la virtù e la bellezza* (Palermo, 1754³¹)

MAZZINGHI / COLTELLINI *Voti di Minerva* (Livorno, 1757³²)

¹⁷ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁸ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁹ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17622 (S)

²⁰ I-Vgc (L)

²¹ A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17146-7 & 18203 (S)

²² I-Nc (L)

²³ I-PLcom (L)

²⁴ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18259 (S)

²⁵ I-MAC & I-PEc (L)

²⁶ I-Vgc (L)

²⁷ I-Vgc (L)

²⁸ I-Mb (L)

²⁹ B-Bc 21533 & I-Mb 14.16.D.119 & XX.XIII.293 & I-PEc & I-Rsc & I-Tn & I-Vgc (L)

³⁰ D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.2589 & I-Bca & I-B,Cassa di Risparmio (L)

³¹ I-PLcom & US-AUS (L)

³² I-Fc (L)

RADICCHI / FUSCONI *Genio dell'Umbria, Pallade, Clitunno* (Foligno, 1762³³)

V. MANFREDINI / ? *Minerva ed Apolline* (Krasno Séla, 1765) = doubtful

NENCI / COLTELLINI? *Il regno di Pallade e d'Astrea* (Livorno, 1766³⁴)

MAINONI / ? *Le feste di Pallade* (Milan, 1767³⁵)

N. PICCINNI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Pallade, Teseo, Alcide* (Naples, 1767³⁶)

? / MACCARI *Celebrandosi dai Signori Accademici Etruschi... le feste quatricennali dalla fondazione del loro istituto...: Temi, Pallade* (Cortona, 1768³⁷)

GEREMIA / ? *Il trionfo di Pallade* (Catania, 1773³⁸)

? / D.M. *Pallade pronuba* (Genoa, 1777³⁹)

KUERZINGER / NESSELRODE *Minervens Ankunft bei den Musen* (Regensburg, 1780)

? / ? *Composizione drammatica: Minerva, Mercurio* (Milan, 1780⁴⁰)

MILLICO / GODARD *Componimento drammatico: Minerva, Mercurio, Genio della pace, Cori* (Naples, after 1780⁴¹)

POLI / VERAZI? *Minerva* (Stuttgart, 1781⁴²)

HOPKINSON / HOPKINSON *The temple of Minerva* (Philadelphia, 1781)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / LANFRANCHI-ROSSI *Pallade [in cielo]* (Naples, 1786⁴³)

? / LANTE *Pallade in cielo* (Florence, 1791⁴⁴)

Pan (see also: Apollo, Midas, Penelope, Syrinx)

BRONNER, MATTHESON / HINSCH *Der Tod des großen Pan* (Hamburg, 1702)

GALLIARD / THEOBALD *Pan and Syrinx* (London, 1718⁴⁵; London, 1726⁴⁶)

³³ I-PESo (L)

³⁴ I-MAC & I-Vgc (L)

³⁵ I-Bca & I-Mb (L)

³⁶ I-Lg & I-Nc & I-Nn (L)

³⁷ I-Vgc (L)

³⁸ I-PLcom (L)

³⁹ I-Vgc (L)

⁴⁰ I-Ma & I-Rsc (L)

⁴¹ I-Nc & I-PLn (L)

⁴² D-Mbs & D-Sl (L)

⁴³ I-Nc (S)

⁴⁴ C-Tu & I-Plu (L)

⁴⁵ GB-Lbl (L)

MOURET / D'AIGUEBERRE *Pan et Doris* (Paris, ?⁴⁷)

? / ? *Das dem Pan dargebrachte unterbrochene Opfer* (Koburg, 1776)

Pandora

ORSINO / DE DURA *La Pandora* (Naples, 1690⁴⁸)

? / D'ORNEVAL, FUZELIER, LESAGE *La boîte de Pandore* (Paris, 1721⁴⁹)

ROYER / VOLTAIRE *Pandore* (Paris, 1752) = unperformed

BECK / CORSENVILLE *Pandore* (Paris, 1789⁵⁰)

Paris (see also: Graces, Hector, Helen, Theseus)

FRESCHI / AURELI *Helena rapita da Paride* (Venice, 1677⁵¹; Bassano, 1684)

FRESCHI? (Bergamo, 1678⁵²)

FRESCHI, GENESIN / SCAPPI (as *L'Enone schernita*, Verona, 1680⁵³)

FIOCCO, FRESCHI / MAURO (also *Helena door Paris geschaakt*, Amsterdam, 1681⁵⁴)

FRESCHI / VALENTE (Hanover, 1681⁵⁵)

FRESCHI? (Milan, 1681⁵⁶)

BASSANI, FRESCHI / ROSSELLI GENESIN (as *L'Amorosa preda di Paride*, Modena, 1681⁵⁷;
Bologna, 1683⁵⁸)

FRESCHI? (Lucca, 1683⁵⁹)

FRESCHI? (as *L'Enone schernita*, Ravenna, 1686⁶⁰)

FRESCHI, NAVARRA / AURELI (Venice, 1687⁶¹)

MAZZOLENI (Rovigo, 1707⁶²)

FIOCCO / VALENTE (also *Die vom Paris geraubte Helena*, Brunswick, 1708?⁶³)

GRAUPNER, KEISER / KEISER (as *La forza dell'amore oder Die von Paris entführte Helena*,

⁴⁶ GB-Lbl (S)

⁴⁷ THEATRE FRANCOIS 1737 (Lc)

⁴⁸ I-Nn (L)

⁴⁹ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

⁵⁰ F-BO (Se)

⁵¹ D-Es & D-Mbs & D-Tu & F-Pn 8-YTH-50994 & YD-5185 & I-Bc Lo.1777 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-RVI & I-Vgc & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-Laum n. 219 & US-Wc ML50.2.H3F7 (L), D-W Textb. Sammelbd 18 (1) & F-Pn 8-YTH-51737 & I-Fn & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Vnm & US-LAum n. 220 & US-Wc Schatz 3351 (L2), I-MOe & I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-357 & I-Vqs (Se)

⁵² I-Ma (L)

⁵³ GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.6307 & I-Bu & I-Rvat (L)

⁵⁴ D-W Lk Sammelbd 57 (7) & F-Pn 8-YTH-67628 (L)

⁵⁵ D-HV1 & D-W Textb. 23 (L)

⁵⁶ I-LDE & I-Mb (L)

⁵⁷ I-Bc Lo.6276 & I-Bu & I-MOe (L)

⁵⁸ I-Vgc Rolandi 990 (L)

⁵⁹ I-Lg & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-Vc (L)

⁶⁰ I-MOe (L)

⁶¹ I-Bc Lo.1778 & Lo.9773 & I-Bu & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn & I-Vgc & I-Vnm Dramm. 963,4 & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3358 (L)

⁶² I-Mb & I-Pci (L)

⁶³ D-BS & D-HV1 & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-W Textb. 178 (L)

Hamburg, 1709⁶⁴; Hamburg, 1711⁶⁵; Hamburg, 1715⁶⁶)
ALBINONI (as *Le due rivali in Amore, ovvero Elena rapita da Paride*, Venice, 1728)

MANZA / NICOLINI *Paride in Ida* (Hanover, 1687⁶⁷)

COLETTI, MANZA / MAZZARI (Parma, 1696⁶⁸; Venice, 1706⁶⁹; Lugo, 1716⁷⁰; Padua, 1719)
C.F. POLLAROLO? (as *Gl'amori di Paride ed' Ennone in Ida*, Salzthal, 1697⁷¹)
V.A. / MENGOSZI (as *I due Rivali in gara, o sia, Paride in Ida*, Bologna, 1719)

GIANNETTINI / GRAZZINI *Il giuditio di Paride* (Ferrara, 1694⁷²)

FASOLI / ? *Il pastore fortunato* (Turin, 1695⁷³)

? / GIUSTACHINI *Le gelosie amorose di Paride, et Enone* (Rovigo, 1696⁷⁴)

? (*L'Enone gelosa*, Crema, 1698⁷⁵; Cremona, 1698⁷⁶)

? (*Le gelosie di Paride e d'Ennone*, Verona, 1703⁷⁷)

? / ? *Le glorie della bellezza o Il giudicio di Paride* (Venice, 1697⁷⁸)

? / ? *Der königliche Schäfer Paris* (Weissenfels, 1698)

C.F. POLLAROLO / ANIMOSI *Il giudicio di Paride su'l monte Ida* (Venice, 1699⁷⁹)

COLLINELLI / ? *Elena e Paride* (Naples, 1701)

J. ECCLES, FINGER, D. PURCELL, WELDON / CONGREVE *The Judgment of Paris, or the Prize of Music* (London, 1701⁸⁰)

? (as *The triumph of beauty*, London, 1731)

T.A. ARNE (Cliveden, 1740⁸¹; London, 1742; London, 1759)

CALDARA, QUINTAVALLE / ? *Paride su l'Ida o vero Gl'amori di Paride con Enone*
(Mantua, 1704⁸²)

CALDARA, GENOCCHI (Milan, 1707⁸³)

BALDASSARI / CINI *Il giudizio di Paride corretto della giustizia* (Vienna, 1707⁸⁴)

⁶⁴ B-Br Fétis 4519 A 3 & D-Bsb Yp 5224-no.16 & 4" Yp 5230-no.12 D-Hau & D-WRtl (L)

⁶⁵ D-Hs (L)

⁶⁶ D-Hs (L)

⁶⁷ D-HvI (L)

⁶⁸ I-Bc Lo.6900 & I-Mb & I-Vnm (L)

⁶⁹ I-Bc Lo.6901 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Mr & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & I-Vt & US-Wc Schatz 5917 (L)

⁷⁰ I-Bc Lo.6902 & I-Fm & I-FZc & I-MOe & I-Vgc Rolandi 4141 (L)

⁷¹ D-W Textb. 28 & Textb. Sammelbd 3 (3) (L)

⁷² GB-Lwi & I-Bc Lo.6538 & I-Fm & I-MOe (L), A-Wn (S)

⁷³ I-Bc Lo.1576 (L)

⁷⁴ I-RVI (L)

⁷⁵ I-Mc (L)

⁷⁶ I-LDE (L)

⁷⁷ I-Rsc (L)

⁷⁸ I-Vnm (L)

⁷⁹ I-Mb Racc.Dramm.5934 (L)

⁸⁰ Gb-Lbl (L), RRMBE (S)

⁸¹ B-Br 26658 R 42 & GB-Lbl (S)

⁸² I-Bc Lo.733 (L)

⁸³ I-Mb & I-Mc coll. libr. 58 & I-Rn (L)

HEINICHEN / ? *Paris und Helene, oder Der glückliche Liebeswechsel* (Naumburg, 1710⁸⁵)

DE LA DOUE / BARBIER, PELLEGRIN *Le jugement de Pâris* (Paris, 1718⁸⁶; Paris, 1727⁸⁷)
GILLIER / D'ORNEVAL (parody, Paris, 1718⁸⁸)

ORLANDINI / MUZZO *Il Paride* (Venice, 1720⁸⁹)

WILDERER / ? *Il giudizio di Paride* (Mannheim, 1724⁹⁰)

? / SCARABELLI *Paride in Colorno o sia Accademia teatrale* (Modena, 1728⁹¹)

KOBELIUS / ? *Paris und Oenone* (Weissenfels, 1729)

? / ? *The Judgment of Paris; or, The triumph of beauty* (London, 1731⁹²)

V.A. / BREVAL *The rape of Helen* (London, 1733; London, 1737⁹³)

SARRO / N.N. *Il giudizio di Paride* (Jaromerice, 1738⁹⁴)

SAN MARTINO / ? *Paride riconosciuto* (Milan, 1750⁹⁵)

C.H. GRAUN, FREDERIC II / VILLATI, ALGAROTTI *Il giudizio di Paride* (Berlin, 1752⁹⁶; as *Il giudizio di Paride*, Bonn, 1770⁹⁷)

B. GALUPPI / CHIARI *Le nozze di Paride* (Venice, 1756⁹⁸)
? (as *Elena rapita*, Bologna, 1761⁹⁹)

BARTHELEMON / SCHOMBERG *The Judgment of Paris* (London, 1768¹⁰⁰; *Le jugement de Paris*, Bordeaux, 1768)

DONDI, FANTUZZI, RAIMONDI / MANZOLI *Il riconoscimento di Paride* (Modena, 1768¹⁰¹)

⁸⁴ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17677-8 (S)

⁸⁵ D-Bsb (S)

⁸⁶ F-Pa GD-40 & F-Pn 8-RO-1160 & 8-RO-1181 & RES-YF-1134 & RES-YF-2242 & RES-YF-2243 (L),
RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), Ballard 1718 (S)

⁸⁷ F-Pn RES-YF-803 & RES-YF-2244 (L)

⁸⁸ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

⁸⁹ D-DO & D-Mbs & F-Pn 8-YTH-50875 & I-Bc Lo.3579 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Mr & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn &
I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg 59 A 147/5 & I-Vgc & I-Vnm & SI-Lsk & US-BEm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc
Schatz 7345 (L), D-SHs M 18 & F-Pc X.111 B & D-SW1 4721 (Se)

⁹⁰ D-HEu (L)

⁹¹ I-Mb & I-PAc (L)

⁹² US-Wc Longe 290 (L)

⁹³ US-Wc Longe 52 (L)

⁹⁴ A-Baden bei Wien, Stadtarchiv (L)

⁹⁵ I-Mb (L)

⁹⁶ D-Bsb Mus. T 47 & D-Bhm & D-L & US-Wc Schatz 4099 (L), GRAUN 1773-4 & D-Bsa 2080-1 (Se)

⁹⁷ D-MÜu (L)

⁹⁸ I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-AUS & US-BEm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 3489
(L)

⁹⁹ F-Pn 8-RE-4478(5) & YD-4614 & I-Nc (L)

¹⁰⁰ US-Wc Longe 52 (L)

GLUCK / CALZABIGI *Paride ed Elena* (Vienna, 1770¹⁰²; Naples, 1777¹⁰³; Naples, 1779¹⁰⁴)

MORTELLARI / VERAZI *Troja distrutta* (Milan, 1778¹⁰⁵)

WINTER / FOERG *Helena und Paris* (Munich, 1782¹⁰⁶; Berlin, 1797¹⁰⁷)

? / ? *Elena rapita da Paride* (Florence, 1784)

HORIZZKY / HEINRICH OF PRUSSIA *Le jugement de Paris* (Rheinsberg, 179?)

V.A. / GONELLA *Elena, e Paride* (Florence, 1795¹⁰⁸)

Peirithous (see also: Theseus)

MOURET / PELLEGRIN *Pirithoüs* (Paris, 1723¹⁰⁹)

Peleus (see: Alcyone, Jason, Poseidon, Thetis)

Pelops

CAMPRA / ROY *Hippodamie* (Paris, 1708¹¹⁰)

ARESTI / BRACCIOLI *Crisippo* (Bologna, 1710¹¹¹; Ferrara, 1710¹¹²)

JOMMELLI / VERAZI *Pelope* (Stuttgart, 1755¹¹³)

SILVA, JOMMELLI (Salvaterra, 1767¹¹⁴)

¹⁰¹ I-Bca (L)

¹⁰² GSW & A-Wgm & A-Wn & B-Br Fétis 2576 C & CZ-Bu & CZ-Pu & D-Bsb & D-Mbs & D-W Textb. 204 & US-Wc (L), GSW & Trattner 1770 & B-Bc 2114 & F-Pn D-4700-4701 & L-4052 (1-2) & RES F-1454 & VM4-49 (S)

¹⁰³ US-AA & US-Wc ML50.2.P27G5 (L)

¹⁰⁴ I-Vgc (L)

¹⁰⁵ D-Bsb & D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.3279 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-LDE & I-Ma & I-Mc coll. libr. 175 & I-Mr & I-Ms & I-Nc & I-OS & I-PAc & I-Rsc XIX.5 & I-Tci & I-Vnm & US-AUS & US-BEm & US-Wc Schatz 6687 (L), D-DS & F-Pn & P-La (S)

¹⁰⁶ US-Wc Schatz 11035 (L)

¹⁰⁷ US-Wc Schatz 11036 (L)

¹⁰⁸ CDN-Tu & D-Bsb Mus. T 40 & I-Bc Lo.6277 & I-Fc & I-Fm & US-Wc ML48.A5v.14 (L)

¹⁰⁹ B-Br Fétis 4499 A XIII,101 (L)

¹¹⁰ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹¹¹ B-Bc 19818 & I-Bc Lo.309 & I-Fm & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

¹¹² I-Bc Lo.310 & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Vnm & US-Wc ML50.2.C85A7 (L)

¹¹³ D-SI fr.D.4°192 & D-Tu & US-Wc Schatz 4869 (L), I-Nc Rari 7.9.1/2 (S), B-Enghien, Arenberg Ms 85 (Se)

¹¹⁴ BR-Rn & D-Bsb & I-Rsc & P-C & P-Ln L5618 P(10) (L), P-La 44-X-74/76 (S)

Penelope (see also: Odysseus)

C. PALLAVICINO / NORIS *Penelope la casta* (Venice, 1685¹¹⁵)

? (Palermo, 1694¹¹⁶)

? (Verona, 1694¹¹⁷)

A. SCARLATTI (Naples, 1696¹¹⁸; Milan, 1696¹¹⁹; Florence, 1705¹²⁰)

PERTI / S. STAMPIGLIA? (Rome, 1696¹²¹)

C.F. POLLAROLO (as *L'Ulisse sconosciuto in Itaca*, Reggio, 1698¹²²)

? / ? (as *Ulysses*, Leipzig, 1703)

A.S. FIORE (as *La casta Penelope*, Milan, 1707) = doubtful

FACCO, PIZZOLO (Messina, 1713¹²³)

CHELLERI (Venice, 1716¹²⁴)

CHELLERI, LOTTI, ORLANDINI, TELEMANN, VIVALDI / ? (as *Ulysses*, Hamburg, 1721¹²⁵)

? (Prague, 1730¹²⁶)

KEISER / BRESSAND *Penelope, oder Des Ulysses anderer Theil* (Brunswick, 1696¹²⁷; as *Penelope und Ulysses*, Hamburg, 1702¹²⁸)

? (as *Penelope und Ulysses*, Hamburg, 1697)

F.B. CONTI / PARIATI after PARIATI *Penelope* (Vienna, 1724¹²⁹; Vienna, 1739)

VEROCAI? (Brunswick, 1740) = doubtful

GILLIER / FUZELIER, LESAGE, D'ORNEVAL *La Pénélope moderne* (Paris, 1728¹³⁰)

COOKE, G. BONONCINI a.o. / MOTTLEY *Penelope* (London, 1728¹³¹)

? / ? *Penelope* (Brunswick, 1740)

B. GALUPPI / ROLLI *Penelope* (London, 1741¹³²)

B. GALUPPI, HASSE (London, 1754¹³³)

¹¹⁵ B-Bc 21385 & D-Bsb 8" Xq 446/2 & F-Pa 8-BL-8399(1) & F-Pn 8-YTH-51928 & GB-Lwi & I-Bc Lo.3585,b & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-NOVc & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-RE,Panizzi & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 7730 (L), D-Tu & F-Pn & I-Bc Lo.6928 I-Mb & I-Mc & I-MOe & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-LAum (L2)

¹¹⁶ I-Bu & I-PLcom (L)

¹¹⁷ US-CA (L)

¹¹⁸ D-HEu & I-Bu & I-Nc & I-Vgc (L), I-Nc & B-Bc 15321 (Se)

¹¹⁹ I-Bu & I-LDE & I-Mc coll. libr. 45 & I-MOe LXXXIII.F.2 & I-NOVc (L)

¹²⁰ B-Bc 21387 & D-Sl & I-Bc Lo.6929 & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Mb & I-Rn & I-Rsc (L)

¹²¹ B-Bc 21386 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.4133 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-MAC & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rn (L)

¹²² I-Bc Lo.4287 & I-Fm & I-MOe & I-REm & I-RE,Panizzi & I-Rc (L)

¹²³ I-Fm (L)

¹²⁴ F-Pn 8-YTH-51769 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.969 & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rsc XII.33 & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vgc Rolandi 3520 & I-Vnm & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 1813 (L)

¹²⁵ D-Bsb 4" Yp 5225-no.17 & US-Wc Schatz 10801 (L), D-Bsb 30176 (Se)

¹²⁶ CZ-K (L), CZ-K 76 K I (S)

¹²⁷ D-W Textb. 277 (L), D-W Textb. Sammelbd 6 (9) (L2)

¹²⁸ A-Wn 4359-B. Mus & 625235-B. The & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5223-no.15 & US-Wc Schatz 5109 (L)

¹²⁹ A-Wgm & A-Wn & D-W Textb. 110 & Textb. Sammelbd 11 (8) & I-Mb & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 2202 (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17110 & 17226 & A-Wgm Q 1280 (S), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17051 (Se)

¹³⁰ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

¹³¹ US-Wc Longe 152 (L)

¹³² GB-En & GB-Lbl & US-SM (L), B-Bc 5474 & 17215 (Se)

¹³³ F-Pc & GB-Lbl & US-Wc (L)

? / VANNUCCI *Penelope in Itaca* (Rome, 1741¹³⁴)

CARVALHO / MARTINELLI *Penelope nella partenza da Sparta* (Lisbon, 1782¹³⁵)

N. PICCINNI / MARMONTEL *Penelope* (Fontainebleau, 1785¹³⁶; Paris, 1785¹³⁷)

CIMAROSA / DIODATI *Penelope* (Naples, 1794¹³⁸; Naples, 1795¹³⁹; Livorno, 1795¹⁴⁰; Padua, 1795¹⁴¹; Parma, 1800¹⁴²)

BASILI (as *Il ritorno d'Ulisse*, Florence, 1798¹⁴³)

Penthesilea (see: Amazons)

Persephone (see also: Arion, Demeter, Orpheus)

J.-B. LULLY / QUINAULT *Proserpine* (St German-en-Laye, 1680¹⁴⁴; Paris, 1680¹⁴⁵; Paris, 1683¹⁴⁶; Wolfenbüttel, 1685¹⁴⁷; Paris, 1688¹⁴⁸; Paris, 1699¹⁴⁹; Amsterdam, 1699; Amsterdam, 1701¹⁵⁰; Versailles, 1714; Paris, 1715¹⁵¹; Paris 1727¹⁵²; Paris, 1741¹⁵³)

V.A. / FUZELIER (as *Les Champs Elysées*, parody, Paris, 1727)

V.A. / D'ORNEVAL (as *Les noces de Proserpine*, parody, Paris, 1727)

V.A. / FAVART (as *Farinette*, parody, Paris, 1741)

FRANCOEUR, J.-B. LULLY, REBEL (Paris, 1758¹⁵⁴)

¹³⁴ I-Bc Lo.6930 & I-G,Franzoniana & I-MAC & I-Vgc (L)

¹³⁵ BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC12029 & P-Ln L5800 P(4) & US-Wc Schatz 1673 (L)

¹³⁶ F-Po (S)

¹³⁷ F-Pn (L)

¹³⁸ B-Bc 21383 & I-Fc & I-Nc & I-Nlp & I-Vgc Rolandi 3882 (L), B-Bc 2074 & B-Br Féti 2585 MS II 4013 & CZ-Pnm & D-Dl & D-Sl & F-Pn D-2139-40 & GB-Lbl & I-CRg & I-Fc & I-Gl & I-Mc Part. Tr. ms. 465 & I-Nc 14.8.20-21 & 25.32.6 & I-Pac & I-Rrai P.S.M. 1141 & I-Vnm 10259-60 & S-St & US-Bp & US-Wc (S), F-Pn D-17562 & L-17563 & I-Bsf M.C.VI-8 & I-CBp Pepe Ms.206 & I-LEpastore MS.A.2-3 & I-Mc Nosedà E.12.3 & E.12.7 & E.12.13 & E.15.14 & I.339.2 & I-Nc 33.4.34 & Arie 88(8-9) & Rari Cornice 1.8 & Rari Cornicione 204/1-4 & I-OS Mss.Mus.B 378 & 440-1 & I-Rrai P.S.M. 1451/4 & I-Rsc Accademico A-Ms-452 & A-Ms-890 (Se)

¹³⁹ A-Wmi & I-Bc Lo.1133 & I-Mc Libretti M.65 & I-Nc Rari 10.7.1/6 & I-Nn L.P. Libretti A.0048(2) & I-Ra & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁴⁰ I-Fm & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 1967 (L)

¹⁴¹ I-Pci & I-Pac & I-Vcg & I-Vgc Rolandi 3883 (L)

¹⁴² I-Mr & I-Rsc & I-Vnm (L)

¹⁴³ I-Bc Lo.411 & I-Fn & I-Rsc & US-Wc Schatz 629 (L), I-Fc & I-Mr (S)

¹⁴⁴ F-Pa GD-30 & THN-73 & THN-9706 & F-Pn 4-YTH-3514 & 4-YTH-3515 & RES-YF-1077 & RES-YF-1110 & YF-782 (L), D-W Lm Sammelbd 103 (3) & F-Pn 8-RO-8497 (4) & 8-Y-5729 & YF-7820 (Lc), Ballard 1714 (S)

¹⁴⁵ D-W Lm 4° Kapsel 1 (7) & F-Pn GD-43948 & US-Wc ML50.2.B39L9 (L), QUINAULT 1715 & F-Pn GD-88 & GD-16644 & YF-7778 (Lc)

¹⁴⁶ F-Pn GD-16643 (L)

¹⁴⁷ D-W Textb. 394 (L)

¹⁴⁸ F-Pn 8-YTH-14903 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹⁴⁹ F-Pn RES-YF-2372 (L)

¹⁵⁰ F-Pn YF-7778 (L)

¹⁵¹ F-Pn RES YF-2373 (L)

¹⁵² F-Pn RES-YF-2374 (L)

¹⁵³ F-Pn RES-YF-2375 (L)

V.A. / FAVART, SEDAINÉ (as *Petrine*, parody, Paris, 1759¹⁵⁵)
KRAUS / GUSTAVUS III, KELLGREN (as *Proserpin*, Ulriksdal, 1781¹⁵⁶)

? / ? *Die von Pluto geraubte Proserpina* (Bayreuth, 1708; Bayreuth, 1717)

KRAFFT, WILDERER / ? *Proserpina* (Dusseldorf, 1708¹⁵⁷)

C.F. POLLAROLO / A. OTTOBONI *Proserpina rapita o vero La forza dell'esempio* (Rome, 1713¹⁵⁸)

CAROLI / DONADI *Il dolor di Cerere nel ratto di Proserpina* (Medicina, 1735¹⁵⁹)

CEDRONIO / MAZZEO D'AFFLITTO *La Persefone* (Naples, 1756¹⁶⁰)

SECKENDORFF / GOETHE *Proserpine* (Weimar, 1778)

ASIOLI / ? *Il ratto di Proserpina* (Reggio, 1784) = doubtful

SILVA / MARTINELLI *Il ratto di Proserpina* (Queluz, 1784¹⁶¹)

CIMADOR / BOTTURINI *Il ratto di Proserpina* (Venice, 1790¹⁶²; Venice, 1791¹⁶³)

Perseus (see also: Andromeda)

J.-B. LULLY / QUINAULT *Persée* (Paris, 1682¹⁶⁴; Paris, 1687; Paris, 1703; Brussels, 1707¹⁶⁵; Paris, 1710; Paris, 1722; Paris, 1737; Paris, 1746)

V.A. / ? (as *Persée et Andromède*, parody, Paris, 1683)

V.A. / ? (as *Persée le cadet*, parody, Paris, 1709)

V.A. / FUZELIER (as *Arlequin Persée*, parody, Paris, 1722¹⁶⁶)

V.A. / ? (as *Polichinelle Persée*, parody, Paris, 1737)

V.A. / ? (as *Le mariage en l'air*, parody, Paris, 1737)

BURI, J.-B. LULLY / LA BRUERE (Versailles, 1747)

V.A. / D'ORVILLE (as *Arlequin Persée*, parody, 1747)

BURY, DAUVERGNE, FRANCOEUR, J.-B. LULLY, REBEL (Paris, 1758) = unperformed

F.-A. D. PHILIDOR / MARMONTEL (Paris, 1780¹⁶⁷)

¹⁵⁴ F-Pa GD-59 & F-Pn 8-RO-1054 & RES-YF-729 & RES-YF-925 & RES-YF-2377 & US-Wc ML50.2.P72L9 (L), F-Pn MS. 941 (Se)

¹⁵⁵ FAVART 1763-77 (Lc)

¹⁵⁶ S-St (S)

¹⁵⁷ D-BFb & D-DI & D-KNu (L), GB-Lbl Add.16110 (S)

¹⁵⁸ GB-Lbl Add.Ms.16110 & Egerton 3022-4 (S)

¹⁵⁹ I-Bam & I-Bc Lo.871 & I-Rn (L)

¹⁶⁰ I-BRq & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁶¹ BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC 12934 & P-C & P-Lg & US-Wc Schatz 9884 (L)

¹⁶² I-Bc Lo.1018 & I-Nc & I-Vcg (L)

¹⁶³ I-Fm & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 1902 (L)

¹⁶⁴ D-W Gräflisch Schulenburgische Bibliothek Km 2 (8) (L), QUINAULT 1715 & RECUEIL 1703-45 & D-W Textb. 717 (Lc)

¹⁶⁵ B-Gu BL6218 (L)

¹⁶⁶ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

¹⁶⁷ F-Po (S)

A. DRAGHI / MINATO *Le attioni fortunate di Perseo* (Vienna, 1691¹)

ALDROVANDINI, PERTI a.o. / MANFREDI, MARTELLO after CORNEILLE II
Perseo (Bologna, 1697²)

STATELLA / ? *Perseus* (Palermo, 1732³; Palermo, 1733⁴)

L.A. PREDIERI / ? *Perseo* (Vienna, 1738⁵)

LOGROSCINO / BALDANZA *Perseo* (Palermo, 1762⁶)

SACCHINI / BOTTARELLI, DE GAMERRA after AURELI *Perseo* (London, 1774⁷;
London, 1786⁸)
GAZZANIGA (Florence, 1775⁹)

CARVALHO / MARTINELLI *Perseo* (Queluz, 1779¹⁰)

PAISIELLO / SERIO *Il ritorno di Perseo* (Naples, 1785¹¹)

Phaedra (see Hippolytus)

Phaethon (see also: Endymion)

J.-B. LULLY / QUINAULT *Phaëton* (Versailles, 1683¹²; Paris, 1683; Paris, 1686¹³; Brussels, 1687¹⁴; Paris, 1692; Paris, 1702; Ghent, 1708¹⁵; Paris, 1710; Paris, 1721; Paris, 1730; Paris, 1742; with prologue only, with Dancourt's *Les Fées*, Fontainebleau, 1753)

V.A. / GHERARDI (as *Arlequin Phaeton*, parody, Paris, 1692¹⁶)

? (Weissenfels, 1695; Weissenfels, 1698; Weissenfels, 1736)

V.A. / ? (parody, Paris, 1716) = doubtful

V.A. / MACCHARTI (parody, Paris, 1721)

V.A. / CAROLET (as *Le cocher maladroït ou Polichinelle Phaëton*, parody, Paris, 1731)

V.A. / DOMINIQUE, ROMAGNESI (as *Arlequin Phaëton*, parody, Paris, 1731¹⁷)

V.A. / RICCOBONI (parody, Paris, 1731; Paris, 1743¹⁸)

¹ A-Wgm & A-Wn & B-Bc 19384 & D-DO & SI-Lsk (L)

² I-Bc Lo.6935 & I-Bu & I-FZc & I-MOe & I-Rn & I-RE, Panizzi & I-Vgc & I-Vnm (L), MARTELLO 1980-2 (Lc)

³ I-PLcom (L), I-PLcom (L2)

⁴ I-PLcom (L)

⁵ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18008 (S)

⁶ I-Vgc (L)

⁷ F-Pc & GB-Lbl & US-BLu & US-Cn & US-NH (L), B-Bc 5133-4 & 5475 (Se)

⁸ US-NYp & US-Wc (L)

⁹ I-Bc Lo.2030 & I-Fm & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁰ BR-Rn & I-Rsc 12086 & P-Ln 5790 P(6) (L)

¹¹ GB-Ob & I-Nc Rari 10.7.16/10-11 (L), I-Nc 17.1.4 & Rari 10.7.22-23 (S), I-Vnm 11319 (Se)

¹² QUINAULT 1715 (Lc)

¹³ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹⁴ D-W Lm Sammelbd 114 (2) (L)

¹⁵ B-Gu G1230 (L)

¹⁶ GHERARDI 1700 (Lc)

¹⁷ F-Pn YF-7051 (L), FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

V.A. / ? (as *Le messenger du Mans*, parody, 1743)
C.H. GRAUN / VILLATI, ALGAROTTI (as *Fetonte*, Berlin, 1750¹⁹; Berlin, 1770²⁰)
JOMMELLI, HOLZBAUER / VILLATI, ALGAROTTI, LAZARINO (as *Fetonte*, Stuttgart, 1753²¹)
JOMMELLI / VERAZI (as *Fetonte*, Ludwigsburg, 1768²²; Ludwigsburg, 1769²³; Ajuda, 1769²⁴)

D. PURCELL / GILDON *Phaeton, or The fatal divorce* (London, 1698²⁵)

T.A. ARNE / PRITCHARD *The fall of Phaeton* (London, 1736²⁶)

D. PARADIES / VANNESCHI *Fetonte* (London, 1747²⁷)

GIAY / BARETTI *Fetonte sulle rive del Po* (Turin, 1750²⁸)

Philemon

MATHO / ? *Philémon et Baucis* (Chatenay, 1703)

PRELLEUR / ? *Baucis and Philemon* (London, 174?)

GLUCK / PAGNINI, PEZZANA *Atto di Bauci* (in *Le feste d'Apollo*, Parma, 1769²⁹)

MONSIGNY / ? *Philémon et Baucis* (1771) = unperformed

SCHWEITZER / PFEFFEL *Philemon und Baucis, oder Jupiters Reise auf die Erde* (?, 1772)

J. HAYDN (Eszterháza, 1773³⁰)

BOEHM? (?, 1776) = doubtful

SPINDLER (Innsbruck, 1788)

AGTHE (?, 1791) = doubtful

? / SCHOEPPFEL *Palämon* (Leipzig, 1774³¹) = unperformed?

GOSSEC / CHABANON DE MAUGRIS *Philémon et Baucis* (Paris, 1775³²)

¹⁸ F-Pn MS. 9309 (L)

¹⁹ B-Bc 20289 & D-Bsb Mus. T 61 & D-BF, Universitätsbibliothek & D-MHrm (L), B-Bc 4044 & 4051 & 4055 & D-Bsb Mus.ms 8224 & 8235, D-Bsa 2083 (Se)

²⁰ B-Br Fétis 4489 A I,3 & D-Bsb Mus. T 49 & US-Wc Schatz 4098 (L)

²¹ D-Sl fr.D.8°3682 (L)

²² D-HR & D-MHrm & D-Mbs & D-Rtt & D-Sl fr.D.8°5326 & US-Wc Schatz 4860 (L), DDT & A-Wgm Q1508 & B-Bc 2189 & D-Bsb & D-Sl HB XVII 245 & F-Pn D-6243-44 (S)

²³ D-Rtt & D-Sl & US-Wc Schatz 4859 (L)

²⁴ BR-Rn & I-Bc Lo.8432 & I-Pac & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & P-C & P-La & P-L, Teatro S. Carlo & P-Ln L5786 P(7) & US-Wc ML50.2.F35 J6 1769 Case (L), P-La 44-X-14/16 (S)

²⁵ Songs 1698 (Se)

²⁶ GB-Lbl (L), Songs in As you like it (Se)

²⁷ GB-Lbl & GB-L, Theater Museum (L), GB-Cfm (S), Favourite songs (Se)

²⁸ I-Bc Lo.8104 & I-Bu & I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-MAC & I-Rn & I-T, Arch.Storico & I-FP, Fanan & I-Tn F.I.117 & I-Vnm Misc.2723.2 & I-Vgc & US-Wc Schatz 3818 (L)

²⁹ A-Wn & D-HR & D-LEm & D-Mbs & D-Mth & GB-Lbl & GB-Lv & I-Bc Lo.2231 & I-Bca & I-BA, Giovine & I-Fc & I-Mb & I-Mc & I-Ms & I-PAc & I-PESo & I-R, Burcardo & I-Ria & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-FP, Fanan & I-Vgc & US-NYp & US-U & US-Wc Schatz 3897 & ML48.M2B (L), B-Bc 12841 & CH-BEl (S)

³⁰ HW (S), D-Bsb (Se)

³¹ D-W Textb. 537 & US-Wc ML50.2.P16 (L)

STEGMANN / ECKHOFF *Philemon und Baucis* (Gotha, 1777; Hamburg, 1778)

STEGMANN? / ECKHOFF? *Philemon und Baucis* (Berlin, 1777)

SILVA / MARTINELLI *Bauce, e Palemone* (Lisbon, 1789³³)

KAFFKA / ZABUESNIG *Philemon und Baucis, oder Gastfreiheit und Armuth* (Augsburg, 1792³⁴)

Philoctetes

ARQUIER / ? *Philoctète* (?) = unfinished

REICHA / ? *Philoctète* (?) = unperformed

Philomela

LACOSTE / ROY *Philomèle* (Paris, 1705³⁵; Paris, 1709; Paris, 1723³⁶; Paris, 1734; Lyons, 1742³⁷)

V.A. / PIRON (parody, Paris, 1723³⁸)

Phoebus (see: Apollo)

Phoebe

M. GREENE / HOADLY *Phoebe* (London, 1755³⁹)

Planets

SANTORINI / ? *Il concilio de' pianeti* (Heidelberg, 1721⁴⁰)

CALDARA / PARIATI *La concordia de' pianetti* (Znojmo, 1723⁴¹)

ALBINONI / BARUFFALDI *Il concilio de' pianeti* (Venice, 1729⁴²)

³² F-Po (S)

³³ I-Rsc CC 1960 & US-Wc Schatz 9883 (L)

³⁴ US-Wc Schatz 4985 (L)

³⁵ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

³⁶ D-W Lm 4444 (L)

³⁷ US-Wc Schatz 5356a (L)

³⁸ PIRON 1776 & US-Wc PQ2019.P6 (Lc)

³⁹ US-Wc Longe 274 (L), GB-Lbl & GB-Ob (S)

⁴⁰ D-MHav & D-MHrm (L)

⁴¹ A-Wgm & A-Wn & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 13 (3) (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17138 (S)

SAMMARTINI / DOU *Saturno nel Lazio* (Malta, 1767⁴³)

MONETA / GIANNETTI *L'Urano* (Florence, 1788⁴⁴)

Plataea (see: Hera)

Pluto (see: Orpheus, Persephone)

Pollux (see: Dioscuri)

Polydorus (see also: Hecuba)

LOTTI / PIOVENE after TORELLI *Polidoro* (Venice, 1715⁴⁵)

C.H. GRAUN / MUELLER (as *Polidorus*, Brunswick, 1726; Brunswick, 1731⁴⁶; Hamburg, 1735⁴⁷; Hamburg, 1736)

STUCK / PELLEGRIN *Polidore* (Paris, 1720⁴⁸; Paris, 1739)

V.A. / VANNESCHI *Polidoro* (London, 1741⁴⁹)

VON RUMLING / ? *Polydore* (Stuttgart, 1785)

Polyhymnia (see: Muses)

Polyneices (see: Eteocles)

Polyphemus (see: Cyclopes, Galatea)

⁴² I-Bc Lo.76 & I-Mb (L)

⁴³ US-AUS (L)

⁴⁴ I-Fm & I-Vgc (L)

⁴⁵ F-Pn 8-YTH-50997 & 8-YTH-51525 & YD-5623 & I-Bc Lo.6962 & I-Bu & I-Fm & I-Mb & I-MOe & I-Pci & I-Rc & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-RVI & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm & US-CA & US-LAum & US-Wc Schatz 5708 (L), I-Nc 28.4.37 (S), D-DI 1-F-30 (Se)

⁴⁶ D-W Textb. 719 (L)

⁴⁷ GB-Lbl Hirsch IV 1339 & US-Wc Schatz 4110 (L)

⁴⁸ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁴⁹ US-Wc (L)

Polyxena (see also: Achilles, Hecuba, Neoptolemus, Polydorus)

COLLASSE / PELLEGRIN *Polixene et Pirrhus* (Paris, 1706⁵⁰)

- / GIRON *La Polissena* (Naples, 1745⁵¹) = unperformed

DAUVERGNE / JOLIVEAU *Polyxène* (Paris, 1763⁵²)

SCHWEITZER / BERTUCH *Polyxena* (Gotha, 1775⁵³; Hamburg, 1778; Hamburg, 1794⁵⁴)
WOLF (Weimar, 1776)
ZELLER (Neustrelitz, 1781)

Pomona

? / DELL'ANGELO *Pomona, Flora* (also *Dalle fiorite sponde*, Rome, 1699⁵⁵)

KEISER / POSTEL *Sieg der fruchtbaren Pomona* (Hamburg, 1702⁵⁶; also *Der Streit der vier Jahreszeiten, oder Der siegende Herbst*, Hamburg, 1703)

MENEGHETTI / ? *Amori di Vertuno e Pomona* (Trento, 1713⁵⁷)

M. ARNE / FEILDE *Vertumnus and Pomona* (London, 1782)

Poseidon (see also: Andromeda, Aphrodite, Graces, Idomeneus, Prometheus)

? / SCHIETTI *Omaggio: Nettuno, Teti, Glauco, Proteo* (in *La fede trionfante*, Bologna, 1695⁵⁸)

VENEZIANO / BOTTONI *Serenata a quattro voci: Nettuno, Anfitrite, Nereo, Dori* (Naples, 1705⁵⁹)

? / ? *Le rose dell'Alba* (Rome, 1706)

HEINICHEN / ? *Le nozze di Nettuno e di Teti* (Dresden, 1726⁶⁰)

VINCI / FRUGONI *Le nozze di Nettuno l'equestre con Anfitrite* (Parma, 1728⁶¹)

⁵⁰ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁵¹ CDN-Tu & D-Bsb & I-Bca & I-Bu (L)

⁵² Paris 1763 (S)

⁵³ US-Wc Schatz 11757 (Lc), D-F (S)

⁵⁴ US-Wc Schatz 9778 (L)

⁵⁵ I-R Arch.S.Pant Reg. Lit. Scient. N. 196 (L)

⁵⁶ A-Wn 4356-B. Mus & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5223-no.18 (L), D-Bsb (S), B-Br Fétis 2809 MS II 4066 (Se)

⁵⁷ I-Bc Lo.7484 (L)

⁵⁸ I-Rsc (L)

⁵⁹ I-Fc & I-Rli (L)

⁶⁰ D-Dl (S)

⁶¹ B-Bc 21196 & GB-Lbl & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Mb & I-Tn & I-Vgc & US-U (L)

CORTONA / BRILLANDI *Componimento per musica: Nettuno, Ninfa del Tago, Ninfa dell'Ibero, Himeneo, Destino, Fama* (Brussels, 1728⁶²)

WASSMUTH / ? *Scherzo musicale fra' Nettuno, Teti e Peleo* (Bamberg, 1732⁶³)

PETRONI / N. STAMPIGLIA *Componimento per musica: Nettuno, Teti, Ligia, Tebro* (Rome, 1734⁶⁴)

? / ? *Neptune and Amphitrite* (London, 1746) = doubtful

MAFFIOLETTI / ZANNINI *Componimento drammatico: Nettuno, Tetide, Peleo* (Venice, 1758⁶⁵)

JOHNSEN / ADLERBETH *Neptun och Amphitrite* (Stockholm, 1775⁶⁶)

SARTI / CAMBI *I dei del mare* (Venice, 1776⁶⁷)

Priam (see: Cassandra, Graces, Hecuba)

Procris (see: Cephalus)

Prometheus

? / ZANELLI *Prometeo* (Modena, 1728⁶⁸)

STATELLA / ? *Prometheus* (Palermo, 1736⁶⁹; Palermo, 1738⁷⁰)

ROYER / ? *Prométhée* (Paris, 1753)

WAGENSEIL / MIGLIAVACCA *Prometeo assoluto* (Vienna, 1762⁷¹)

Proserpina (see: Persephone)

⁶² BR-Rn & I-Mb (L)

⁶³ GB-Lbl (L)

⁶⁴ I-Lg (L)

⁶⁵ I-Rsc (L)

⁶⁶ S-Skma & S-St (S)

⁶⁷ D-Rp & US-Wc Schatz 9477 (L)

⁶⁸ I-Bu & I-MOe (L)

⁶⁹ I-PLcom (L), I-PLcom (Lc)

⁷⁰ I-PLcom (L)

⁷¹ I-Lg (L), D-DI & US-CU (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17992 (S)

Protesilaus

REICHARDT, NAUMANN / SERTOR *Protesilao* (Berlin, 1789⁷²)
NAUMANN (Berlin, 1793⁷³)

Protheus (see also: Jason, Thetis)

FUX, G. BONONCINI / BERNARDONI *Proteo sul Reno* (Vienna, 1703⁷⁴)

GILLIER / D'ORNEVAL, LESAGE *Les amours de Protée* (parody of ?, Paris, 1728⁷⁵)

? / G. GOZZI *Cantata a quattro voci: Adria, Pace, Proteo, Panaro, Coro di Nereidi* (Venice, 1749⁷⁶; as *La Pace*, Venice, 1755⁷⁷)

? / ? *Il vaticinio di Proteo* (Venice, 1763⁷⁸)

BERTONI / BOTTURINI *Il vaticinio di Proteo* (Venice, 1789⁷⁹)

VERMIGLIO / MELI *Proteo ovvero Il vaticinio* (Palermo, 1798⁸⁰)

Psyche

J.B. LULLY / T. CORNEILLE, FONTENELLE *Psyché* (Paris, 1673⁸¹; Paris, 1678⁸²; Wolfenbüttel, 1686⁸³; Paris, 1688⁸⁴; Lyons, 1698⁸⁵; Amsterdam, 1699⁸⁶; Paris, 1703⁸⁷; Paris, 1713⁸⁸)

KEISER / POSTEL (as *Die wunder-schöne Psyche*, Hamburg, 1701⁸⁹; Brunswick, 1702; Brunswick, 1719⁹⁰)

KEISER, SCHUERMANN (as *Die schöne Psyche*, Brunswick, 1708⁹¹)

J.B. LULLY / FUZELIER (*Parodie de Psyché*, Paris, 1713)

⁷² D-Bsb & D-Bsb & D-Dl (Se)

⁷³ D-LEm (L)

⁷⁴ BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.16280 (S)

⁷⁵ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

⁷⁶ I-Bc Lo.6029 & I-Bca & I-Bu & I-Mb & I-Plu & I-Vgc (L)

⁷⁷ I-Mb (L)

⁷⁸ I-Mb (L)

⁷⁹ D-Mbs & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & I-Vqs (L), F-Pc & I-OS & I-Pca (S)

⁸⁰ I-Nlp (L)

⁸¹ F-Pn RES-YF-1189 & RES-YF-2382 & RES-YF-2383 & RES-YF-2384 (L)

⁸² F-Pa GD-30 & THN-231 & THN-9704 & F-Pn 8-RO-1050 & YF-745 & RES-YF-1189 & RES-YF-2382 (L), Ballard 1720 & F-Pn RES F. 1706 & RES VMA MS. 1206 (S)

⁸³ D-W Textb. 365 & Gräflisch Schulenburgische Bibliothek Km 2 (4) (L)

⁸⁴ F-Pn 8-RO-1407 (1, 2) & 8-RO-1408 (1, 2) & YF-7771 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁸⁵ F-Pn 8-RO-1429 (L)

⁸⁶ F-Pn GD-87 (L)

⁸⁷ F-Pn RES-YF-1108 & RES-YF-2383 (L)

⁸⁸ F-Pn RES-YF-2384 (L)

⁸⁹ B-Br Fétilis 4520 A IV,1 & D-Bsb 4" Yp 5231-no.16 & 4" Yp 5223-no.13 & US-Wc Schatz 5116 (L), D-SW1 & D-W (Se)

⁹⁰ D-W Textb. 730 (L)

⁹¹ D-Bsb 4" Yp 5232-no.18 & D-W Textb. 366 (L)

KEISER / POSTEL, LERSNER (as *Die unvergleichliche Psyche*, Copenhagen, 1722?)

D. PURCELL / ? *Psyche* (London, 1700?)

BADIA / BERNARDONI *La Psiche* (Vienna, 1707⁹²)

B. MARCELLO / CASSANI *Psiche* (Strà, 1711?⁹³ ; Venice, 1720-5?)

CALDARA, FUX / ZENO *Psiche* (Vienna, 1720⁹⁴)

FUX (Vienna, 1722⁹⁵)

PORSILE (Vienna, before 1737⁹⁶) = unperformed

LAPIS / ? *Le nozze di Psiche e Cupido* (Venice, 1732⁹⁷)

OREFICE / BIRINI *Psiche reintegrata nella grazia di Venere* (Naples, c. 1708-34⁹⁸)

LEO / BALDANZA *Le nozze di Amore e Psiche* (also *Le nozze di Psiche con Amore*, Naples, 1738⁹⁹)

PUGNANI / CIGNA-SANTI *Amor e Psiche* (also *Amore e Psiche*, Turin, 1755¹⁰⁰)

? / ? *Lo sposalizio di Amore e Psiche* (Palermo, 1756¹⁰¹)

? / ? *Psiche* (Pesaro, 1759¹⁰²)

UTTINI / ? after P. CORNEILLE, MOLIERE, QUINAULT, *Psyché* (Drottningholm, 1766)

J.F. AGRICOLA / LANDI *Amore e Psiche* (Berlin, 1767¹⁰³)

GASSMANN / COLTELLINI *Amore e Psiche* (Vienna, 1767¹⁰⁴)

TRAETTA (St Petersburg, 1773¹⁰⁵)

V.A. (Florence, 1780¹⁰⁶)

SCHUESTER / SERIO (Naples, 1780¹⁰⁷; Ajuda, 1781¹⁰⁸)

? / ? *Psyche in ihrer Blindheit mit ihren Begleitern* (Berlin, 1775)

⁹² BERNARDONI 1706-7 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.16006 (S)

⁹³ GB-Ckc (Se)

⁹⁴ ZENO 1785 (Lc), A-Wn Mus.Hs.17264-5 (S)

⁹⁵ A-Wgm Q 762 (S)

⁹⁶ D-Dl & US-Wc (S)

⁹⁷ I-Mb & I-Rsc & I-Vcg (L)

⁹⁸ I-Vgc (L)

⁹⁹ I-PLcom & I-Rli (L), D-Bsb & F-Pn & I-Nc (S)

¹⁰⁰ US-NYp (L), CIGNA-SANTI 1760 (Lc), D-Dl (S)

¹⁰¹ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁰² I-Bca (L)

¹⁰³ D-Bsb & D-Dl & D-Ju & US-NYp (L), D-Bsb (Se)

¹⁰⁴ A-Wst & CZ-Pu & D-HEu & F-Pa 8-BL-7648 & F-Pn 4-YD PIECE-37 & I-Mb & I-Vgc & US-AA & US-Wc Schatz 3626 (L), I-Nlp (Lc), IOB & A-Wgm & A-Wn KT.28. Mus. & Mus.Hs.9946 & I-Nc (S), B-Bc 2103 & F-Pn D-4475 (Se)

¹⁰⁵ D-DS & GB-Lbl & RU-SPsc & RU-SPtob & S-Sk (L)

¹⁰⁶ I-Bc Lo.5833 & I-Fc & I-Rsc (L)

¹⁰⁷ I-Bc Lo.5171 & I-Fc & I-Nc & I-Rn & I-Vgc & US-BEm & US-NYp (L)

¹⁰⁸ BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC 780 (L)

SAINT-AMANS / VOISENON *Psyché et l'Amour* (Brussels, 1778)

? / SCHLENKERT *Agaton und Psiche* (Leipzig, 1780¹⁰⁹)

MEHUL / ? *Psyché* (?, 1783) = unperformed

WESSELY / MUECHLER *Psyche* (Berlin, 1789¹¹⁰)
WINTER (Munich, 1790)

ROSETTI / DE FRANCESCHI *Psiche e Amore* (Prague, 1797)

G.S. / F.S.d.R. *Amore e Psiche* (?, ?¹¹¹)

Pygmalion

CONRADI / POSTEL *Der wunderbar-vergnügte Pygmalion* (Hamburg, 1694¹¹²)

DE LABARRE / LA MOTTE *Pygmalion* (also *Le triomphe des Arts*, Paris, 1700)
MOURET / ROMAGNESI (parody, Paris, 1735)
RAMEAU / BALLOT DE SAUVOT (Paris, 1748¹¹³; Paris, 1751; Paris, 1760; Paris, 1764)

? / ? *Pygmalion* (Bayreuth, 1714)

RISTORI / PASSARINI *Pigmalione* (Rovigo, 1714¹¹⁴)

V.A. / L'AFFICHARD, PANARD *Pigmalion, ou La statue animée* (Paris, 1733¹¹⁵; Paris, 1736; Paris, 1753)

BAUDRON / J.-J. ROUSSEAU *Pygmalion* (Paris, 1762; Paris, 1780)
COIGNET, J.-J. ROUSSEAU (Lyons, 1770¹¹⁶; Milan, 1771¹¹⁷; Paris, 1772¹¹⁸; Paris, 1775¹¹⁹)
SCHWEITZER / SCHMIDT (Weimar, 1772)
? / RAMLER, SCHMIDT (as *Pigmalione*, ?¹²⁰) = unperformed?
ASPELMEYER / LAUDES (Vienna, 1772¹²¹; Brescia, 1776¹²²; ?, ?¹²³)
COIGNET, J.-J. ROUSSEAU / ROGATI (as *Pigmalione*, Naples, 1773¹²⁴)
? / ? (as *Il Pimmalone*, Venice, 1773¹²⁵)
ASPELMEYER / PERINI (as *Il Pimmalone*, Pisa, 1774¹²⁶; Venice, 1777¹²⁷; Bologna, 1782¹²⁸; Venice,

¹⁰⁹ US-Wc Schatz 11598 (L)

¹¹⁰ US-Wc Schatz 10990 (L)

¹¹¹ I-Rsc (L)

¹¹² A-Wn 4212-B. Mus & 625343-A. The & B-Br Fétis 4520 A II,15 (L)

¹¹³ ROO & F-AG & F-BO & F-LYm & F-Pa & F-Pc & F-Pn & F-Po (S)

¹¹⁴ I-Mb (L), D-DI (S)

¹¹⁵ LA HAYE 1750-4 & US-Wc PQ2019.P3 (Lc)

¹¹⁶ F-Pcf & F-Pn (S)

¹¹⁷ I-Vgc Rolandi 4134 (L), DMV (S)

¹¹⁸ US-Wc ML50.2.P41R7 (L)

¹¹⁹ D-W Lm Kapsel 5 (15) & I-Vgc Rolandi 4136 & US-Wc Schatz 2095 (Lc)

¹²⁰ I-Vqs (L)

¹²¹ I-Fc (L), I-Vgc Rolandi 633 (Lc)

¹²² I-Vgc Rolandi 634 (L)

¹²³ I-Vgc Rolandi 636 (L)

¹²⁴ I-Vgc Rolandi 4135 (L)

¹²⁵ I-Ma & I-Mb & I-Ms & I-Rsc & I-Vc & I-Vgc (L)

¹²⁶ I-Mb (L)

1783¹²⁹; Venice, 1787¹³⁰)
 COIGNET, J.-J. ROUSSEAU / GRANDI (as *Pigmalione*, Milan, 1775¹³¹)
 ? / ? (as *Pimmalone o sia L'unione del medesimo con Galatea*, Florence, 1775¹³²)
 ? / GROSSMANN (Dresden, 1776¹³³)
 COIGNET, J.-J. ROUSSEAU / GEMMINGEN (Mannheim, 1778¹³⁴)
 G.A. BENDA / GOTTER (Gotha, 1779¹³⁵; ?, 1790¹³⁶)
 ? / ? (as *Il Pimmalone*, Fermo, 1780¹³⁷)
 STABINGER / MAYKOV (as *Pigmalion, ili Sila lyubvi*, Moscow, 1787)
 ? / ? (as *Pigmalione*, Siena, 1789¹³⁸)
 CIMADOR / SOGRAFI (as *Pimmalone*, Venice, 1790¹³⁹; Padua, 1791¹⁴⁰; Brno, 1792¹⁴¹; Regensburg, 1793¹⁴²; Livorno, 1793¹⁴³; Florence, 1794¹⁴⁴; Naples, 1795¹⁴⁵; Lucca, 1796¹⁴⁶; Ancona, 1796¹⁴⁷; Ferrara, 1798¹⁴⁸; ?, 1799¹⁴⁹)
 GLUCK / PERINI (as *Il Pimmalone*, Catania, 1791¹⁵⁰)
 SIROTTI / ? (as *Pigmalione*, Livorno, 1792¹⁵¹; Milan, 1793¹⁵²)
 CIMADOR, L. ROSSI / SOGRAFI (as *Pimmalone*, Venice, 1793¹⁵³)
 ? / ? (as *Pimmalone*, Bergamo, 1794¹⁵⁴; Bergamo, 1800¹⁵⁵)
 ASIOLI / ? (as *Pigmalione*, Milan, 1796¹⁵⁶; London, 1800?)
 MOROLIN / ? (as *Pimmalone*, Venice, 1797¹⁵⁷)
 ? / ? (as *Il Pigmalione*, Parma, 1798¹⁵⁸)
 GILARDONI / COMI (as *Pigmalione*, Pavia, 1799¹⁵⁹)
 CIMADOR / BABINI, VAN LIEFFERINGE (as *Pimmalone*, Paris, 1799-1800¹⁶⁰)
 PARENTI (as *Pimmalone*, ?, 1799¹⁶¹) = unperformed

¹²⁷ D-Mbs & I-Bca & I-FP,Fanan & I-Ma & I-Vgc Rolandi 635 (L)

¹²⁸ I-Vgc Rolandi 637 (L)

¹²⁹ I-Mb (L)

¹³⁰ I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Tci (L)

¹³¹ I-Bc Lo.6944,a-b (L)

¹³² I-Fc (L)

¹³³ A-Wn 392620-A. 102 Alt Mag & 629199-A. The (L)

¹³⁴ D-W 337 Qu. N. (3) & US-Wc Schatz 2096 (L)

¹³⁵ US-Wc Schatz 775 (Lc)

¹³⁶ A-Wn 845000-A. 246 The (L)

¹³⁷ I-Bca & I-FERc (L)

¹³⁸ I-Vc (L)

¹³⁹ I-Bc Lo.1019 & I-FP,Fanan & I-Mb & I-TSci & I-Vcg & I-Vgc & US-Wc (L)

¹⁴⁰ A-Wmi & GB-Lbl & I-FOc & I-Mb & I-Pci & I-Vcg (L), I-Ma & I-Rsc (Lc)

¹⁴¹ CZ-Bu (L)

¹⁴² D-Bsb Mus. T 41 & I-Fc (L)

¹⁴³ I-Vgc Rolandi 3672 (L)

¹⁴⁴ I-Fc (L)

¹⁴⁵ I-Bc Lo.1020 & I-Nc (L)

¹⁴⁶ B-Bc 21411 (L), I-Bc EE.67 & Micro 1.471 (S)

¹⁴⁷ I-Rsc & US-AUS (L)

¹⁴⁸ I-Bc Lo.9054 & I-Mb & I-Vgc Rolandi 3673 (L)

¹⁴⁹ I-Mb (L)

¹⁵⁰ I-Catania,Biblioteche riunite (L)

¹⁵¹ I-Lg (L)

¹⁵² I-Fc & I-LDE & I-Ma S.I.H.I.35/3 & I-Mr & I-PAc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-BEm (L)

¹⁵³ I-Pci & I-Vcg (L)

¹⁵⁴ I-BGc (L)

¹⁵⁵ I-BGc (L)

¹⁵⁶ F-Pn D-241 & I-Bc SG.H.I.54 & I-BGc & I-CORc & I-Fc & I-Gl & I-Mc & I-PAc (S), F-Pn L-17110 & L-20257 & L-20257(BIS) (Se)

¹⁵⁷ I-Vcg (L)

¹⁵⁸ I-PAc (L), I-PAc (Lc)

¹⁵⁹ I-PAc & I-Tci (L)

¹⁶⁰ B-Br II 28849 A 51 496 & F-Pc (L)

¹⁶¹ F-Pn (S)

LUCINDO FILARMONICO / ZANNOWICH *Pigmalione* (Ferrara, 1773¹⁶²)

ZINGARELLI / ? *Pigmalione* (?, 1779)

BONESI / ROSOI *Pygmalion* (Paris, 1780)

- / HERKLOTS *Pygmalion, oder Die Reformation der Liebe* (Berlin, 1794¹⁶³)
WAGNER / BOUTERWECK (Darmstadt, 1797)

WINTER / ? *Pigmalione* (Munich, 1797¹⁶⁴)

Pylades (see: Iphigenia, Orestes)

Pyramus

COUSSER / SCHROEDER *Pyramus und Thisbe getreue und fest-verbundene Liebe* (Hamburg, 1694¹⁶⁵) = unperformed?

V.A. / MARTELLO *La Tisbe* (Bologna, 1697¹⁶⁶)

LEVERIDGE / LEVERIDGE *Pyramus and Thisbe* (London, 1716¹⁶⁷)

MARCHAND / ? *Pyrame et Thisbé* (171?) = unperformed

FRANCOEUR, REBEL / PELLEGRIN *Pirame et Thisbé* (Paris, 1726¹⁶⁸; Lyons, 1741¹⁶⁹)

V.A. / RICCOBONI (as *Pirame et Thisbé*, parody, Paris, 1726¹⁷⁰)

V.A. / ? (as *Polichinelle Pirame*, parody, Paris, 1740)

V.A. / FAVART (also *La Parodie*, parody, Paris, 1740)

V.A. / ? (as *Le quiproquo ou Polichinelle Pirame*, Paris, 1740)

BRESCIANELLO? / ? *Pyramus und Thisbe* (Stuttgart, 1726)

L. DE ROSSI / ? *Piramo e Tisbe* (Urbino, 1740¹⁷¹)

LAMPE / SHAKESPEARE *Pyramus and Thisbe* (London, 1745¹⁷²)

BONNO? / ? *Colloquio amoroso fra Piramo e Tisbe* (Vienna, 1757)

¹⁶² I-R, Bibl. del Senato (L)

¹⁶³ US-Wc ML50.2.P411 (L)

¹⁶⁴ D-Mbs (L)

¹⁶⁵ A-Wn 4177-B. Alt Mag (L)

¹⁶⁶ I-Bc Lo.7227 & I-Bca & I-B, Cassa di Risparmio & I-Mr & I-MOe & I-Rn (L), MARTELLO 1780-2 (Lc)

¹⁶⁷ US-Wc Longe 54 (L)

¹⁶⁸ F-Pn (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), B-Bc 1928 (S), F-Pn MS. 941 (Se)

¹⁶⁹ US-Wc ML50.2.P43R2 (L)

¹⁷⁰ B-Br Fétis 4501 A III,7 & III 99093 A III,7 & II 3039 A III,7 (L), FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

¹⁷¹ I-Vgc (L)

¹⁷² GB-Lbl (L), Facsim. Tunbridge Wells (S)

MISON / ? *Pyramo y Tisbe* (Madrid, 1760)

HASSE / COLTELLINI after PELLEGRIN *Piramo e Tisbe* (Vienna, 1768¹⁷³; Vienna, 1770¹⁷⁴; Potsdam, 1771¹⁷⁵; Hamburg, 1774¹⁷⁶; Dresden, 1775¹⁷⁷; Leipzig, 1775?¹⁷⁸; Mainz, 1777; Frankfurt, 1777; Copenhagen?, 1778¹⁷⁹; Berlin, 1782¹⁸⁰)

RAUZZINI (Venice, 1773¹⁸¹; London, 1775¹⁸²; Vienna, 1777¹⁸³; London, 1781¹⁸⁴; Brunswick, 1782¹⁸⁵)

RAUZZINI, HASSE (London, 1776¹⁸⁶)

BONIN? (as *Pyramus und Thisbe*, Berlin, 1777)

? (as *Piramus und Thisbe*, Wroclaw, 1780)

SUESSMAYR (Vienna, 1793¹⁸⁷) = unfinished

MEROLA (?, ?¹⁸⁸)

? (?, ?¹⁸⁹)

ROCHEFORT / ? *Pyrame et Thisbé* (Kassel, 1782)

BAUDRON / LARIVE *Pyrame et Thisbé* (Paris, 1783)

BORGHI / SERTOR after COLTELLINI *Piramo e Tisbe* (Florence, 1783¹⁹⁰; Alessandria, 1786¹⁹¹)

F. BIANCHI (Venice, 1783¹⁹²; Cremona, 1784¹⁹³; Perugia, 1792¹⁹⁴)

V.A. (Livorno, 1787¹⁹⁵)

V. RIGHINI / ? *Piramo e Tisbe* (Vienna, 1784) = doubtful

SPINDLER / FABRI *Pyramus und Thisbe* (Innsbruck, 1785; Augsburg 1788¹⁹⁶)

TUERK / BERTRAND *Pyramus und Thisbe* (Halle, 1787¹⁹⁷)

¹⁷³ GB-Lbl (L), I-Mc Part.Tr.ms.170 & Nosedá G6 I e II & Nosedá G97 & Nosedá H7 I e II & A-Wn Mus.Hs.17261 & B-Bc 2174 & B-Br Fétis 2557 MS II 3992 (S)

¹⁷⁴ A-Wgm & A-Wn & CZ-Pu & D-Bsb Mus. T 39 & D-Mbs & I-Rn (L)

¹⁷⁵ US-Wc Schatz 4555 (L)

¹⁷⁶ D-Mbs (L)

¹⁷⁷ D-Dl (L)

¹⁷⁸ D-DEl (L)

¹⁷⁹ D-LÜh & DK-Kk (L)

¹⁸⁰ D-Bsb Mus. T 39 (L), D-Bsb (Lc)

¹⁸¹ I-Bc II.263 (S)

¹⁸² F-Pc & GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁸³ A-Wmi & D-MHrm & US-NYp (L), A-Wn MS Mus. 17829 (S)

¹⁸⁴ F-Pc & GB-Lbl (L)

¹⁸⁵ D-LEm & D-W Textb. 465 (L)

¹⁸⁶ GB-Lbl (L), B-Bc 5478 (Se)

¹⁸⁷ H-Bn (S)

¹⁸⁸ I-Nc & I-Pci (L)

¹⁸⁹ D-Bsb (L)

¹⁹⁰ B-Br Fétis 4488 A XII/6 & I-Bc Lo.648 & I-Fc & I-Vgc Rolandi 2284 & PL-Kc & US-CA (L), F-Pn D-1101(11) (Se)

¹⁹¹ I-Tci (L), F-Pn D-1390(6) (Se)

¹⁹² F-Pn 8-YTH-51118 & 8-YTH-51633 & 8-YTH-51670 & I-Bc Lo.533 & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Pu & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-Wc Schatz 980 (L), GB-Lbl & I-Pca & P-La (S), F-Pn D-1101(11-12) & L-17258 & I-Bc DD.171 (Se)

¹⁹³ I-CRg & I-PAc (L)

¹⁹⁴ I-PEc & I-Vgc Rolandi 1874 (L)

¹⁹⁵ I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

¹⁹⁶ A-Wn 673153-A. 1,10 Alt Mag & 254300-A. 2,5 Fid & US-Wc Schatz 9977 (L)

EBERL (Vienna, 1793; Vienna, 1794¹⁹⁸; Vienna, 1795¹⁹⁹)

G. ROSSI / PEPOLI *Piramo e Tisbe* (Venice, 1792²⁰⁰; Padua, 1792)

Pyrrha (see: Deucalion)

Pyrrhus (see: Neoptolemus)

¹⁹⁷ US-Wc Schatz 10512 (L)

¹⁹⁸ A-Wn 845000-A. 255 The (L)

¹⁹⁹ US-Wc Schatz 2889 (L)

²⁰⁰ I-Pci & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-Vnm & US-BEm (L)

Saturn (see: Planets)

Scylla

BATTI / DUCHE *Scylla* (Paris, 1701¹)

LECLAIR / D'ALHARET *Scylla et Glaucus* (Paris, 1746)

Semele

J. ECCLES / CONGREVE *Semele* (London, 1707²) = unperformed
HANDEL / HAMILTON? (London, 1744³)

MARAIS / LA MOTTE *Sémélé* (Paris, 1709⁴)

F. MANCINI / GIUVO *La Semele* (Piedimonte Matese, 1711⁵)

TELEMANN / ? *Jupiter und Semele* (Leipzig, 1716 or 1718⁶)

LITERES / CANIZARES *Júpiter y Semele* (Madrid, 1718)

HASSE / RICCIARDI *La Semele, o sia La richiesta fatale* (Naples, 1726⁷)

Silvanus (see: Endymion, Flora)

Stheno (see: Gorgons)

Syrinx (see also: Pan)

STRUNGK / ? *Syrinx* (Leipzig, 1694)

C.H. GRAUN, HANDEL, OHL / LATIN *Syrinx* (Stockholm, 1747)

¹ B-Br Fétis 4499 A VII,53 (L)

² CONGREVE 1964 (Lc), GB-Lcm (S)

³ HG & HHA (S)

⁴ B-Br Fétis 4499 A IX,72 (L), F-Pn (S)

⁵ I-Bca Cart. II n. 8 (L)

⁶ Magdeburger Telemann-Studien 10 (L)

⁷ A-Wgm Q 1476 (S)

Telegonus (see also: Circe, Odysseus)

C. GRUA? / ? *Telegono* (Dusseldorf, 1697⁸)

LA COSTE / PELLEGRIN *Telegone* (Paris, 1725⁹)

V.A. / PIRON (parody, Paris, 1725)

V.A. / FUZELIER (as *Scène de Télégone*, parody, Paris, 1727)

Telemachus (see also: Calypso, Circe, Odysseus, Penelope)

A. DRAGHI / MALVEZZI *Il Telemaco o vero Il valore coronato* (Augsburg, 1689¹⁰)

BADIA (Vienna, 1702¹¹)

CAMPRA, COLLASSE, DESMARETS a.o. / DANCHET a.o. *Télémaque, ou Les fragments des modernes* (Paris, 1704¹²)

SCHUERMANN / FRAUENDORFF *Telemaque* (Naumburg, 1706¹³; as *Telemachus und Calypso*, Brunswick, 1717¹⁴; as *Telemachus und Calypso*, Brunswick, 1720¹⁵)

SCHUERMANN, ORLANDINI, LOTTI, M.A. GASPARINI (Hamburg, 1721¹⁶; Hamburg, 1722)

GRAUPNER / LEHMS? *Telemach, oder Die durch Weißheit im Unglück triumphirende Tugend* (Darmstadt, 1711¹⁷)

GALLIARD / HUGHES *Calypso and Telemachus* (London, 1712¹⁸)

DESTOUCHES / PELLEGRIN *Télémaque* (Paris, 1714¹⁹; Paris, 1730)

GILLIER, MARAIS / LESAGE (*Parodie de l'opéra de Telemaque*, Paris, 1715²⁰; Paris, 1730)

DESTOUCHES / ? (as *Arlequin Lustucru, Grand Turc et Télémaque*, Paris, 1715)

A. SCARLATTI / CAPECI (as *Telemaco*, Rome, 1718²¹)

? / ? *Il ritorno di Telemaco in Itaca* (Castelgandolfo, 1717²²; in *Il modello d'un'eroica virtù trà le avversità proposto in persona di Telemaco antico eroe della Grecia*, Rome, 1717²³)

⁸ D-DÜl & D-HEu & D-MHav (L)

⁹ RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

¹⁰ A-Wn 792410-B.7 The & 406746-B. Adl.15 Mus & MF 6048 & D-As & D-DO & D-KN, Theaterwiss. Institut & D-LI (L), D-Mbs (Se)

¹¹ A-Wn Mus.Hs.18965 (Se)

¹² B-Br Fétis 4499 A VIII,62 (L), DANCHET 1751 & RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc), F-Pn D-1656 & VM2-198 & VM2-199 & F-Po (S)

¹³ D-HAu AB155476(1) & RU-SPsc 6.35.1.266 (L)

¹⁴ D-HVl Op.1,80 & D-W Textb. 745 (L)

¹⁵ D-BS Brosch. I 21067 & D-HVl Op.1,90 & D-W Textb. Sammelbd 9 (6) & D-Wa S.2447 (L)

¹⁶ D-Bsb (L)

¹⁷ D-DS Ro1009 & D-MZp 3/2542 & RU-SPsc 6.35.1.631 (L)

¹⁸ GB-Lbl (L), B-Br Fétis 2853 C (RP) (Se)

¹⁹ F-Pn (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

²⁰ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

²¹ IOB & B-Bc 21902 & F-Pn & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5124 & I-Fm & I-MAC & I-PAc & I-Rn & US-Wc Schatz 9532 (L), IOB & A-Wn Mus.Hs.16487 & D-MÜs SANT Hs 3895/I-III (S)

²² I-Vgc (L)

²³ I-PEc (L)

GAJAREK / ? *Telemach als das vollkommene Muster eines Tugendhaften Helden* (Bayreuth, 1721²⁴; as *Telemach und Calypso*, Bayreuth, 1722²⁵; as *Telemach und Antiope*, Christian-Erlang, 1722²⁶)

? / ? *Telemaco nell'isola di Calipso* (Venice, 1738²⁷)

COSTANZI / ? *Il Telemaco* (Rome, 1741²⁸)

CARCANI / RIVIERA *Alcuni avvenimenti di Telemacco figliolo d'Ulisse re d'Itaca* (Piacenza, 1749²⁹; as *Telemaco*, Milan, 1749 = doubtful)

? / ? *Il Telemaco nell'isola Ogigia* (Venice, 1764³⁰) = unperformed?

GLUCK / COLTELLINI *Telemaco o sia L'isola di Circe* (Vienna, 1765³¹)

SOR (*Telemacco ed Eurice nell'isola di Calipso*, Barcelona, 1797)

MEUCCI a.o. / LANFRANCHI-ROSSI *Telemaco nell'isola di Calipso* (Florence, 1773³²)

GAZZANIGA (as *Li errori di Telemaco*, Pisa, 1776³³; as *Telemaco nell'isola di Calipso*, Prague, 1777³⁴)

MORTELLARI (as *Telemaco nell'isola Ogigia*, Venice or Florence, 1782³⁵)

CIPOLLA a.o.? (Naples, 1785³⁶)

SILVA (Lisbon, 1787³⁷)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / PETROSELLINI *Telemaco* (Rome, 1775³⁸)

BERTINI / MELI *Il trionfo di Minerva* (Palermo, 1777³⁹)

G. GIORDANI / FATTIBONI *Gli amori di Telemaco* (Cesena, 1780⁴⁰)

ZINGARELLI / MORETTI *Telemaco ossia La virtù vincitrice* (Milan, 1785⁴¹)

AHLEFELDT / GALEOTTI *Telemak på Calypsos* (Copenhagen, 1792; *Telemach auf der Insel Calypso's*, Altona, 1793)

A. CALEGARI / SOGRAFI *Telemaco in Sicilia* (Padua, 1792⁴²)

²⁴ D-BHu 47/LR 53500 B361 & D-ERu H00/4° D.LIT 40 (L)

²⁵ D-W Textb. 4° 19 (L)

²⁶ D-WRhaab H,1:158 & D-W Textb. 4° 19 (L)

²⁷ I-Mb & I-RVI (L)

²⁸ I-Rli & I-Rig & I-Rvat & I-Vgc Rolandi 4490 (L)

²⁹ D-Mbs & I-Bc Lo.8428 & Lo.10027 & I-PCc (L)

³⁰ I-RVI (L)

³¹ GSW & A-Wn 754833-B. Adl.2 Alt Mag & CZ-Pu & US-Wc (L), I-CRg & I-LI & I-PEc (Lc), GSW & B-Bc 12839 (S)

³² I-Fc B.17.6.272.1.8 & I-Vcg & US-Wc Schatz 6400 (L)

³³ I-Fm & I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

³⁴ CZ-Pu (L)

³⁵ I-Mb & I-Rsc & US-NYp (L)

³⁶ I-Bc Lo.7202 & I-Nc Rari 10.9.9/6 & I-Rig & I-Rsc & I-Vgc Rolandi 3927 & US-Wc Schatz 2012 (L)

³⁷ BR-Rn & I-Fc & I-Rsc CC 14843 (L)

³⁸ CDN-Tu & I-NOVc & I-Rsc & I-Tn & I-Rsc XVIII.153 & I-Vgc (L), I-Fc & I-PAc (S)

³⁹ I-PLn (L)

⁴⁰ I-FZc (L)

⁴¹ CDN-Tu & I-Fm 2352.2 & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

HOFFMEISTER / SCHIKANEDER *Der Königssohn aus Ithaka* (Vienna, 1795⁴³; Vienna, 1797⁴⁴; as *Telemach, Königssohn aus Ithaka*, Frankfurt, 1798⁴⁵; Brunswick, 1797⁴⁶)

HOFFMEISTER / ? (as *Telemach*, Hamburg, 1797⁴⁷)

HOFFMEISTER / VULPIUS (as *Telemach, Prinz von Ithaka*, Weimar, 1797⁴⁸)

LE SUEUR / DERCY *Télémaque dans l'isle de Calypso, ou Le triomphe de la sagesse* (Paris, 1796⁴⁹)

MAYR / SOGRAFI *Telemaco nell'isola di Calipso* (Venice, 1797⁵⁰)

RADDI / RADDI? *Il trionfo della gloria* (Bagnacavallo, 1797⁵¹)

Terpsichore (see: Muses)

Thalia (see: Muses)

Theseus (see also: Ariadne, Heracles, Pallas Athene)

J.-B. LULLY / QUINAULT *Thésée* (St Germain-en-Laye, 1675⁵²; Paris, 1675⁵³; Paris, 1676; Paris, 1677⁵⁴; Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1678⁵⁵; Fontainebleau, 1678⁵⁶; Wolfenbüttel, 1687⁵⁷; Paris, 1688⁵⁸; Paris, 1698; Paris, 1707; Paris, 1720; Paris, 1729; Paris, 1744; Paris, 1745; without prologue, Fontainebleau, 1754; Paris, 1765; Paris, 1779)

STRUNGK / BOSTEL (Hamburg, 1683)

FIOCCO, J.-B. LULLY (Brussels, 1697; Amsterdam, 1703⁵⁹)

HANDEL / HAYM (as *Teseo*, London, 1713⁶⁰)

RENIER (? , 172?) = doubtful

V.A. / D'ORVILLE (as *Arlequin Thésée*, parody, 1745)

V.A. / FAVART, LAUJON, PARVI (as *Thésée, parodie nouvelle*, Paris, 1745⁶¹)

⁴² I-Bc Lo.758 & I-NOVc & I-P,Saggiori & I-FP,Fanan & US-Wc Schatz 1508 (L), A-Wgm & I-Vc & I-Vnm & US-SFsc *M2.5 v. 60 (Se)

⁴³ B-Bc 2412 (S), B-Bc 15287 (Se)

⁴⁴ US-Wc Schatz 4750 (L)

⁴⁵ US-Wc Schatz 4753 (L)

⁴⁶ D-DS (S)

⁴⁷ US-Wc Schatz 4751 (L)

⁴⁸ D-W Textb. 576 & US-Wc Schatz 4752 (L)

⁴⁹ US-Wc ML50.2.T35L3 (L)

⁵⁰ I-Bc Lo.2911 & I-Fc & I-R,Burcardo & I-Rsc & I-Vcg & I-V,Levi & I-Vnm & I-Vt & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 6175 (L), CH-Gc M 52 / Ms. 10.162 & D-Bfb M-ay 53a-b & B-Bc 4397 & I-BGc 323.37-9 (Se)

⁵¹ I-Bam (L)

⁵² F-Pn (L), QUINAULT 1715 (Lc)

⁵³ Ballard (S)

⁵⁴ F-Pn (L)

⁵⁵ F-Pn (L)

⁵⁶ US-Wc Schatz 11722 (L), US-Wc ML50.2.T45L92 (Lc)

⁵⁷ D-W Textb. 384-5 (L)

⁵⁸ F-Pn (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 (Lc)

⁵⁹ D-W Lm 4° Kapsel 1 (8) (L)

⁶⁰ EIRE-Dtc & F-Pc & GB-En & US-Bp & US-LAuc & US-Ws (L), HG & HHA (S)

⁶¹ FAVART 1763-77 (Lc)

MONDONVILLE (Fontainebleau, 1765⁶²; Paris, 1767)
GOSSEC / CHEDEVILLE (Paris, 1782⁶³)
- / **SERTOR** (as *Teseo*, Venice, 1795⁶⁴) = unperformed

KOBELIUS / ? *Theseus und Helena* (Weissenfels, 1729)

? / ? *Teseo riconosciuto* (Palermo, 1747⁶⁵)

TIEPOLO / CATANEO *Teseo in Sicilia* (Venice, 1754⁶⁶)

J.C. SMITH / GARRICK, SHAKESPEARE, MILTON, WALLER, DRYDEN, HAMMOND
a.o. *The fairies* (London, 1755⁶⁷)

- / LA JONCHERE *Thésée* (Paris, 1772⁶⁸)

LIMA / MARTINELLI *Teséo* (Queluz, 1783⁶⁹)

SPONTINI / GIOTTI *Teseo riconosciuto* (Florence, 1798⁷⁰)

Thetis (see also: Achilles, Paris, Poseidon)

COLLASSE / FONTENELLE *Thetis et Pelée* (Paris, 1689⁷¹; Paris, 1697; Paris, 1699; Paris, 1708; Paris, 1712; Paris, 1716⁷²; Paris, 1723; Paris, 1736; Paris, 1750; without prologue, Fontainebleau, 1754)

CAMPRA, COLLASSE, STUCK (Paris, 1708)

? (as *Thétis, ou La naissance d'Achille*, Versailles, 1711)

GILLIER / LESAGE (as *Arlequin Thétis*, parody, Paris, 1713⁷³)

V.A. / DOMINIQUE (as *Les noces d'Arlequin et de Silvia, ou Thétis et Pélée déguisés*, parody, Paris, 1724)

V.A. / CAROLET (as *La belle écaillère*, parody, Paris, 1736)

V.A. / D'ORVILLE (as *Les amants peureux, ou Polichinelle et dame Gigogne Thétis et Pélée*, parody, Paris, 1736)

V.A. / FAVART (as *Les amants inquiets*, parody, Paris, 1751)

LA BORDE (Fontainebleau, 1765⁷⁴)

UTTINI / WELLANDER, GUSTAVUS III (as *Thetis och Pélee*, Stockholm, 1773⁷⁵; Stockholm, 1775; Stockholm, 1791⁷⁶)

⁶² US-Wc ML48.J7 (L)

⁶³ US-Wc Schatz 4012 (L), B-Bc 1605 & F-Pc & F-Po (S)

⁶⁴ I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

⁶⁵ US-AUS (L)

⁶⁶ I-Ria & I-Vcg & US-Wc Schatz 10352 (L)

⁶⁷ GB-Lbl (L)

⁶⁸ US-Wc ML49.A2L2 (Lc)

⁶⁹ BR-Rn & I-Rsc CC 14957 & P-Lg & P-L, Teatro S. Carlo & US-Wc Schatz 5619 (L)

⁷⁰ I-Bc Lo.5241 & I-Fm & US-AUS (L), I-Fc (S)

⁷¹ US-Wc ML50.2.T48C6 (L), RECUEIL 1703-45 & D-W Lm Sammelbd 99 (2) & Lm Sammelbd 102 (1) (Lc)

⁷² F-Pn (S)

⁷³ FOIRE 1721-34 (Lc)

⁷⁴ US-Wc ML48.J7 (Lc)

⁷⁵ US-Wc Schatz 10550 (L), F-Pc & S-Skma (S)

⁷⁶ S-St (S)

D. SCARLATTI / CAPECI *Tetide in Sciro* (Rome, 1712⁷⁷)
C.F. POLLAROLO (Vicenza, 1715⁷⁸)

CARAPELLA / ? *Teti* (Naples, 1714⁷⁹)

A. SCARLATTI / ? *Partenope, Teti, Nettuno, Proteo e Glauco* (Naples, 1716)

P.P. BENCINI / S. STAMPIGLIA *Componimento per musica: Teti, Il Danubio, La Vienna* (Rome, 1720⁸⁰)

HANDEL / G. ROSSI? *Il Parnasso in festa per li sponsali di Teti e Peleo* (London, 1734⁸¹; London, 1737; London, 1740⁸²)

BOYCE / GRANVILLE, LANDSDOWNE? *Thetis and Peleus* (London, 1734)

LATILLA / ? *Componimento per musica: Tetide, Proteo, Gloria* (Rome, 1738⁸³)

I. FIORILLO / LALLI *Partenope nell' Adria* (Venice, 1738⁸⁴)

SARRO / GIUVO *Le nozze di Teti e di Peleo* (Naples, 1739⁸⁵)

COSTANZI / ? *Componimento per musica: Tetide, Natura, Virtù* (Rome, 1742⁸⁶)

? / OSCO *Le nozze di Peleo e di Teti* (Palermo?, 1742)

COLLIN DE BLAMONT / FUZELIER *Les fêtes de Thétis* (Versailles, 1750⁸⁷)

? / PASSERI *Il vaticinio di Nereo* (Pesaro, 1752⁸⁸)

BELLINZANI / PASSERI *La nascita d'Achille* (Pesaro, 1753⁸⁹)

GLUCK / MIGLIAVACCA *Tetide* (Vienna, 1760⁹⁰; Vienna, 1761)
FISCHIETTI (Vienna, 1760⁹¹)

LOGROSCINO / BALDANZA *Il natale di Achille* (Palermo, 1760⁹²)

⁷⁷ B-Bc 21929 & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.5134 & I-Fc & I-Fm & I-Mr & I-MOe & I-Nc & I-Rc & I-Rn & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & US-BEm (L), Florilegium Musicae Antiquae (Se)

⁷⁸ I-Mb & US-Wc Schatz 8319 (L)

⁷⁹ I-FP, Fanan (L)

⁸⁰ I-Bc Lo.8059 & I-Rvat & I-Vgc Rolandi 1576 (L)

⁸¹ GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/42 & GB-En & US-U (L)

⁸² F-Pc (L)

⁸³ I-Fm & I-Rli & I-Vgc & I-V, Verardo (L)

⁸⁴ I-Vnm Misc.2723.8 (L)

⁸⁵ I-Fm Melodrammi 2134.15 & I-Lg & I-PLcom (L)

⁸⁶ I-Vgc Rolandi 4451 (L)

⁸⁷ F-Pn (S)

⁸⁸ I-PESo (L)

⁸⁹ I-PESo (L)

⁹⁰ D-DI & I-Fm & I-G, Ivaldi & I-Lg & I-LDE & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-Vc & I-Vgc & US-CA & US-Wc Schatz 3937 (L), F-Pa & F-Pn (Lc), GSW & B-Bc 12829 (S)

⁹¹ F-Pn (S)

⁹² I-PLcom (L)

SALA / ? *Prologo: Teti, Mercurio* (in *La Zenobia*, Naples, 1761⁹³)

CAFARO / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Tetide, Peleo, Orfeo* (Naples, 1764⁹⁴)

? / BEATI *L'imeneo di Teti e Peleo* (Rome, 1767⁹⁵)

PAISIELLO / BASSO BASSI *Festa teatrale in musica: Peleo, Tetide, Giove, Giasone, Apollo, Imeneo* (also *Peleo*, Naples, 1768⁹⁶; as *Le nozze di Peleo e Teti*, Florence, 1774⁹⁷)

? / PERRELLI *Il natale di Achille* (Naples, 1777⁹⁸)

MARESCALCHI / SCAGLIA *Il vaticinio di Nereo* (Palermo, 178?⁹⁹)

SCROFFA / BOTTONI *Teti ravveduta o sia Genova liberata* (Ferrara, 1800¹⁰⁰)

Thisbe (see: Pyramus)

Thyestes

? / GIRON *Tieste* (Milan?, after 1690¹⁰¹)

Tiresias (see also: Oedipus)

? / PIRON *Tirésias* (Paris, 1722¹⁰²)

Tisiphone (see: Iphigenia, Orestes, Orpheus)

Titans

DURON / ? *La guerra de los gigantes* (Madrid, 1700-7¹⁰³)

BURY, COLLIN DE BLAMONT / BONNEVAL *Jupiter vainqueur des Titans* (Paris, 1745)

⁹³ D-LEm & I-Nlp & I-Nc (L)

⁹⁴ D-Bsb & I-Nc (L), F-Pn MS-1654 (S)

⁹⁵ I-Rli & I-Vgc (L)

⁹⁶ A-Wmi & I-Bu & I-Nc Rari 10.8.3/4 & I-Nn & I-Rsc & I-FP, Fanan & US-BEm & US-Cn (L), I-Nc 17.1.8-9 & S-St (S)

⁹⁷ I-Fc (L)

⁹⁸ F-Pa & I-Nn (L)

⁹⁹ I-PLn (L)

¹⁰⁰ I-Vgc & US-BEm (L)

¹⁰¹ I-Ms (L)

¹⁰² PIRON 1776 (Lc)

¹⁰³ E-Mn (Se)

GLUCK / VANNESCHI *La caduta de' Giganti o La ribellione punita* (London, 1746¹⁰⁴)

Titon (see: Eos)

Turnus (see also: Aeneas, Camilla)

STEFFANI / MAURO *Il Turno* (also *Amor vien dal destino*, Dusseldorf, 1709¹⁰⁵)

RISTORI / MARIA ANTONIA WALPURGIS *Lavinia e Turno* (Dresden, 1748¹⁰⁶)
G.M. RUTINI (Leipzig, 1756)

? / G.G. BOCCHERINI *Turno re de Rutoli* (Vienna, 1767¹⁰⁷)

MANGO / BALLANI *La disfatta di Turno* (Florence, 1794¹⁰⁸)

¹⁰⁴ GB-Bc A782.12, Plays B/38 & GB-Lbl & GB-L, Theatre Museum (L), B-Bc 5427 (Se)

¹⁰⁵ D-BFb & D-DÜl & D-MHrm (L), D-HVl & GB-Lbl (S), DTB XXIII (Se)

¹⁰⁶ D-Dl (S)

¹⁰⁷ D-Mbs & I-Rsc & I-Vgc & US-Wc ML50.2.T9 (L)

¹⁰⁸ I-Bc Lo.2821 & I-Fn (L)

Ulysses (see: Odysseus)

Urania (see: Muses)

Uranus (see: Planets, Titans)

Various deities

TOSI / L. LOTTI *L'idea di tutte le perfezioni* (Piacenza, 1690¹)

? / PRESCIMONIO *Il trionfo degli Dei su l'Olimpo* (Messina, 1695)

BADIA / MINATO *La pace tra i numi discordi nella rovina di Troia* (Vienna, 1697²)

F.T. RICHTER / MINATO *Le promesse degli dei* (Vienna, 1697³)

KEISER / BRESSAND *Die Wiederkehr der güldnen Zeit* (Hamburg, 1699⁴)

ARIOSTI / S. STAMPIGLIA *La gara delle antiche eroine ne' campi Elisi* (Vienna, 1707⁵)

? / ? *Gli dei festeggianti* (Munich, 1715⁶)

GIANNETTINI / TOMMASI *L'unione delle tre dee, Pallade, Giunone e Venere* (Modena, 1716⁷)

PORSILE / PARIATI *La virtù festeggiata* (Vienna, 1717⁸)

HEINICHEN / ? *La gara degli dei* (Dresden, 1719⁹)

L.A. PREDIERI / PECORI *Il trionfo della virtù* (Florence, 1719¹⁰)
? (Lisbon, 1720¹¹)

GILLIER / FUZELIER *Les dieux à la foire* (Paris, 1723)

¹ B-Bc 20644 (L)

² A-Wn Mus.Hs.16296 (S)

³ A-Wn & US-BEm (L), A-Wn Mus.Hs.16875 (S)

⁴ B-Br Fétis 4520 A III,11 & D-Bsb 4'' Yp 5223-no.4 (L)

⁵ A-Wn Mus.Hs.17605 (S)

⁶ D-Mbs (L)

⁷ I-MOe (L)

⁸ A-Wgm Q 960 (S)

⁹ D-Dl & D-W Lo Sammelbd 32 (16) & Lo Sammelbd 32 (17) & Textb. 256 & I-Mb & US-Wc Schatz 4705 (L), RRMBe & D-Dl (S)

¹⁰ I-Bc Lo.4428 (L)

¹¹ I-Rsc (L)

COLLIN DE BLAMONT / TANNEVOT *Le retour des dieux sur la terre* (Fontainebleau, 1725; Paris, 1727)

MOURET / FUZELIER *Les amours des dieux* (Paris, 1727¹²; Paris, 1737; Paris, 1746; Paris, 1757¹³)

COLLIN DE BLAMONT / PELLEGRIN *Les présents des dieux* (Paris, 1727)

LOTTI / ? *Il tributo delli Dei* (Venezia?, 1736¹⁴)

LA ROCCA / ? *I numi in festa* (Palermo, 1737¹⁵)

GALLIARD / CAREY *Masque of the Deities* (1706-47) = doubtful

CONFORTO / BONECCHI *La ninfa smarrita* (Aranjuez, 1756¹⁶)

? / NUTANO *Le gare degli dei* (Venice, 1757¹⁷)

G.M. RUTINI / G.B. LOCATELLI *Il ritiro degli dei* (St Petersburg, 1757¹⁸)

? / ? *L'intercession de' numi* (Turin, 1761¹⁹)

BRUNETTI / GRATTINARA *Il consesso de' numi* (Brunswick, 1763²⁰)

JOMELLI / MARTINELLI *L'unione coronata* (Stuttgart, 1768²¹)

SCHWEITZER / JACOBI *Das Elysium* (Hanover, 1770²²)

WEBER (Stuttgart, 1781)

HOBEIN? (Wolfenbüttel, 1781)

V. BELLINI / MONTESANO *Il congresso dei numi* (Catania, 1770²³)

VERMIGLIO / BALDANZA *Gli dei precettori* (Palermo, 1771²⁴)

PAISIELLO / LORENZI *Il divertimento de' numi* (with Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Naples, 1774²⁵)

INSANGUINE / CERBONE *I voti di Tessaglia esauditi dal cielo* (Naples, 1775²⁶)

¹² F-Pn (S)

¹³ F-Pn (L)

¹⁴ I-Vnm Cod. It. IV-1006 (S)

¹⁵ I-PLcom (L)

¹⁶ P-C (L)

¹⁷ I-Bca & I-Mb (L)

¹⁸ RU-SPk (S)

¹⁹ I-Tr & D-Mbs (L)

²⁰ D-Bsb Mus. T 128/3 & D-BS (L)

²¹ D-Sl & D-Tu (L)

²² US-Wc Schatz 9772 (L), D-Dl & D-LEm & GB-Lcm (S)

²³ I-PLcom (L)

²⁴ P-C (L)

²⁵ I-Bc Lo.9044 & I-Ma & I-Nn & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L), I-Nc (S), I-Fc (Se)

PAISIELLO / LOCCATELLI *La sorpresa delli dei* (St Petersburg, 1777²⁷)

? / JEROCADES *Il consiglio de' numi* (in *Olinto e Sofronia*, Naples, 1777²⁸)

? / JEROCADES *La concordia de' numi* (Naples?, 177?²⁹)

? / CIPOLLESCHI *I voti pubblici* (Arezzo, 1780³⁰)

? / FILISTRI *La congiura degli dei* (Berlin, 1786³¹)

DITTERSDORF / ? *Il divin congresso* (Berlin, 1787³²)

LEAL-MOREIRA / MARTINELLI *L'Imenei di Delfo* (Lisbon, 1785)

? / MARTINELLI *Il trofeo di gloria: Giove, Minerva, Apollo, Mercurio, Ulisse* (Lisbon, 1791³³)

REEVE / O'KEEFFE after O'HARA *The Olympus in an uproar, or The Descent of the Deities* (London, 1796)

Venus (see: Aphrodite)

Vesta

BEDOTTI / ? *Recitativi ed arie per musica: Dea Vesta in machina, Apollo* (in *Romolo e Remo riconosciuti*, Rome, 1754³⁴)

Vulcan (see: Hephaistos)

²⁶ I-Rsc (L)

²⁷ D-Gs & RU-SPsc (L)

²⁸ I-Nc (L)

²⁹ I-PLcom (L)

³⁰ I-Fc & I-Nc (L)

³¹ D-Bsb 8" Sw 24-no.8 (L)

³² D-Bsb 8" Sw 30-no.3 (L)

³³ I-Nc (L)

³⁴ I-Rsc (L)

Zephyros (see also: Flora)

? / ? *Der sich über Chloris erfreuende Zephyr* (Römhild, 1702)

G. BONONCINI / CUPEDA *Il fiore delle Eroine* (Vienna, 1704)

P.P. BENCINI / BUONACCORSI *La Fama festeggiante* (Rome, 1707³⁵)

HEINICHEN / ? *Zeffiro e Clori* (Dresden, 1714³⁶)

CAPPUS / ? *Le retour de Zéphire* (Dijon, 1730)

RAMEAU / ? *Zéphire* (Paris, 1756)

B. GALUPPI / LAZZARONI *La virtù liberata: Virtù, Vizio, Zefiro, Flora, Mercurio* (St Petersburg, 1765³⁷)

Zethus (see: Amphion)

Zeus (see also: Amalthea, Aphrodite, Astrea, Apollo, Danae, Erebus, Europa, Hera, Io, Ixion, Pallas Athene, Planets, Semele, Titans)

? / ? *Giove e Pallade* (in *L'Alessandro amante eroe*, Turin, 1694)

STRUNGK / ? *Jupiter und Alcmene* (Leipzig, 1696)

LITERES / CANIZARES? *Júpiter y Danae* (Madrid, 1700)

? / ? *Jupiter (Calisto)*, Naumburg, 1702)

? / PRESCIMONIO *La contesa de' numi* (Palermo, 1705)
CALDARA (Prague, 1723³⁸)

? / FUZELIER *Jupiter curieux impertinent* (Paris, 1711³⁹)

? / CAFORA *Giove Ibero* (Palermo, 1711)

? / NOBILEGA *La gara de' tre' delfini, del cielo, della terra, e del mare* (Bergamo, 1712⁴⁰)

B. MARCELLO / ? *Le nozze di Giove e Giunone* (also *Quest è'l giorno*, Vienna, 1716⁴¹;
also *Nasce per viver*, Vienna, 1725⁴²)

³⁵ I-MAC (L)

³⁶ D-DI (S)

³⁷ GB-Lbl & RU-M, Muzej knigi (L)

³⁸ A-Wgm & A-Wn Mus.Hs.18236 & D-Bsb (S)

³⁹ F-Pn (L)

⁴⁰ I-BGc (L)

⁴¹ A-Wn (S)

LOTTI / LUCCHINI *Giove in Argo* (Dresden, 1717⁴³; Dresden, 1719⁴⁴)

HANDEL (London, 1739)

C.H. GRAUN (Salzthal, 1747⁴⁵; Wolfenbüttel, 1749⁴⁶)

SARRO / ? *Serenata a quattro voci: Giove, Venere, Giunone, Mercurio* (Naples, 1718⁴⁷)

PORSILE / G.C. PASQUINI *Il giorno natalizio di Giove* (Vienna, 1726⁴⁸)

? / ? *Dem Jupiter abgelegte huldigung* (Munich, 1727⁴⁹)

PELI / ZANELLI *Giove pronubo* (Modena, 1728⁵⁰)

VINCI / METASTASIO *Componimento drammatico: Giove, Marte, Apollo, Astrea, Pace, Fortuna* (also *La contesa de' numi*, Rome, 1729⁵¹)

GLUCK (Copenhagen, 1749⁵²)

PAISIELLO (Naples, 1768)

CARCANI / GIOVANARDI *La concordia del tempo con la fama* (Venice, 1740⁵³)

LA ROCCA / ? *La sentenza di Giove* (in *Tripudio festivo di Palermo*, Palermo, 1740⁵⁴)

MANNA / CALZABIGI *L'impero dell'universo diviso con Giove* (Naples, 1745⁵⁵)

JOMELLI / SCARSELLI *Componimento drammatico: Giove, Pallade, Marte, Amore* (Rome, 1747⁵⁶)

AURISICCHIO / PIZZI *Componimento drammatico: Giove, Giunone, Mercurio* (Rome, 1747⁵⁷)

ARAIA / BONECCHI *L'asilo della pace* (St Petersburg, 1748⁵⁸)

LEONI / ? *Giove, Giunone, Pallade* (Turin, 1751⁵⁹)

⁴² I-Mb & I-Vcg (L), A-Wgm & A-Wn (S)

⁴³ D-Bs & D-Dl & US-Wc Schatz 5719 (L)

⁴⁴ D-Dl MT 4° 1584 R (L), D-Bsb & D-Dl & D-Mbs (S)

⁴⁵ D-BS & D-HVl & D-W Textb. 667 (L)

⁴⁶ D-HVl & D-Mbs (L)

⁴⁷ I-Lg (L)

⁴⁸ D-DO (L)

⁴⁹ US-Wc Schatz 11628 (L)

⁵⁰ I-Fm & I-MOe (L)

⁵¹ I-BGc & I-Fm & I-Fn & I-Lg & I-MAC & I-PESo & I-PLcom & I-Rli & I-Rvat & I-TSmt & I-Vgc (L), METASTASIO 1953-65 (Lc), GB-Lcm 632 & A-Wgm Q 10672 & F-Pn Vm.7 72 & D-MÜs 4247 & I-MC 126 E 30 & I-Nc 21.2.12 (S), B-Bc 15178 (Se)

⁵² B-Bc 12811 & DK-Kk (S), CH-Bel & D-Bsb & F-Pc & I-Fc (Se)

⁵³ I-Fm & I-Mb & I-PAc & I-PESo & I-Rsc & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vcg & I-Vnm (L)

⁵⁴ GB-Lbl & GB-Ls (L)

⁵⁵ D-Mbs & I-Mb & I-Nc & I-Nn & I-Rli & I-Vgc (L)

⁵⁶ A-Wmi & B-Bc 28006 & I-Bc Lo.8094 & I-Bu & I-Lg & I-MAC & I-Mb & I-PEc & I-PESo & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-FP,Fanan & I-Vgc & I-Vnm Misc.2723.14 (L), I-Tf (S)

⁵⁷ GB-Lbl & I-Bu & I-Rli & I-Rsc & I-Vgc (L)

⁵⁸ D-DEl & D-Gs (L)

⁵⁹ I-Tn & I-Vgc (L)

? / ? *La pace universale* (Rome, 1751⁶⁰)

GIGLI / GIOVANARDI *La gelosia de' numi* (Modena, 1753⁶¹)

PLATANIA / BALDANZA *Le nobili gare della poesia, della pittura e della musica* (Palermo, 1755⁶²)

? / LORENZI *Il giudizio di Giove* (Naples, 1759) = unperformed?

G.F. DE MAJO / ? *Prologo: Giove, Pallade, Apollo* (in *Cajo Fabrizio*, Naples, 1760⁶³)

V. MANFREDINI / LAZZARONI *La pace de gli eroi* (St Petersburg, 1762⁶⁴)

G.B. BIANCHI / ? *Componimento per musica: Giove, Pallade* (Siena, 1763⁶⁵)

SALA / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Giove, Pallade, Apollo* (Naples, 1763⁶⁶)

BORGHI / ? *Componimento drammatico: Giove, Clemenza* (Florence, 1766⁶⁷)

BERTINI / BALDANZA *Il confronto delle figlie di Giove* (Palermo, 1766⁶⁸)

GLUCK / DEL ROSSO *Prologo: Giove* (in ?, Florence, 1767⁶⁹)

MYSLIVECEK / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Giove, Mercurio, Liberia* (Naples, 1767⁷⁰)

? / ? *Componimento drammatico: Giove, Tempo, Fama* (Florence, 1768⁷¹)

N. PICCINNI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Giove, Diana, Mercurio* (Naples, 1769⁷²)

? / ? *Cantata : Giove, Virtù, Amore* (Florence, 1770⁷³)

ANFOSSI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Giove, Diana, Polluce* (Naples, 1771⁷⁴)

MYSLIVECEK / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Giove, Giunone, Mercurio* (Naples, 1773⁷⁵)

BERTINI / BALDANZA *Il cielo in giubilo* (Palermo, 1773⁷⁶)

⁶⁰ D-Mbs & F-Pn & GB-Lbl & I-Bc Lo.9107 & I-Fc & I-MAC & I-PEc & I-Tn & I-Vgc & P-Lf (L)

⁶¹ I-PESo (L), I-Bc FF.140 & FC.FF.140 (S)

⁶² I-PLcom (L)

⁶³ D-LEm & I-Nc & I-Nlp & I-Rsc (L)

⁶⁴ RU-SPsc (L)

⁶⁵ I-Bc Lo.7421 & I-Rsc & I-Rvat & I-Vgc (L)

⁶⁶ D-LEm & I-Nc & I-Nlp (L)

⁶⁷ I-Lg & I-MAC & I-Plu & I-Vgc Rolandi 2264 (L)

⁶⁸ I-Rsc (L)

⁶⁹ I-Fm (L)

⁷⁰ I-Bc Lo.8915 & I-Nc (L)

⁷¹ I-Vgc (L)

⁷² I-BA, Giovine & I-PEc (L)

⁷³ I-Vgc (L)

⁷⁴ I-Nc (L)

⁷⁵ I-Nn (L)

VALENTINO / GAGLIANI *Il natale di Minerva* (Palermo, 1774⁷⁷)

M.E. GAGLIARDI / F. GAGLIARDI *Il giudizio di Giove* (Rome, 1775⁷⁸)

? / PIMENTEL *La nascita di Orfeo: Giove, Pallade, Venere, Apollo* (Naples, 1775⁷⁹)

MYSLIVECEK / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Giove, Marte, Partenope* (Naples, 1775⁸⁰)

AMENDOLA / GAGLIANI *Cantata: Giove, Apollo* (Palermo, 1775⁸¹)

DITTERSDORF / LANDI *Il tribunale di Giove* (Berlin, 1775⁸²)

RUST / ? *Il Giove di Creta* (Venice, 1776)

N. PICCINNI / ZINI *Prologo a tre voci: Giove, Aurora, Dea del Piacere* (in ?, Naples, 1776⁸³)

P.A. GUGLIELMI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Flavia, Giove, Mercurio* (Naples, 1776⁸⁴)

VALENTINI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Giove, Astrea, Genio della Terra* (Naples, 1777⁸⁵)

DIBDIN / DIBDIN, DRYDEN *Jupiter and Alcmene* (London, 1781)

ZINGARELLI / ? *Cantata a tre voci: Eumene, Stratonice, Giove* (Naples, 1781⁸⁶)

M. ARNE / ? *Jupiter and Hermes* (London, 1783)

? / COLOMIS *La concordia tra la virtù e la sapienza* (Bologna, 1786⁸⁷)

? / PALLIACCIO *Il decreto di Giove* (Cagliari, 1787⁸⁸)

? / BONGIARDINO *Il tempio della gloria* (Naples, 1787⁸⁹)

? / BRUNO *Il tempio di Ferdinando IV Re delle Sicilie* (Naples, 1789⁹⁰)

N. PICCINNI / ? *Giove revotato* (Naples, 1790⁹¹)

⁷⁶ I-PLcom (L)

⁷⁷ I-PLcom (L)

⁷⁸ I-Vc & I-Vgc (L)

⁷⁹ I-FERc & I-R,Rostirolla & I-Rsc (L)

⁸⁰ I-Nlp & I-R,Rostirolla (L)

⁸¹ I-PLcom & I-PLn (L)

⁸² GB-Lcm (S)

⁸³ I-Nc & I-Vgc & US-NYp (L)

⁸⁴ I-PLcom (L)

⁸⁵ I-Nn (L)

⁸⁶ I-Nc & I-Vgc (L)

⁸⁷ I-Bca & I-Rsc (L)

⁸⁸ I-Cagliari,Universitaria (L)

⁸⁹ I-Fc & I-Rsc (L)

⁹⁰ I-Nn (L)

⁹¹ I-Nc (L)

APPENDIX 1.2

APOSTOLO ZENO

GL'INGANNI FELICI (VENICE, 1695): I,16

AGARISTA

Taci, che il mio dolor nasce da spene.
D'Achille in servil manto,
Travestito già in Sciro à me i lamenti...

SIFALCE

T'intesi
E già m'accingo)
A dir con l'altrui pianto i miei tormenti.

SIFALCE

Tra vili spoglie involto
Stava per Deidamìa quel forte Achille,
Ch'esser dovea de la Trojana gente
L'esterminio più fiero,
E col nodoso braccio
Ora Tigri, or Leoni a vincer uso,
La conocchia trattava, e torcea 'l fuso.
Quando celar più non potendo un giorno
L'amoroso ardor suo, mesto s'affisse
Nel vago volto, e sospirando disse.

AGARISTA

Questa è di genio mio.

SIFALCE

Fors' ella gode,)
Che le scopra così gli affetti miei.)

AGARISTA

Che tal fosse Armidoro [her true lover], anch'io vorrei.

SIFALCE

Deh non mi avere a sdegno,
Se te Deidamia adoro;

Sotto vil manto indegno
Tal'or grand'alma stassi.
Così trà glebe, e sassi
Si asconde aureo Tesoro.

AGARISTA

Che dicesti?

SIFALCE

Con dona.
La lingua mia già del suo fallo avvista
Dir volea Deidamìa, non Agarista.
„Ti vedi in rozzi panni
„Achille, che ti adora. *Sifalce alla spinetta*

„Per te crudi affanni,
„Mio ben, sin'or provai,
„Che se pietà non m'hai,
„Forza sarà, ch'io muora.

AGARISTA
„Spesso in errori inciampi.
„La canzon dice Achille, e non Orgonte.

SIFALCE
„M'hà confuso il chiaror de la tua fronte.

AGARISTA
Sorgi, e tu pure ascolta
La risposta gentil di Deidamia.
Agarista và alla spinetta.

SIFALCE
Curioso t'attendo.

AGARISTA
Parlar così teco Armidoro intendo.) *à parte*
Non sò che d'augusto, e grande
Ben vedea nel tuo sembiante.

Troppo muto arse il tuo cuore;
Se svelavi il chiuso ardore
Prima ancor ti accogliea sposo, ed amante.

SIFALCE
Ben t'intesi, alma mia.

AGARISTA
Tu vaneggi Sifalce. Al vago Achille
Rispondeva così già Deidamia.

SIFALCE
E ben d'Achille anch'io,
Come già commandasti,
Le parti sostenea.

AGARISTA
Ma troppo osasti.
Vanne.

SIFALCE
O sciocchi delirj.)
Ingannaste sol voi gli affetti miei.) *à parte*

AGARISTA
Ma così ad Armidoro io non direi.

APPENDIX 1.3

SUBJECT MATTER IN THE *DRAMMI* OF APOSTOLO ZENO

<i>Title</i>	ZENO 1744	ZENO 1785	Year	City, venue of premiere	Composer(s) of premiere	A ¹	C ²	Subject type (period, locus); source(s) quoted in preface
<i>Gl'inganni felici</i>	VII, 1-92	I, 17-102	1695	Venice, S. Angelo	C.F. Pollarolo	3	7	historical-pastoral (Ancient Greece: Olympic Games); Herodotus
<i>Il Tirsi</i>	-	-	1696	Venice, S. Salvatore	Lotti, Caldara, Ariosti	5	11	pastoral (Arcadia)
Narciso	VII, 293-358	I, 103-158	1697	Ansbach, court theatre	Pistocchi	5	6	mythological-pastoral (Arcadia); Ovid
<i>I rivali generosi</i>	V, 267-352	I, 159-234	1697	Venice, S. Angelo ³	M.A. Ziani ⁴	3	7	historical (Byzantium: Goths); Sigonio, Trissino
<i>Eumene</i>	V, 353-447	I, 235-318	1697	Venice, S. Giov. Grisostomo ⁵	M.A. Ziani	3	8	historical (Hellenism: Alexander's successors)
<i>Odoardo</i>	-	-	1698	Venice, S. Angelo	M.A. Ziani	3	7	historical (Medieval England); Polydorus Vergilius
<i>Faramondo</i>	VI, 1-104	I, 319-413	1698	Venice, S. Giov. Grisostomo	C.F. Pollarolo	3	9	historical (Medieval France): La Calprenède, Mézeray, de la Serre, Verdier
<i>Lucio Vero</i>	III, 87-168	II, 59-136	1700	Venice, S. Giov. Grisostomo	C.F. Pollarolo	3	7	historical (Roman Empire); J. Capitolinus, S. Rufus, Eutropius, S.A. Victor
<i>Temistocle</i>	I, 449-504	II, 5-58	1701	Vienna, Hoftheater	M.A. Ziani	3	7	historical (Hellenism: Persian Wars); Thucydides, Cornelius Nepos
<i>Griselda</i>	III, 1-86	II, 137-216	1701	Venice, S. Cassiano	A. Pollarolo	3	8	historical (Medieval Sicily)
<i>Venceslao</i>	V, 1-94	II, 217-304	1703	Venice, S. Giov. Grisostomo	C.F. Pollarolo	5	7	historical (Medieval Poland); Rotrou
<i>Aminta</i>	VI, 357-447	II, 305-384	1703	Florence, Cocomero	Albinoni	3	8	historical-pastoral (Thessaly); M. Iunianus Iustinus
<i>Pirro</i>	VII, 201-292	III, 5-88	1704	Venice, S. Angelo	Aldrovandini	5	8	historical (Hellenism: Media); Plutarch
<i>Antioco</i> (with Pariati)	X, 289-382	IX, 95-184	1705	Venice, S. Cassiano	Gasparini	3	6	historical (Hellenism: Syria)
<i>Amleto</i> (with Pariati)	IX, 1-100	IX, 185-278	1706	Venice, S. Cassiano	Gasparini	3	7	historical (Medieval Denmark); Saxo Grammaticus, Bartolini
<i>Statira</i> (with Pariati)	X, 205-288	IX, 279-359	1706	Venice, S. Cassiano	Gasparini	3	7	historical (Hellenism: Persians vs. Scyths); M. Iunianus Iustinus
<i>Teuzzone</i>	IV, 355-444	III, 89-176	1706	Milan, Regio Ducal	Magni, Monari	3	8	historical-exotic (China); M. Martini
<i>L'amor generoso</i>	VI, 105-182	III, 277-348	1707	Venice, S. Cassiano	Gasparini	3	6	historical (Medieval Denmark); Saxo Grammaticus, Crantzius, Boisrobert
<i>Flavio Anicio Olibrio</i> (with Pariati)	X, 383-476	X, 5-96	1708	Venice, S. Cassiano	Gasparini	3	8	historical (Roman Empire: Goths); Evagrius, Procopius, Paul the Deacon
<i>Engelberta</i> (with Pariati)	IV, 191-280	III, 349-435	1708	Milan, Regio Ducal	Fiorè	5	7	historical (Medieval France); Astolfi
<i>Astarto</i> (with Pariati)	X, 1-106	X, 97-198	1708	Venice, S. Cassiano	Albinoni	3	7	historical (Etruscans); Josephus, Quinault
<i>Atenaide</i>	I, 357-448	IV, 267-352	1709	Barcelona, Teatro de la Lonja	Fiorè, Caldara, Gasparini	3	7	historical (Byzantium: Theodosius II); 'Greek historians', Zonara, Teophanus
<i>Zenobia in Palmira</i> (with Pariati)	-	-	1709	Barcelona, Teatro de la Lonja	Chelleri	3	7	historical (Roman Empire: Syria)
<i>Scipione nelle Spagne</i>	IV, 93-189	IV, 1-94	1710	Barcelona, Teatro de la Lonja	unknown	3	7	historical (Roman Republic: Spain); Livy, V. Maximus, [Cicero] ⁶
Merope	I, 81-171	IV, 95-184	1712	Venice, S. Cassiano	Gasparini	3	7	mythological (Greece); Aristotle, Pausanias, Apollodorus, Guarini
<i>Alessandro Severo</i>	VI, 271-355	IV, 353-430	1717	Venice, S. Giov. Grisostomo	Lotti	3	6	historical (Roman Empire); Herodianus, Lampridius
Ifigenia in Aulide	I, 1-80	IV, 185-266	1718	Vienna, Hoftheater	Caldara	3	8	mythological (Trojan epic); Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Ovid, Racine a.o.
<i>Sirita</i>	VI, 183-269	V, 87-166	1719	Vienna, Favorita	Caldara	3	6	historical (Medieval Denmark); Saxo Grammaticus, Crantzius, Meursio
<i>Lucio Papirio</i>	I, 271-355	V, 5-86	1719	Vienna, Hoftheater	Caldara	3	7	historical (Roman Republic); Livy

¹ A: Number of acts.

² C: Number of characters.

³ San Salvatore according to ALLACCI & CENDONI 1755, 671; FEHR 1912, 131.

⁴ Vignati according to FEHR 1912, 131.

⁵ S. Angelo according to ALLACCI & CENDONI 1755, 314; FEHR 1912, 132.

⁶ Zeno's remark that the "soggetto è stato da altra penna ingegnosamente in prosa trattato" seems to allude to Cicero's *Republic*.

<i>Don Chisciotte in Sierra Morena</i> ⁷ (with Pariati)	IX, 417-538	XI, 101-222	1719	Vienna, Hoftheater	Conti	5	11	romantic-comical (Medieval Spain); [Cervantes] ⁸
<i>Alessandro in Sidone</i> (with Pariati)	IX, 293-416	XI, 223-347	1721	Vienna, Hoftheater	Conti	5	11	historical-comical (Hellenism: Persia)
<i>Meride e Selinunte</i>	III, 345-435	V, 257-344	1721	Vienna, Favorita	Porsile	5	7	historical (Hellenic Sicily); Cicero, V. Maximus, Hyginus
<i>Ormisda</i>	IV, 1-92	V, 167-256	1721	Vienna, Hoftheater	Caldara	3	7	historical (Persia);
<i>Nitocri</i>	III, 249-344	V, 345-436	1722	Vienna, Favorita	Caldara	3	7	historical (Ancient Egypt); Herodotus, D. Siculus, Sincello
<i>Euristeo</i>	V, 197-265	VI, 169-232	1724	Vienna, Imperial Palace	Caldara	3	7	historical (Ancient Greece); Hyginus, V. Paterculus, Pausanias
Andromaca	II, 1-85	VI, 1-78	1724	Vienna, Favorita	Caldara	5	9	mythological (Trojan epic); Euripides, Seneca, Racine
<i>Gianguir</i>	II, 183-280	VI, 79-168	1724	Vienna, Hoftheater	Caldara	5	7	historical (Medieval India); F. Vernier, Catrou
<i>Semiramide [in Ascalona]</i>	II, 365-444	VI, 233-310	1725	Vienna, Favorita	Caldara	5	7	historical (Assyria); D. Siculus, M. Junianus Justinus
<i>I due dittatori</i>	II, 87-182	VI, 311-398	1726	Vienna, Hoftheater	Caldara	5	8	historical (Roman Republic); Livy, Plutarch, Appianus Alexandrinus
<i>Imeneo</i>	IV, 281-354	VII, 83-152	1727	Vienna, Favorita	Caldara	3	8	historical-pastoral (Hellas: Eleusis); Servius, Cornelius Balbus, Bonarelli a.o.
<i>Ornospade</i>	II, 281-363	VII, 5-82	1727	Vienna, Hoftheater	Caldara	3	8	historical (Roman Empire: Persia); Tacitus
<i>Mitridate</i>	V, 95-196	VII, 153-248	1728	Vienna, Hoftheater	Caldara	5	8	historical (Roman Republic + Hellenism); de la Motte
<i>Caio Fabbrizio</i>	I, 173-270	VII, 249-342	1729	Vienna, Hoftheater	Caldara	3	7	historical (Roman Republic + Hellenism); Plutarch, V. Maximus, Florus
Enone	III, 169-247	VII, 343-415	1734	Vienna, Favorita	Caldara	5	8	mythological (Trojan epic); Apollodorus, Giraldi
TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO ZENO AND PARIATI, BUT POSSIBLY BY PARIATI ALONE ⁹								
<i>Artaserse</i>	X, 107-204	IX, 1-94	1705	Vienna, S. Angelo	Giannettini	3	8	historical (Hellenism: Persia)
Anfitrione	-	-	1707	Venice, S. Cassiano	Gasparini	5¹⁰	8	mythological-comical; Plautus
<i>Il falso Tiberino</i>	-	-	1709	Venice, S. Cassiano	C.F. Pollarolo	3	7	historical (Alba Longa); Quinault
<i>Costantino</i>	IX, 101-199	XI, 5-100	1711	Venice, S. Cassiano	Gasparini	5	7	historical (Roman Empire: Marseille); T. Corneille

⁷ Alternative title: *Don Chisciotte in corte della Duchessa*.

⁸ Referred to in the preface as the “ingegnossissimo Autore Spagnuolo”.

⁹ Compare the listings in GROVE, “Pariati, Pietro” and (for *Anfitrione* and *Costantino*) CAMPANINI 1904, 130, with that in GROVE, “Zeno, Apostolo.”

¹⁰ + prologue.

APPENDIX 1.4
ESTEBAN DE ARTEAGA
LE RIVOLUZIONI DEL TEATRO MUSICALE ITALIANO
DALLA SUA ORIGINE FINO AL PRESENTE
(1782-5): EXCERPTS

Volume 1, pp. 44-53

[44] E quì ci si affaccia un dubbio importante, che conviene dilucidare, il sapere cioè, se alla interna costituzione del dramma convengano più gli argomenti tratti dal vero, oppure i maravigliosi cavati dalla mitologia, o dalle favole moderne. Il motive del dubbio sì è, ch'essendo l'Opera, siccome si è veduto, un componimento fatto per dilettere l'immaginazione, e i sensi, pare che ad ottener un tal fine siano più acconci degli altri gli argomenti favolosi, ne' quali il poeta, non essendo obbligato allo sviluppo storico de' fatti, può variare a grado [45] suo le situazioni, può essere più rapido ne' passaggi, e può accrescere, e sostener meglio l'illusione, somministrando all'occhio maggior copia di decorazioni vaghe, nuove, e maravigliose. Innoltre, dovendosi escludere dalla musica tutto ciò che non commuove, e non dipinge, e dovendosi in essa sfuggire le situazioni, ove l'anima rimanga, per così dire, oziosa, sembra, che ciò non s'ottenga così bene negli argomenti di storia, ne' quali la verosimiglianza seguitandosi principalmente, ci entrano per necessità discussioni, moralità, ed altre circostanze, che legano un accidente coll'altro, e che sostituiscono la lentezza alla passione. O ci converrà dunque affrettar di troppo gli avvenimenti, o si cadrà nel languore. Tali sono a un dipresso le ragioni, onde si sono mossi i Signori d'Alembert (*a Essai sur la liberté della [sic] musique*)¹, e di Marmontel (*b Poétique. Tom. 2. ove dell'Opera*)² a dar la preferenza all'Opera francese, dove regna il maraviglioso sull'italiana, dove regna il vero comunemente.

[46] Ad onta della mia stima per così chiari scrittori ardisco di slontanarmi dalla opinione loro, tanto più che la trovo appoggiata sulle false nozioni, ch'eglino ci danno dell'Opera. *Presso di noi* dice il primo, *la commedia è lo spettacolo dello spirito: la tragedia quello dell'anima: l'Opera quello de' sensi. L'Opera*, dice il secondo, *non è che il maraviglioso dell'Epica trasferito al Teatro*. Ma, se mal non m'appongo, in niuna delle anzidette cose è posta la natura del dramma in musica. Non nella prima, imperocchè quantunque l'Opera debba parlare ai sensi, questo non è se non un fine secondario per arrivare al principale, il quale consiste nel penetrare addentro nel cuore, e intenerirlo. Il fino ultimo della tragedia, e dell'Opera è dunque lo stesso, nè si distinguono se non pei mezzi, che vi conducono: quella per lo sviluppo più circostanziato de' caratteri, e degli affetti, questa pei prestigi della illusione, e della melodia. Altrimenti se l'Opera non badasse, che a diletter i sensi, in che si distinguerebbe da una prospettiva, o da un concerto? A che gioverebbe la poesia piena di varietà, e d'interesse, che dee pur essere il principal fonda-[47]mento? Si dirà forse, che l'Olimpiade, e il Demofonte³ parlano meno all'anima di quello, che facciano la Fedra⁴, o la Zaira⁵? Ovvero altro non sono che lo spettacolo de'sensi i caratteri di Tito, e di Temistocle⁶?

¹ Jean le Rond d'Alembert's *De la liberté de la musique* (1759) was one of the many pamphlets appearing during the Querelle des Bouffons. It took a more neutral stance toward the merits of French vs. Italian music.

² Jean François Marmontel *Poétique française* (1763).

³ *L'Olimpiade* (1733) and *Demofonte* (1733) are considered paradigmatic examples of Metastasian opera, see SMITH 1971, 85-92.

Non nella seconda, imperocchè, essendo l'Opera un componimento teatrale destinato alla mozione degli affetti, nè distinguendosi dalla tragedia se non per le modificazioni, che risultano dal suo accoppiamento colla musica, egli è chiaro, che la sua essenza non è riposta nel meraviglioso dell'Epica, il quale ne distruggerebbe colla inverosimiglianza il principale interesse. Io prendo in questo luogo la parola *maraviglioso* come la prende il Marmontel, vale a dire, per una serie di fatti, che accadono senza l'intervento delle leggi fisiche dell'universo per la mediazione improvvisa di una qualche potenza superiore alla umana specie. Ora in questo senso non si può dubitare, che il meraviglioso dell'Epica trasferito al dramma non faccia perdere il suo effetto a tutte le parti, che lo compongono. Se riguardiamo la poesia, niun'artificiale orditura si può aspettar dal poeta, quando i prodigj vengono a frastornare l'ordine degli av-[48]venimenti, niun carattere ben sostenuto, quando i personaggi sono chimerici, niuna passione ben maneggiata, quando chi si rallegra, o si rattrista sono le Fate, i Silfi, i Genj ed altri Esseri immaginarj, de' quali ignoro le proprietà e la natura, nè la sorte loro sarà in alcun tempo la mia. Altrettanto varrebbe l'interessarmi per l'idee astratte di Platone, o per l'irco-cervo dei Peripatetici (*a Il Signor d'Alambert [sic] non ha potuto astenersi dal confessarlo in altro luogo: Ou la vraisemblance n'est pas, l'interêt [sic] ne sauroit s'y trouver, au moins l'interêt soutenu; car l'illusion est banni d'un Theatre, ou un coup de baguette transporte in un moment le spectateur d'une extremità della [sic] terre all'autre. Libertè della musique parag. 13. Ora essendo tali perfettamente i drammi di Quinault⁷ [sic], confesso di non vedere come l'illustre autore li preferisca a quelli del Metastasio*). Se riguardasi la musica, poca unità d'espressione vi può mettere il compositore, perchè essa non si trova nell'argomento, poco interesse nella melodia, perchè poco v'ha nell'azione, e perchè la poesia non è che un tessuto di madrigali interrotti da stravaganze, la modulazione non è che un aggregato di motivi lavorati senza disegno. Se si po-[49]ne mente alla esecuzione, niuna cosa più inverosimile, e insiem più difficile ad eseguirsi che codesti personaggi fantastici. Non vi par egli, che l'atteggiamento, e le sembianze d'un Fiume, dell'Aquilone, del Zeffiro, della Paura, dei Demonj e di tali nomi egualmente leggiadri siano facili ad imitarsi? E' possibile trovar i gesti e il linguaggio, che s'appartiene ad essi? Un vestiario, una conciatra di testa, che divenga lor propria? Dove ne troveremo i modelli? Dov'è la regola di comparazione, onde possiam giudicare della convenienza, o disconvenienza?

Essendo dunque gli argomenti maravigliosi sottoposti a tanti difetti, ragion vuole, che si debbano ad essi preferire gli storici. Nè non è già vero, come pretende il Marmontel, che questi non somministrino al decoratore abbondanza di spettacoli nuovi e brillanti. Se non vi si verdà sbuccar all'improvviso una Furia, nè si vedrà volar per l'aria una Sfinge, un Castello, che comparisce e poi si dilegua: se un Sole non si prenderà il divertimento di ballar tra le nugole [nuvole], con altre somiglianti strambezzes solite ad usarsi nelle Opere francesi, non è per [50] questo, che non abbia in essi un gran luogo la prospettiva, rappresentando ameni giardini, mari tempestosi, combattimenti terrestri e navali, boscaglie, dirupi, tutto in somma il maestoso teatro della natura considerata nel mondo fisico: spettacolo assai più vario, più dilettevole e più fecondo di quello, che sia l'universo ideale fabbricato nel cervello de' mitologi e de' Poeti. Nè ci è pericolo altresì che illanguidisca la musicale espressione, purchè l'autore secondo le regole stabilite di sopra scelga nelle storie argomenti pieni d'affetto e d'interesse sfuggendo le particolarità, che nulla significano: anzi il dover rappresentare gli umani eventi, che il musico ha tante volte veduti, o de' quali almento può formarsi una giusta idea, gli sarà di un ajuto grandissimo a vieppiù internarsi nella passione, e a penetrare più

⁴ Racine *Phèdre* (1677).

⁵ Voltaire *Zaïre* (1732).

⁶ Metastasio's *La Clemenza di Tito* (1735) and *Temistocle* (1736).

⁷ Philippe Quinault (1635-1688), Lully's principal librettist.

addentro nell'animo dell'uditore, come il dover dipingere eziandio gli oggetti naturali, che sono sotto gli occhi di tutti, gli darà più mossa, e coraggio a destramente imitarli. Dal che si vede, che sebbene il pittore pochissimo, o niun giovamento ritragga dal musico, non è piccolo quello, che il musico può ritrar dal pittore. La vedu-[51]ta di una scena ben decorata, la vivacità, e la forza degli oggetti espressi da lui riscaldano maggiormente il genio del compositore. Non solo s'udirà sortir dalla orchestra più minaccioso il fragore della tempesta, che il decoratore avrà sul teatro maestrevolmente dipinta, non solo gli strumenti renderanno più spaventevole l'ingresso della grotta di Polifemo, ovvero i flutti d'un mare agitato, ma più dilettevole, e più grato apparirà coi suoni d'una bella sinfonia il solitario boschetto sacro al riposo, e alla felicità degli amanti: scorrerà più vivace, e più fresco il ruscello, dove Licida⁸ s'addormenta: diverrà più vermiglia l'aurora, che presiede alle tenerezze di Mandane, e d'Arbace,⁹ e la volta de' cieli pennelleggiata dallo mano d'Aiaccioli¹⁰, o di Bibbiena¹¹ parrà fregiarsi d'un azzuro più bello, e comparir più ridente dopo i suoni dolcissimi d'un Tartini.¹² Che seppur qualche lentezza, o qualche momento ozioso, dove la musica non campeggi, si mischia ne' drammi tratti dal vero, ciò prova soltanto, che non tutte le situazioni sono egualmente suscettibili del medesimo grado di passione, che la musica dee talvolta piegarsi all'uo-[52]po della poesia in attenzione ai molti sacrificj, che fa questa in grazia di quella, e che si ricchieggono degli intervalli, ne' quali il poeta abbia luogo d'intrecciar fra loro gli avvenimenti, e l'uditore, e il musico di respirare, per così dire, dalla troppo viva commozione, che desterebbersi da una melodia continua. Le quali circostanze sono le stesse non solo per gli argomenti storici, ma pei favolosi eziandio, che non vanno esenti da simili difetti, come si potrebbe far vedere coll'esame imparziale dei drammi di Quinaut, se l'opportunità il richiedesse. Io convengo coll'illustre autore, che non ogni argomento di storia è proprio dell'Opera, siccome non è improprio ogni soggetto favoloso. Si dee schivar in quello il lungo raggiramento: si può ammetter questo qualora la favola mescolata di storica narrazione, e per lungo corso de' secoli fino a noi tramandata, abbia acquistato una spezie di credibilità, che la spogli dell'inverosimile ributtante. Tali sarebbero a un dipresso Euridice ed Orfeo, la distruzione di Tebe o di Troja, Teseo ed Arianna, Ifigenia in Aulide con altre simili.¹³ Ma il voler bandire del dramma musicale la verità per sostituirvi il [53] piano adottato da Quinaut, avvilir l'Opera Italiana per innalzar la francese, è lo stesso, che voler imitare il costume di que' popoli della Guinea, che dipingono neri gli Angioli, perchè stimano, che il sommo grado della bruttezza consista nel color bianco.

Volume 1, pp. 267-78

[267] Tra i fenomeni letterarj, che si presentano avanti a chi vuol osservare le rivoluzioni del Teatro Italiano non è il minore a mio avviso quel maraviglioso strabocchevole, che accoppiandosi col melodramma fin dalla sua origine, lo seguì passo a passo per tutto il secolo scorso, [268] e parte ancor del presente, non solo in Italia ma nelle nazioni oltramontane, ov'esso fu trapiantato. Questo non poteva a meno di non dar nell'occhio agli scrittori italiani: così alcun non v'ha tra coloro, che la storia delle lettere hanno preso a scrivere, che non parli delle macchine, delle decorazioni, della mitologia, e delle favole, come

⁸ Licida: character in Metastasio's *L'Olimpiade* which falls asleep in Act I.

⁹ Mandane and Arbace: characters in Metastasio's *Artaserse* (1730).

¹⁰ Probably meant here is Filippo Acciaiuoli (1637-1700), the Roman impresario who organized such grand spectacles as the *intermedi* for *La caduta del regno degli Amazzoni* (Rome, 1690).

¹¹ The Galli-Bibienas were the most famous scenographers of their day, see Chapter Two.

¹² Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770), a celebrated violinist and composer.

¹³ That these mythological episodes were indeed popular in opera seria can be inferred from Appendix 1.1.

del carattere principale del melodramma in quel secolo [i.e. seventeenth century]. Ma onde sia venuta in mente a' poeti siffatta idea: per qual istrano cangiamento di gusto una nazione sì colta sene sia compiacciuta a tal segno, che abbia nel Teatro antiposta la mostruosità alla decenza, il delirio alla verità, l'esclusione d'ogni buon senso alle regole inalterabili di critica lasciateci dagli antichi: se il male sia venuto dalla poesia ovver dalla musica, o se tutto debba ripetersi dalle circostanze de' tempi, ecco ciò che niun autore italiano ha finora preso ad investigare, e quello che mi veggo in necessità di dover eseguire a continuazione del metodo intrapreso, e a maggior illustrazione del mio argomento fra le potenze interne dell'uomo alcuna ve ne ha portata naturalmente verso il vero, e che in esso [269] unicamente riposi non potendo abbracciar il falso quando è conosciuto per tale; è fuor di dubbio parimenti, che fra esse potenze medesime alcun' altra si ritrova, la quale senza poter fermarsi tra i cancelli del vero, si divaga pei mondi ideali da lei creati, e si compiace de' suoi errori più forse di quello che farebbe della verità stessa. La prima di esse facoltà è l'intelletto, la seconda la immaginazione, e perciò in quest'ultima è riposta la sede del maraviglioso. La certezza di tal effetto può facilmente conoscersi dalla esperienza. Haccene di quelle cose, le quali avvegnachè assurde e incredibili pajano all'intelletto, nondimeno dilettono grandemente la potenza immaginativa. Leggete in presenza d'un fanciullo e anche d'un ragazzo di dodici o quindici anni il più bello squarcio della storia di Senofonte¹⁴ o di Titolivio¹⁵, fategli capire una dimostrazione di geometria, o mettetegli avanti gli occhi la più leggiadra esperienza di fisica, egli non istarà molto, che s'annojerà, e palesaravvi colla sua inattenzione la noja. Ma se in vece di tutto ciò prendete a narrargli le favole d'Esopo, o gli strani e incredibili avvenimenti del Moro Aladino, della grotta in-[270] cantata di Merlino, del corno e dell'ippogrifo d'Astolfo, della rete di Caligorante, o tali altre cose, che per folle e menzogne si tengono da tutti, e da lui medesimamente; il ragazzo tralascierà con piacere i suoi fanciulleschi trastulli solo per ascoltarvi. Interrogate un amante, addimandate ad un poeta, perchè raminghi e soli inoltrandosi fra le più cupe foreste, e fra deserti inerpicati dirupi sfuggano l'uman commercio mesti in apparenza e pensosi: e' vi risponderanno, che ciò si fa da loro per poter liberamente badare agli amabili delirj della propria immaginazione, a quei soavi e cari prestigj, a quelle illusioni dolcissime, che gli ricompensano dalle torture della verità trista spesse fiate, e dolorosa. Se si consulta la storia, vedrasi, che le bizzarre invenzioni della poesia hanno dall'India fino alla Spagna, da Omero fino al Metastasio eccitato universale diletto, e riscossa l'ammirazione de' popoli. Lo stesso avvenne per molti secoli de' romanzi, e delle avventure degli erranti cavalieri, i quali libri, quantunque pieni fossero di menzogne assurde e ridicole, pur di sollazzo, e di piacevole intertenimento servirono alla più colta e più gentil parte d'Europa a [271] preferenza degli storici e filosofici. Le Fate, le Maghe, i Silfi, gl'Incantesimi, tutti in somma gli aborti dell'umano delirio piacquero più assai alla immaginazione attiva e vivace, che non le severe dimostrazioni cavate da quelle facoltà, che hanno per oggetto la ricerca del vero. E la natura per così dire, in tumulto, e la violazione delle leggi dell'universo fatte da immaginarie intelligenze le furono più a grado che non il costante e regolar tenore delle cose create.

Posta il fatto fuor d'ogni dubbio, il filosofo ne ricercherà le cagioni. Non è proprio di questo luogo, e nemmeno del mio debole ingegno il diffondermi circa un argomento, che richiederebbe più tempo, e penna più maestrevole. A dir però qualche cosa, non mi pare ch'errar potesse di molto chi le riducesse a' capi seguenti.

L'ignoranza delle leggi fisiche della natura dovette in primo luogo condur l'uomo a dilettersi del maraviglioso. Vedeo egli sgorgare da limpida sorgente, o scorrere mormorando fra le verdi rive un ruscello: vedeva germogliare anno per anno le piante, rifiorir gli alberi, e coprirsi di fronda: vedea la notte al giorno, e [272] il giorno alla notte vicendevolmente

¹⁴ Xenophon (c. 430-355 B.C.): Greek historiographer.

¹⁵ Titus Livius (c. 59 B.C.-17 A.D.): Roman historiographer.

succedersi, e il Sole per gl'interminabili spazj del Cielo con invariabil corso aggirarsi finchè si nascondeva agli occhi suoi sotto l'orizzonte. E non potendo rinvenire per mancanza di quella intellettuale attività, che fa vedere la concatenazione delle cause coi loro effetti, le occulte fisiche forze, che facevano scorrere quel fiume, vegetar quella pianta, e mover quel Sole, trovarono più facile inventar certi agenti invisibili, a' quali la cura commettessero di produrre simili effetti. Quindi s'immaginarono un Dio, il quale giacendo in umida grotta, e incoronato d'alga, e di giunchi da un'urna di cristallo versasse le acque, e una Napea ascosa dentro alla scorza degli alberi, che il nutritivo umor sospingendo verso l'estremità, fosse la cagion prossima della loro verzura e frechezza, e parimenti un Apollo si finsero, il quale, avendo la fronte cinta de' raggi, guidasse colle briglie d'oro in mano il carro luminoso del giorno. Quindi, dando anima e corpo a tutti i fisici principj dell'universo, popolarono di Numi gli elementi, il Cielo, e l'inferno persino, ampio argomento di superstizione a' creduli mortali, e lar-[273]ga messe a' poeti, che s'appropriarono affine di soggiogare l'immaginazione de' popoli.

Questa avvivata dalle due passioni più naturali all'uomo, il timore cioè e la speranza, giunse a perfino a credere le sue finzioni medesime, e a compiacersene. Le credette, perchè un sistema, che spiegava materialmente i fenomeni della natura, era più adattato a quegli uomini grossolani, su i quali aveano i sensi cotanto imperio. Sen compiacque perchè l'amor proprio, quel mobile supremo dell'uman cuore, vi trovava per entro il suo conto. Siccome supponevasi, che quella folla di Deità si mischiasse negli affari degli uomini, e ch'esse agevolmente divenissero amiche loro o inimiche, così nell'uomo cresceva la stima di se, e la fiducia veggendosi assistito da tanti Numi. Se incorreva in qualche disastro, immaginavasi di essere di tanta importanza al Cielo, ch'esso manderebbe all'improvviso una truppa di cotai Genj per iscamparlo. Se gli andava a male qualche intrapresa, non dovea incolparsi per ciò la propria imprudenza o poca destrezza, ma bensì il maligno talento di quello invisibile spirito, che perseguitavalo occultamente. Non erano, secondo i [274] Trojani, il rapimento d'Elena, o gli oltraggi recati alla Grecia le cagioni delle loro disavventure, ma l'odio inveterato d'alcuni Iddj contro la famiglia di Laomedonte.¹⁶ Non erano i Greci coloro, che nell'orribil notte dell'incendio portavano scorrendo per ogni dove la strage: era la Dea Giunone, che minacciosa e terribile appiccava con una fiaccola in mano il fuoco alle porte Scee: era l'implacabil Nettuno, che scuotendo col tridente le mura, le faceva dai fondamenti crollare. S'Enea abbandona Didone, è perchè un Nume gliel comanda, e se i Trij dopo sette mesi di resistenza s'arrendono ad Alessandro, non è per mancanza di coraggio, gli è, perchè Ercole è comparso in sogno al celebre conquistatore offerendogli la chiavi della Città. Dal che si vede, che gli uomini si diletano del maraviglioso mossi dal medesimo principio, che gli spinge a crearsi in mente quegli Idoli immaginarj chiamati fortuna e destino, per fare, cioè, maggiormente illusione a se stessi.

Un altro fonte del piacere, che recan le favole, si è l'istinto che ci porta a cercar la nostra felicità. Dotati da una parte di facoltà molteplici sì interne che esterne, e dall'altra collocati [275] in circostanze, ove i mezzi di soddisfarle sono sì scarsi, e dove i mali vengono sovente ad amareggiare i frali ed interrotti piaceri della loro vita, gli uomini non hanno altro supplemento che il desiderio vivo d'esser felici, e l'immaginazione che si finge i mezzi di divenirlo. Però, accumulando col pensiero tutti i beni, che a ciascun senso appartengono, e il numero loro e l'intensità quanto si può amplificando, giunsero a inventare i favolosi Paradisi, ovvero sia luoghi di delizie, i quali sappiamo a tutte le nazioni essere stati comuni. E gli alberi dell'Esperidi, onde poma [sic] d'oro pendevano, e gli eterni Zeffiri, che leggierramente scherzavano tra le frondi dei mirti nelle campagne di Cipro, e i rivi di latte e miele che scorrevano nelle Isole fortunate, e i dilettoni boschetti d'Adoni nell'Arabia, e gli orti

¹⁶ Laomedontes: King of Troy.

d'Alcinoo, e i Tempe di Tessaglia, e i giardini d'Armida, e il voluttuoso cinto di Venere, e l'immortali donzelle, che il sagace Maometto destinò ai piaceri de' suoi fedeli musulmani dopo la morte loro, non altronde ebbero principio se non se dai voli dell'inquieta immaginazione avvivata dal desiderio di godere di tutte le delizie possibili.

[276] L'ultima causa è l'amore della novità. O perchè l'essenza del nostro spirito è riposta nell'azione continua, o perchè, essendo di capacità indefinita, non trova alcun oggetto individuale, che a pieno il soddisfaccia, onde nasce il desiderio di percorrere tutti gli oggetti possibili, o perchè l'ingenita tendenza al piacere lo spinge a variare le sue modificazioni per scoprire tutte le relazioni, che hanno le cose con esso lui, o per qualche altra causa a noi sconosciuta, certo è, che l'uomo è naturalmente curioso. La quale facoltà diviene in lui così dominante, che qualora gli manchino oggetti reali, su cui esercitarsi, s'inoltra persin nel mondo delle astrazioni a fine di trovarvi pascolo. A soddisfare siffatta inquietezza sono conducenti la mitologia e le favole. Che le cose accaggiano secondo l'ordinario tenore, ciò non desta la meraviglia, ma il sentire avvenimenti stravaganti e impensati, il vedere una folla d'Iddj, i quali sospendono il corso regolare della natura, e intorno a cui non osiamo pensare se non se pieni di quel terrore sublime, che ispira la Divinità, ciò sorprende gli animi consapevoli a se medesimi della propria debolezza, ne risveglia la curiosità-[277]tà, e ne riempie d'un certo sensibile affetto misto d'ammirazione, di riverenza, e di timidezza. Oltredichè la fantasia s'aggrandisce, per così dire, e dilatasi per cotai mezzi. Quando l'immaginazione a sciogliere il nodo altre vie non sa rinvenire che le ordinarie, l'invenzione non può a meno di non essere imbarazzata e ristretta, ma qualora ne abbia essa la facilità di snodar per macchina ogni evento, avendo alla mano il soccorso di codeste intelligenze invisibili, i suoi voli diventano più ardimentosi e più liberi, e l'invenzione più pellegrina. I mezzi naturali non sariano stati sufficienti a liberar Telemaco dalle perigliose dolcezze dell'isola di Calipso, vi voleva Minerva, che dall'altro d'uno scoglio sospingendolo in mare, cavasse il poeta d'impaccio, e mettesse in sicuro la troppa combattuta virtù del giovane Eroe. Perciò gli antichi, i quali sapevano più oltre di noi nella cognizione dell'uomo, stimarono esser la favola tanto necessaria alla poesia quanto l'anima al corpo, all'opposito d'alcuni moderni, che volendo tutte le belle arti al preteso vero d'una certa loro astratta filosofia ridurre, mo-[278]strano di non intendersi molto nè dell'una nè dell'altra. [a Voltaire considerato generalmente e giustamente come l'Oracolo di Delfo nelle materie di gusto, inveisce contro a questa fredda filosofia: E' insorta (dic'egli) fra noi una setta di persone dure, che si chiamano solide, di spiriti malinconici dicentisi giudiziosi perchè sono privi d'immaginazione, d'uomini letterati, e nemici delle Lettere, che vorrebbero mandar in esiglio la bell'antichità, e la favola.

Astianatte (Florence, 1701)

Libretto by Antonio Salvi (with a number of arias by Pietro Antonio Bernardoni), originally set by Giacomo Antonio Perti.

Act I scene 15

[*Tempio con Altare.*

Deti (i.e. Oreste, Ermione, e Comparsa d'Oreste), *Pirro*, *Creonte*, *Astianatte vestito di bianco*, *Paggi con bacili*, *Sacerdoti*, *Guardie di Pirro*, e *Popolo*. [...] *I Sacerdoti prendono Astianatte, lo posano sull' Altare, lo legano, lo bendano.*]

Deti, e Andromaca.

ANDROMACA

Pirro, del tuo furore
L'ultime prove a rimirar vengh' io.

CREONTE

Che fia?

ORESTE

Respiro.

ERMIONE

Oh Dio?

ANDROMACA

Vedrò, se tanto cuore
In faccia de' tuo' Dei,
Su gli occhi miei, sotto il materno ciglio,
Hai di svenare un innocente Figlio.

PIRRO

Sono amante, e son Re: provi il rigore
Chi disprezza'l mio amore.

Astianatte (Naples, 1725)

Salvi's libretto as adapted by an anonymous poet for Leonardo Vinci.

Act I scene 10

[*Tempio di Giunone con altare nel mezzo, ed apparato di Sacrificio.*

Ermione, *Oreste*, *Pirro*, *Clearte*, *Astianatte vestito di bianco*, *Paggi con Bacili*, *Ministri*, *Guardie di Pirro*, e *Popolo*. [...] *Li Ministri al comando del Re pongono sull' Ara Astianatte, lo legano, e lo bendano.*]

Andromaca, e detti.

ANDROMACA

Pirro, del tuo furore
L'ultime prove e [sic] rimirar vengh' io.

CLEARTE

Che fia?

ORESTE

Respiro.

ERMIONE

Oh dio!

ANDROMACA

Vedrò, se tanto cuore
In faccia de' tuoi Dei,
Sull' occhi miei, sotto il materno ciglio
Hai di svenar un innocente figlio.

PIRRO

Son amante, e son Re: provi il rigore
Chi disprezza il mio amore.

L'Andromaca (Florence, 1728)

The same drama as presented as a *pasticcio* featuring music by Vinci and others.

Act I scene 11

[*Tempio con Altare nel mezzo, preparato per il Il Sacrificio.*

Ermione, *Pirro*, *Clearte*, *Astianatte vestito di bianco*, *Paggi con bacili*, *Ministri*, e *Guardie di Pirro*, e *Popolo*. [...] *I ministri al comando del Re pongono su l'Altare Astianatte, e lo bendano.*]

Andromaca da una parte, poi Oreste con seguito dall'altra, e i suddetti.

ANDROMACA

Pirro del tuo furore
A rimirar l'ultime prove io venni.

ORESTE

(Respiro.)

ERMIONE

(Aime!)

CLEARTE

(Che fia?)

ANDROMACA

Vedrò, s'hai tanto cuore,
Che basti ad eseguir l'empio consiglio
Di trucidarmi, o crudo,
Anche su gli occhj miei,
Anche in faccia alli Dei, l'unico Figlio.

PIRRO

Son Amante, e son Re: provi il rigore
Chi disprezza l'amore.

ANDROMACA
E ancor pretendi...

PIRRO
Non più.

CREONTE
Risolvi.

PIRRO
Sì; Creonte, prendi *Gli dà la Spada.*
 Uno de' Sacerdoti gli porge da lavar le mani

Così spengo appoco appoco
Pria coll' acqua, indi col sangue

Del mio cor l' ingiusto fuoco.

ANDROMACA
Ah fede? Ah Figlio? Ed io resisto ancora?
 Pirro s' ascinga le mani.

ORESTE
Che più desio vedere?

ERMIONE
Oreste spera.

PIRRO
E pur non si commuove! Alma di fiera?
Prendo l' acciar...

ANDROMACA
Sento gelarmi il cuore.
 Un altro Sacerdote gli porge il coltello.

PIRRO
E voi del Greco Impero
Sommi Dei Tutelari, al di cui Nume
Questa vittima sveno...

ANDROMACA
Se più resisto, ho d' adamante il seno.

ANDROMACA
E ancor pretendi...

PIRRO
Non più.

CLEARTE
Risolvi.

PIRRO
Sì, Clearte, prendi. *gli dà la spada*

ANDROMACA
Ah fede! Ah figlio! ed io resisto ancora [sic]?

ORESTE
Che più voglio vedere?

ERMIONE
Ermione, spera.

PIRRO
E pur non si commuove! Alma di fiera!
Prendo l' acciar...

ANDROMACA
Sento gelarmi il cuore.
 Un Ministro porge il coltello a Pirro.

PIRRO
E tu del Greco impero,
Deità tutelare, al di cui Nume
Questa vittima sveno...

ANDROMACA
Se piu resisto hò d' adamante il seno.

ANDROMACA
E ancor pretendi?....

PIRRO
Non più.

CLEARTE
Risolvi omai. *ad Andromaca*

PIRRO
Prendi [ò] fido Clearte.
Dà la spada a Clearte, ed uno de' ministri
gli porge da lavar le mani.
A poco a poco
Così estinguo coll' acqua,
Indi col sangue
Del mio schermito amor l' ingiusto fuoco.

ANDROMACA
Ahi fede! Ahi Sposo! Ahi Figlio!

ERMIONE
Oreste, spera.

PIRRO
(E pur non si commove! Alma di fiera.)
Stringo l' acciario.

ANDROMACA
(Ah mi si gela il core!)

PIRRO
O Voi del Greco Impero
Deità Tutelari, al di cui Nume
Questa Vittima, io sveno.....

ANDROMACA
(Se più resisto hò d' Adamante il seno.)

PIRRO

Gradite l' olocausto, il di cui sangue...

ANDROMACA

Si salvi il Figlio, e poi si cada esangue.

PIRRO

Renda eterno, e tenace

Fra la Grecia, e l' Epiro

Il sacro nodo d' amistà, di pace. *Vuol ferire.*

ANDROMACA

Ferma, Pirro, e conserva

La mia prole innocente: a' piedi tuoi

Eccomi qual mi vuoi, tua sposa, o serva.

[...]

PIRRO

Gradisci l' olocausto, il di cui sangue...

ANDROMACA

Si salvi il figlio, e poi si cada esangue.

PIRRO

Renda eterno, e tenace

Fra la Grecia, e l' Epiro

Il sacro nodo d' amicizia, e pace. *vuol ferire*

ANDROMACA

Ferma. Pirro, e conserva

La mia prole innocente;

Eccomi qual mi vuoi tua sposa, o serva.

[...]

PIRRO

Gradite l' olocausto, il di cui sangue...

ANDROMACA

(Salvisi il Figlio, e poi si cada esangue.)

PIRRO

Renda eterno, e tenace

Fra la Grecia, e l' Epiro

Il sacro nodo d' amistà, e di pace.

vuol ferire.

ANDROMACA

Ferma, Pirro, e conserva

La mia Prole innocente. A piedi tuoi

Eccomi qual mi vuoi, tua Sposa, o serva

[...]

APPENDIX 2.2

RELIGIOUS-INSPIRED DISCLAIMERS: AN ANTHOLOGY

Strozzi *La Delia, o sia La sera sposa del sole* (Venice, 1639), 8:

[...] le voci Fortuna, Fato, Destino, Sorte, e simiglianti sono leggierezze Poetiche, e non sentenze Teologali.

Tiraboschi *L'Alcate* (Venice, 1642), 96:

Le parole di Paradiso, Beato, e simili si devono intendere conforme l'uso de Poeti Gentili, che non scherzare tra le delitie di Parnaso se non con simili maniere.

Sbarra *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso* (Venice, 1651), [s.n.]:

Vivi felice, e ricordati, che le parole Fortuna, Fato, Destino, Deità, e simili sono in conformità della falsa credenza de i Personaggi introdotti; ch'io mi protesto di scriver da Poeta, e creder da Christiano.

Passarelli *L'Endimione* (Ferrara, 1655), 8:

Le parole Deità, Fato, Destino, e simili le dettesto come Christiano, ne voglio che tu le ammetta da me usate se non in Poetica superficie: io vivo Cattolico, ama ancor tu il prossimo, e vivi lieto.

Conti *Bellerofonte* (Rome, 1690), 4:

Perdonami certe voci prese con retinenza, solamente per secondare l'inclinazione della Scena, & dove trovi: Destino, Fato & c. distingui la mia professione Cattolica dall'uso Poetico; E vivi felice.

David *La forza della virtù* (Venice, 1693), 8:

Tutto ciò, che si ramenta dal *Rogatis* nel quinto volume delle sue Storie di Spagna, viene da me circa alcuni particolari, alteratoessendo [sic] concesso al Poeta il mutar' il vero, e ridurlo a quella natura del verisimile, che può introdur nobiltà d'azione, e movimento d'affetti. Il nome di D. Pietro viene cangiato nel presente Drama in quello di Fernando, il nome di Bianca in quello di Clotilde, ed il nome di Maria in quello d'Anagilda: ciò perchè meglio si acconcia all'uso della Scena, & alla venerazione della Chiesa.

Neri *Basilio rè d'Oriente* (Venice, 1696), 10:

Già sò che le Parole, Fato, Destino, Deità, e simili sono da tè conosciute per le Spine Poetiche di quelle Rose Catoliche, che m'incoronano la fronte, e m'imbalsamo il core, con che t'auguro felecità, &c.

Neri *L'Erifile* (Venice, 1697), 8:

Già nelle voci Deità, Fato, Destino, Sorte, e simili tù vedi l'infelicità degli Antichi Idolatri, che dovendo parlar con questi termini non pregiudicano punto a' sentimenti Cattolici, che mi portano il cuore sul labro ad augurarti felicità.

Piovene *Marsia deluso* (Venice, 1714), 5:

Le voci, Fato, Numi, Dio, e simili, saranno intese da Voi con la dovuta relazione alle persone introdotte; anzi io vengo ad incontrar con piacere l'occasione di mettervi dinanzi agli occhi le azioni de' Numi adorati già da' Pagani, sperando, che ciò possa dar maggiormente a conoscere la cecità del Gentilesimo, ed aumentare la gloria della nostra Cattolica Fede.

Anonymous *La Cerere* (Rome, 1740), 2:

Quelle forme di parlare, che nel presente Componimento si trovano aliene da' santissimi sentimenti di nostra Religione sono adoperate dal Cattolico Autore per solo vezzo della Poesia.

Pizzi *Creso* (Rome, 1757), 5:

Quanto si legge nel presente Dramma non conforme a i dettami di nostra Santa Religione, è usato dal Cattolico Autore per vezzo della volgar Poesia, e per uniformarsi a' Caratteri [sic] degli Autori imbevuti di una falsa credenza.

Frugoni *Ippolito ed Aricia* (Parma, 1759), Argomento¹:

Tutto ciò, che sentir può gentilesimo, o favola, si prenda per ornamento tollerato dalla poesia, e disapprovato dalla vera religione dell'autore.

¹ Cited from RUSSO 2005, 8.

APPENDIX 2.3

GIACOMO FRANCESCO BUSSANI *ENEAS IN ITALIA (VENICE, 1675) – I,1-2*

SCENA I.

Notturna.

Reggia del Fato in Cielo Stellato.
In Terra spiaggia Latina ingombrata
da Padiglioni con l'Essercito
addormentato di Enea. In Mare
Armata Navale illuminata da Faci,
e da Fanali.

*Venere. Il Fato in atto di scrivere. Enea,
Che dorme sotto Regio Padiglione.*

VENERE

Ombre cieche, Horror notturni
Già spiegò la Dea Triforme¹.
Tombe voi de' giorni estinti
Accogliete un Rè, che dorme:
Che giusto è ben, che l'Uom nel sonno assorto
Sepolto sia; s'egli dormendo è morto.
O tù, che scrivi in sù' volumi eterni
Con penna di Zafiro
Le sorti umane, e de Regnanti 'l caso,
Dimmi : Enea trionferà?
Vincerà?
Quando Roma sorgerà?

FATO

Torni, ò bella Ciprigna²,
Su'l rubin' animato
Del vago labro à balenar' il riso.
Premerà un dì la Sorte
Il tuo gran Figlio; ora, che stanco, e lasso
Calpesta il suo destin premendo un sasso.
*Quì da nubi si svela Roma
in lontananza.*
Mira colà, come trà fasce eterne
D'auree zone rotanti
Bambin vagisce il formidabil Soglio :
Vedi nascente il Tebro, e il Campidoglio.

VENERE

Enea, tù dormi; e per te veglia il Fato.
Destati, sù; che de l'heroiche Imprese
Remora è il pigro sonno.
Dal tuo Ceppo regal d'Heroi fecondo
Nascerà Roma, e sarà Roma il Mondo.

¹ 'Triplicate goddess': Hecate, representing the darkness of night.

² 'Cyprian goddess': Venus.

à2.

Sinche il Sol dai Globi erranti
I tuo' Raggi scaglierà,
Trà Monarchi, e frà Regnanti
Il tuo Soglio,
Il Campidoglio
Immortal risplenderà.
Così giace, e così stà.

SCENA II.

Enea svegliato.

Venere, Madre (oh Dio!)
Il bel sereno à me sì tosto involi ?
Con quai dolci Fantasmi
In grembo al duol l'anima mia consoli ?
[...]

APPENDIX 2.4

NICCOLO JOMELLI *DIDONE ABBANDONATA* *Mk. III* (STUTT GART, 1763) – I,1

Handwritten musical score for *Didone Abbandonata*, Act III, Scene 1, by Niccolò Jommelli. The score is written on ten staves. The first three staves show a vocal line with lyrics "Fiducia (ci dice, el' a =". The next three staves show a vocal line with lyrics "Fiducia (ci dice, el' a =". The next three staves show a vocal line with lyrics "Fiducia (ci dice, el' a =". The final staff shows a vocal line with lyrics "Fiducia (ci dice, el' a =". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "F" (forte) and "P" (piano).

[illegible]

tua promessa intesa allor che mi invitasti a baciarmi donna, e me! giurasti.
 Pesto
 E tu, fra tanti inganni alla Patria, al te stesso
 Pesto

[illegible]

Allegro

fui
fui

mi' quando con tutto ciglio, e nudo. Delo D'avor.
fui

fui
fui

fui
fui

APPENDIX 5.1

JOMMELLI *L'IFIGENIA* (ROME, 1751): AGEMENNONE "FIGLIA, QUALOR TI MIRO" (II,4), MM. 1-32

Handwritten musical score for Jommelli's *L'Ifigenia*, Act II, Scene 4, measures 1-32. The score is for Agamemnon's aria "Figlia, qualor ti miro". The tempo is marked *Larghetto* and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

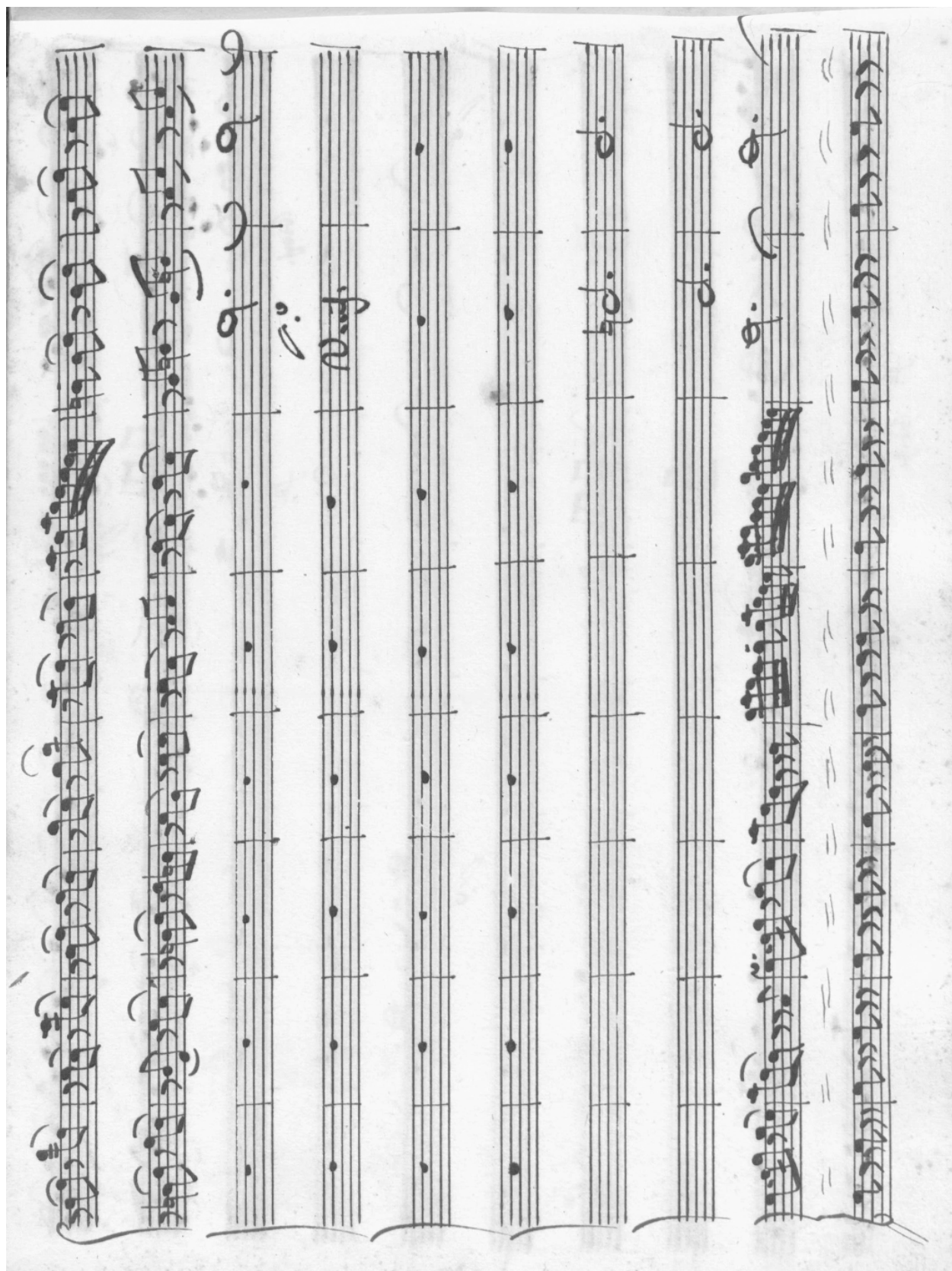
The score is written for the following instruments:

- Voice (Tenor)
- Piano (P)
- Violin I (Vln I)
- Violin II (Vln II)
- Viola (Vla)
- Cello (Cello)
- Double Bass (Basso)
- Flute (Flauto)
- Oboe (Oboe)
- Corn (Corni)
- Trumpet (Tromba)
- Drum (Tamburo)

The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. The tempo is marked *Larghetto*. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The lyrics are written below the staves.

Lyrics: *gelo d'orror gelo d'orror sospira treme treme ne so' = parlar =*



52

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The first staff has a '52' in the left margin. The second staff has a 'ff' marking. The third staff has a 'p' marking. The fourth staff has a 'p' marking. The fifth staff has a 'p' marking. The sixth staff has a 'p' marking. The seventh staff has a 'p' marking. The eighth staff has a 'p' marking. The ninth staff has a 'p' marking. The tenth staff has a 'p' marking.

APPENDIX 5.2

IFIGENIA “TACER MI CONVIENE” (II,10), MM. 23-52



For il pianto de pene, son moue d'amor ah! Il pio adorato Paffanno m'uccide il barbaro

116

Mio d'atemi diu de più tu non sarò più tu non sarò

Tacermi son =

5

f

f

f

f

f

f



7

p

p

p

p

p

p

17

p

p

p

Pria che nell' o - re e - stre - me ne in - - -

p



19

f

f

p

f

p

f

f

f

gom - bri il gel di mor - te.

f

21

p

p

p

Pria che ci u - nis - ca in - sie - me la

p



23

[p]

[p]

f

f

f

f

f

dis - pie - ta - - te sor - te,

f

25

p

dam - mi un' ab - brac - cio, o ca - ro, in pe - gno del tuo a



27

p

mor. Dam - mi, o ca - ro, dam - mi un' ab - brac - cio in

30

pe - gno del tuo a - mor in peg - no del tuo a



32

mor in peg - no del tuo a - mor.

IFIGENIA “AHI PADRE... E IL SANGUE MIO” (III,9)

208

13

pian-to in-u-ti-le raf-fre-na; e ti sov-ven-ga, che a te sce-ma la for-za, e a me il co-rag-gio.



17

rinforzando

Pen-sa, che for-te e sag-gio tu sem-pre fos-ti: Or di co-stan-za ar-ma-to ce-di al-le



22

Andante

stel-le, ed u-bi-dis-ci-al fa-to...

61

p *f* *p* *f* *cresc. il f* *cresc. il f* *cresc. il f*

ral; che l'a - ria os - cu - ra di splen - dor, di splen - dor si ri -

cresc. il f



64

Allegro

ves - te... In grem-bo al ma - re

67

bian - cheg - gia - no le spu - me, si des - ta il ven - to,



70

Con spirito

ed è pla - ca - to il nu - me, si, si a - dem - pia il des - tin. O - là mi -

73 Clitennestra Agamemnone Ifigenia

nis - tri, sus - ci - ta - te la fiam - ma. Ahi fi - glia! Ahi fi - glia! Ques - ti va - ni so - spi - ri

76 Con spirito

ces-si-no per pie-tà. La mia co-stan-za no-va for-za, e vir-tù vi des-ti in se-no Di ge-ni-tor, di

p

81

ma - dre og - ni te - ne-ro a - mor va - da in o - bli - o. Ven - di -

f

84

ca - te, ven - di - ca - te la pa - tria, e il san - gue mi - o.

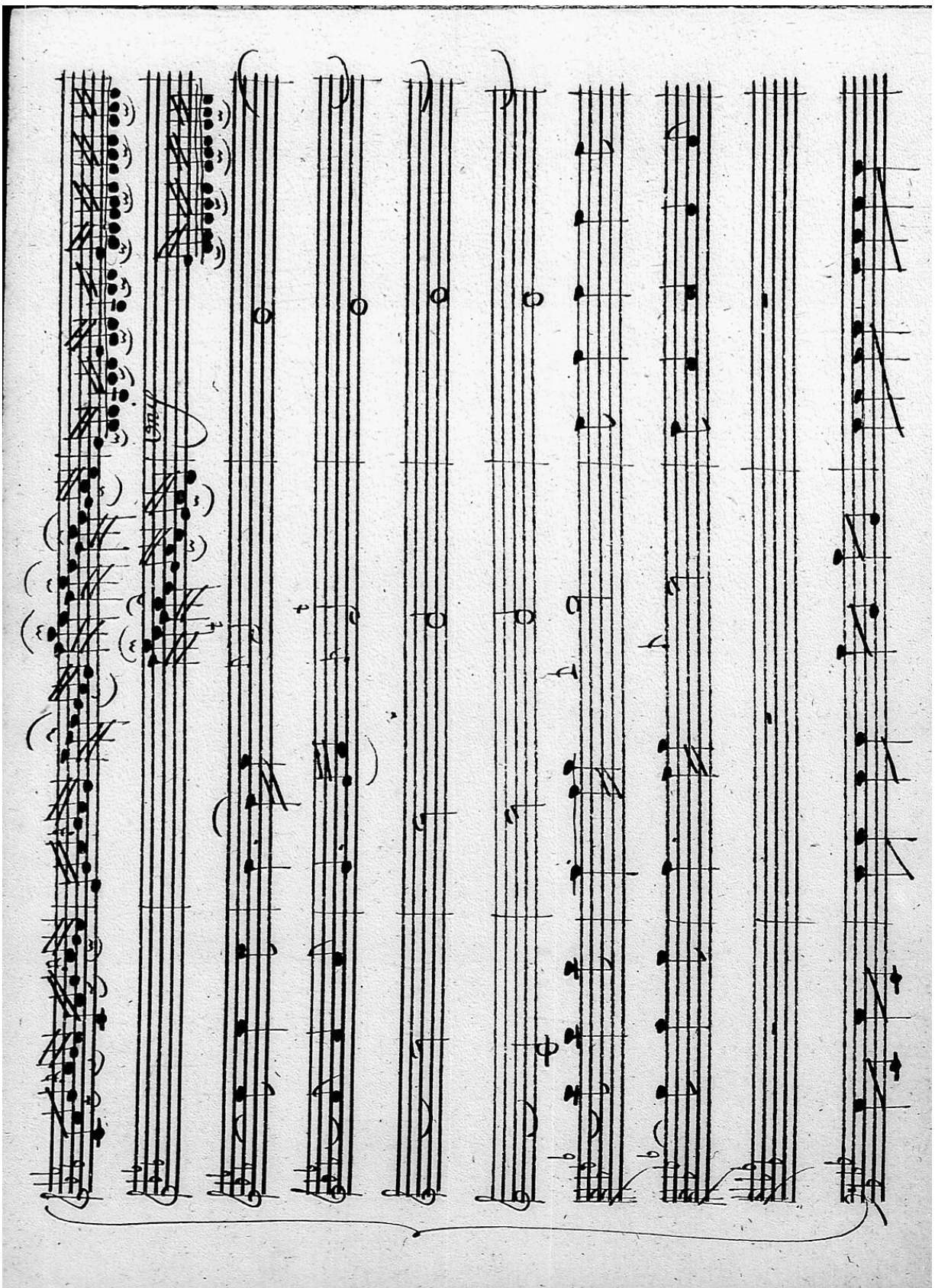
Sieque

APPENDIX 5.5

JOMMELLI *DIDONE Mk. II* (VIENNA, 1749): IARBA “FOSCA NUBE” (II,6), MM. 1-4.

40

The musical score is written on ten staves. The first staff is for Violini (Violins), the second for Oboe, the third for Corni (Horns), the fourth for Fagotto (Bassoon), the fifth for Cello, and the sixth for Double Bass. The score is in common time (C) and has a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The tempo is marked "Tempo giusto". The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p" (piano) and "f" (forte). The score is handwritten and shows signs of age, with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side.



APPENDIX 6.1
CHRISTIAN GOTTFRIED KRAUSE
VON DER MUSIKALISCHEN POESIE
(1752): EXCERPT

[447] Iphigenia in Aulis giebt die schönste, einfachste und rührendste Materie zu einem Singspiel ab. In dem ersten Aufzuge stellt die Vörderbühne einen Busch mit der der Göttin Diana geweihten Höle vor. In der [448] Entfernung siehet man das Meer, den Hafen Aulis, und etwas von der griechischen Flotte. Agamemnon sagt zu seinem Vertrauten, dem Arkas, daß er seit einigen Tagen so schwermüthig gewesen, das komme daher, weil die Flotte gar keinen Wind zum Auslaufen bekäme. Er sey also im Begriff, das Orakel um Rath zu fragen, und er thut solches in einem rührenden Accompagnement. Das Orakel antwortet, er solle seine Tochter opfern. Schrecken und Schmerz nehmen den Agamemnon ein, und er drückt sie, wiederum in einer Art von Accompagnement aus. Er weiß nicht, was dabey zu thun ist. Er hat der Königin geschrieben, sie möchte mit ihrer Tochter ins Lager kommen, und er erwartet sie in kurzem. Dem Achilles, der Iphigenia Bräutigam, hat er auch melden lassen, daß er seine Braut hier antreffen werde, und selbiger soll gleichfalls bald von seiner siegreichen Unternehmung auf Lesbos ankommen. Agamemnon geräth darüber in eine große Tiefsinnigkeit, und Arkas redet ihm in einer Arie zu, sich zu fassen, und versichert, daß er für seinen König alles zu unternehmen bereit sey. Agamemnon entschließet sich endlich, und giebt dem Arkas im Recitativ Befehl, der Königin entgegen zu eilen, und ihr zu sagen, daß sie wieder umkehren möchte. Arkas gehet ab. Agamemnon geräth über die Betrachtung seiner verdrüßlichen Umstände in Unwillen, und sagt in einer Arie, daß er das Meer doch wohl zwingen wolle, ohne den grausamen Ausspruch der [449] Götter zu erfüllen. Hierauf gehet er ab, und es verbindet sich mit dem Ritornell der Arie ein lautes und freudiges Geräusch der Instrumente, unter welchem die Hinterbühne sich aufthut, und man das völlige Meergestade, und des Achilles Flotte mit Siegesfahnen geziert, ankommen sieht. Die Griechen eilen herbey, bewillkommen den Achilles in einem Chor, und wünschen ihm wegen der geschwinden Eroberung Lesbos Glück. Nach Endigung des Chors läßt sie Achilles abgehen, um mit den Priester Calcantes zu reden, den er versichert, daß er seinen Sieg nicht geschwind genug habe vollführen können, da er vernehme, daß Iphigenia hier im Lager ankommen werde. Calcantes, der den Ausspruch des Orakels weiß, sucht ihm die Gedanken von der Liebe auszureden, und ihm nur zur Tapferkeit anzuspornen. Achilles aber versichert in einer Arie, daß ihn die Liebe zu desto größerer Ruhmbegierde anreizen solle. Er gehet ab, um den Agamemnon zu suchen. Calcantes verfällt darüber in nachdenkliche Betrachtungen, und singt in einer Arie rührende Gedanken über die Wege der Vorsicht. Agamemnon kommt dazu, und sagt zum Calcantes, daß er den Achilles noch nicht gesprochen, auch noch nicht sprechen wolle; Calcantes solle ihn suchen und aufhalten. Dieser gehet auch ab; aber gleich kommt Arkas, und sagt, die Königin wäre mit ihrer Tochter schon im Lager angelanget. Die Prinzessin folget demselben auf dem Fuße, und da ihr Agamemnon wenig antwortet, [450] und nur sagt, sie sey eines glücklichern Vaters würdig, so preiset sie ihn in einer Arie für den größten und glücklichsten König unter den Griechen. Agamemnon will sich aber doch nicht deutlicher erklären, sondern sagt nur in einer Arie, daß sie von seinem Schmerz nichts verstehe, und ein zärtlicher Vater nicht allemal reden könne; womit er sie voller Gedanken verläßt. Aber es kommt Achilles dazu, freuet sich, sie zu sehen, tröstet sie, und endlich versichern sie sich in einem Duett, ihrer beyderseitigen Zärtlichkeit und Treue.

Hierauf folgt ein Ballet zwischen den Officieren des Achilles, und dem Frauenzimmer von der Königin Gefolge. Die Devise ist: **Tapferkeit wird durch die Liebe belohnt.** In einem *pas de deux* tanzen ein Mars und eine Venus mit einander.

Im zweyten Aufzuge stellet die Gegend einen Wald nahe am Lager vor. Agamemnon sagt zum Calcantes, er könne unmöglich seine Tochter opfern lassen. Dieser aber redet ihm zu, verweist ihm in einer Arie auf die große Pflicht der Könige, das Wohl des Staats ihrer Zärtlichkeit vorzuziehen, und gehet ab. Agamemnon giebt dem Arkas einen Brief an die Clytemnestra, daß sie mit der Prinzessin wieder zurück reisen möchte, weil Achilles erst nach Eroberung Trojens Beylager halten wolle; er könne sie vor Verdruß nicht sprechen ec. [451] Agamemnon gehet auf einer Seite ab; Arkas auf der andern, dem aber die Clytemnestra und Iphigenia begegnen. Er übergiebt den Brief, und verläßt sie. Nach Lesung desselben ermahnet Clytemnestra ihre Tochter in einer Arie, jetzt den Achilles so sehr zu hassen, als sie ihn vorhin geliebet. Die Iphigenia wird darüber ganz bestürzt, und vergißt so gar ihrer abgehenden Mutter zu folgen; beklagt sich in einem Soliloquio über des Achilles Untreue, der aber eben dazu kommt. Allein sie hört ihn nicht an, sondern läßt in einer Arie ihren ganzen Unwillen wieder ihn aus, und gehet ab. Achilles weiß nicht, was dieses sagen will, beklagt sich in einer Arie über diese Vorwürfe, und rühmt den besondern Werth seiner Zärtlichkeit. Beym Abgehen begegnet ihm Arkas, und fragt nach der Clytemnestra. Achilles antwortet, er habe nur die Iphigenia gesehen. Zu gleicher Zeit erscheinet die Königin und ihre Tochter, am Ende der Schaubühne. Arkas gehet an sie heran. Als sie aber den Achilles sehen, wollen sie nicht stehen bleiben. Arkas bringt sie endlich doch zusammen, um ihnen zu sagen, daß Calcantes den Agamemnon in seinem Zelt dahin gebracht, daß er nach der Götter Ausspruch die Iphigenia wolle opfern lassen; man erwarte sie nur am Altare; er, Arkas, aber halte sich verbunden, es ihnen anzuzeigen. Sie begreifen also alle drey, was ihnen bisher ein Geheimniß gewesen, und Clytemnestra bittet den Achilles, ihre Tochter zu schützen; er versichert sie seines Eyfers, [452] und schmäheth auf Agamemnon; und Iphigenia heisset ihn, den Vater respectiren, und will Abschied nehmen; welches alles den Inhalt eines Terzettes ausmacht. Indem sie auf einer Seite abgehen wollen, und Achilles solches auf der andern Seite wirklich gethan, sehen sie den Agamemnon in tiefen Gedanken komen. Clytemnestra redet ihn spöttisch an, wie sie bereit wäre, ihre Tochter zum Altare zu führen. Die Thränen verhindern sie aber, weiter zu sprechen. Agamemnon weiß nicht, was er sagen soll. Allein Iphigenia versichert ihn, daß sie sterben wolle; nur bittet sie, in dem rührendsten Accompagnement, wo es möglich, solle er ihrer Mutter dieses Herzeleid nicht machen. Doch da er den Willen der Götter vorschützt, so nimmt sie in einer Arie von beyden Eltern beweglichst Abschied, und gehet ab. Die Mutter, die so lange geschwiegen, und gesehen, daß das Bitten der Tochter fruchtloß gewesen, überläßt sich so dann dem gerechtesten Zorn, in einem Accompagnement und der darauf folgenden Arie, mit Erklärung ihres festen Willens, vor und mit ihrer Tochter zu sterben. Agamemnon, der allein bleibt, hat dieß alles geduldig ertragen, weil er es voraus gesehen, und beklagt sich nur in einer Arie über die Götter, daß sie ihm bey seinen Umständen kein väterlich Herz hätten geben sollen. Im Weggehen begegnet ihm Achilles, der ihn mit Heftigkeit anhält, und wegen der Opferung seiner Tochter zur Rede setzt. Agamemnons königlicher Stolz findet sich da- [453] durch beleidigt, und sie wechseln in einem Duett trotzige Worte und pochende Töne.

Das zweyte Ballet ist zwischen den ungeduldigen Schiffen und den Frauen des Lagers; jene mit Rudern, diese mit kleinen Segelstangen in den Händen. Zephir kan hier ein Solo tanzen, und wenn sie ihn haschen wollen, entfliehn.

Im dritten Act stellet die Schaubühne einen prächtig ausgezierten Theil des griechischen Lagers vor. Calcantes hat eine Menge Griechen um sich versammelt, und klaget ihnen, wie aller Vorstellungen ungeachtet, die väterliche Liebe bey Agamemnon obgesieget, und er seine Tochter dem Opfer entziehen wolle. Er, Calcantes, aber habe schon jemanden bestellt,

der die Flucht verhindern werde. Das Chor antwortet, wie dem Willen der Götter, und ihrer Ruhmbegierde ein Genüge geschehen müsse. Calcantes bestätigt sie darinnen, und entbrennt in einer Arie für Eyfer im Dienst der Götter. Die Griechen gehen darüber ab, und er will es auch thun; es kommt aber Iphigenia mit der Egina, ihrer Vertrauten, welche erstere ihn aufsucht; und sagt, daß sie nunmehr willig sterben wolle. Unter einer Begleitung der sanft aushaltenden Instrumente, ermahnet er sie noch mehr dazu, und gehet ab, um alles zum Opfer zurecht zu machen; Iphigenia solle ihm nur bald folgen. Egina will [454] zwar die Princessin noch abreden, diese aber sagt ihr, daß, wie sie die Soldaten bewaffnet, sich ihr widersetzen, und allenthalben bloße Schwerdter gesehen, wie ihre Leibwache in die Flucht getrieben worden, die Königin in Ohnmacht gefallen, ec. ec. So hätte sie daraus geschlossen, daß die Götter nicht ihre Flucht, sondern ihren Tod haben wollten. Achilles kommt dazu, und sagt ihr vergebens, daß er sie mit seinen Freunden und Soldaten wegführen wolle, wobey er wider den Agamemnon Rachbegierde schwöret. Iphigenia bittet ihn aber in einer Arie, seinen Zorn zu besänftigen, und ihren Vater zu lieben, wofern ihm ihre Ruhe nach ihrem Tode lieb wäre; womit sie abgeht. Egina will ihr folgen, Achilles aber hält sie zurück, und verlangt, sie solle der Princessin andere Gedanken beybringen. Clytemnestra kommt dazu, und fragt, wo ihre Tochter hingekommen. Man antwortet ihr, sie wolle jetzt durchaus sterben. Sie bittet den Achilles nochmals auf das beweglichste, zwar recitativisch, doch mit Begleitung der Instrumente, die Tochter zu schützen. Er verspricht es, und geräth daüber in Wuth, welche er in einer ganz kurzen Arie, die nur einen Theil hat, auf das heftigste ausdrückt. Clytemnestra schlägt darauf vor, er möchte mit seinen Soldaten hieher kommen; sie, die Königin wolle mit der Princessin seiner warten, und deren Befreyung mit ihrer Gegenwart selbst erleichtern helfen. Seine Kühnheit antwortet, er wolle sie be-[455]freyen, wenn er auch noch so viel Widerstand fände; und eilet fort. Clytemnestra gehet ihre Tochter aufzusuchen, und befiehlt der Egina, auf den Achilles zu warten. Das Herz dieser Tugendhaften dünkt ihr, unter allen diesen Unglücksstürmen, noch etwas Hoffnungslicht zu zeigen, und sie drückt solches in einer mäßig langen Arie aus.

Nach Endigung derselben, und da niemand kommt, gehet sie Besorgniß und Unruhe für die Prinzessin, auch ab. Zugleich aber öffnet sich die Hinterbühne, und zeigt sich der Hafen Aulis, in welchem die ganze Flotte der Griechen liegt; ingleichen ein Altar, zu dem man die Iphigenia, unter einem Trauermarsche, und in Begleitung ihrer Eltern und Freunde führet, wornach das Chor singt: Iphigenia sterbe, damit die Götter uns wieder hold werden. Das Chor ist aber noch nicht zu Ende, so springt Achilles mit seinen Soldaten hervor, und will die Iphigenia entführen. Allein, zu gleicher Zeit blitzt es, Diana erscheint, und sagt unter Begleitung der Instrumente, in kurzen und nachdrücklichen Worten, die Götter wären mit dem Gehorsam der Iphigenia zufrieden, es solle an ihrer Stelle eine Hirschin geopfert werden, und die Meerstille werde aufhören; wie denn auch die Schiffe sich gleich zu bewegen anfangen. Jedermann erstaunt. Die Göttin kehrt wieder nach dem Himmel zurück. Während dessen fängt Iphigenia an, in [456] einer Arie den Göttern den rührendsten und brünstigsten Dank zu singen. Hiermit verbindet sich Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, Achilles, ein jedes seinem Antheil gemäß, und so wie Calcantes sie zum Preise des Himmels noch mehr ermahnet, so vereinigt sich endlich der ganze Chor in innigsten und prächtigsten Tönen.

Hierauf folgt ein Ballet der Nereiden und Tritonen, mit ihren Hörnern und zackigten Gabeln. In einem Solo kann Proteus einen künstlichen pantomimischen Tanz machen.

Es find in dieser Oper achtzehn Arien, sieben Accompagnemente von verschiedener Art, zwey Duetten, ein Terzett, und vier Chöre. Es fehlt also nicht an mannigfaltigen Rührungen, und die Oper währet acuh nicht zu lange, wenn der Componist nur einige Arien nicht zu lang machet, sonderlich die, wo die Iphigenia von ihren Eltern Abschied nimmt, die letzte des Achilles, und der Egina ihre, und das Chor bey der Opferung der Iphigenia. Der Componist muß auch in dieser Oper, und sonderlich im letzten Act, mehr auf das Redende und Rührende

in Tönen, als auf weitläufige musikalische Künste sehen. Agamemnon hat zwey Accompagnemente, drey Arien, und ein Duett; Arkas eine Arie; Calcantes drey; Egina eine; Iphigenia sieben; Clytemnestra drey; u. s. f. In der dritten Handlung würde [457] annoch der Componist meistens von der Gewohnheit abgehen können, daß nach einer Arie u. d. g. die Musik einen völligen Abfaß macht, und jederzeit vor dem Recitativ stille schweigt. Die Heftigkeit und das Unerwartete der hier vorkommenden Affecten erfordert, daß man immer die Recitative in die Arien, und die Arien in die Recitative gleich einflechte, ohne sich zu ordentliche Schlüssen Zeit zu lassen.

APPENDIX 6.2

GRAUN *IFIGENIA IN AULIDE* (BERLIN, 1748): AGAMEMNONE “ALTA DIVA” (I,1)

Violini I

Violini II

Viola

Agamemnone

Basso

p

p

[p]

Al - ta di - va che sei Cin - tia nel Cie - lo Di - a - na nel - le

p

5

f

f

[f]

sel - ve Pro - ser - pi na in A - ver - no a te in gra - ve di - sas tro in gra - ve di - sas - tro u - mil ri - cor - ro.

f

9

p

f

p

[p]

[f]

p

[f]

E - ran le nos - tri na - vi di già pron - te al par - tir. Con lie - ti gri - di

13

f *f* *f* *p* *p*

[f] *p*

Tro-ja si mi-nac-cia - va. Ec-co ad un trat-to si fer-ma il ven - to

[f] *p*

16

e ci ab-ban - do - nò in por - to. Sol cal - ma in fes - ta ap -

19

pa - re e stan - ca in - va - no il re - mo il già re - so per noi im - mo - bil

22

f

f

[f]

ma - re. Che fa - re - mo, o gran De - a, nel fie - ro e - ven - to? Ri - tor - ne - re - mo in

25

p

p

p

Gre - cia? D'E - le - na non fa - rem più o - mai ven - det - ta? Bel - la De - a,

29

Bel - la De - a, ci con - sig - lio la sua sal - vez - za

32

un lam - po da te da te as - pet - to.

f *[f]*

34

Violini I

Violini II

Viola

Oracolo I

Oracolo II

Basso

Con-tra Tro - ja pos-

Con-tra Tro - ja pos-

[p] *[p]* *[p]* *[p]* *[p]*

37

sen - te ar - ma - te in va - no se in sa - cri - fi - cio au - gus - to og - gi del san - gue d'E - le - na u - na

sen - te ar - ma - te in va - no se in sa - cri - fi - cio au - gus - to og - gi del san - gue d'E - le - na u - na

f *[f]*

40

fi - glia vit - ti - ma non sve - na - te di Di - a na all' al - tar. Il suo vo -

fi - glia vit - ti - ma non sve - na - te di Di - a na all' al - tar. Il suo vo -

f *p*

44

le - re a voi di chia ra il Ciel per vo - ce mi - a. Per ot - te - ner i ven - ti a voi ne - ga - ti

le - re a voi di chia ra il Ciel per vo - ce mi - a. Per ot - te - ner i ven - ti a voi ne - ga - ti

48 **Allegro**

sa - cri - fi - ca te a lei I - fi - ge - ni - a.

sa - cri - fi - ca te a lei I - fi - ge - ni - a.

f *ff*

52

Quel o - ra - col tre men - do Mi - se-ro

56

me mi - se-ro me che in - ten - do

59

Ge - lo d'or-ror e pal - pi-to Ge - lo d'or-ror e

62

f *p* *[f]* *[p]*

pal - pi-to sen - to man-car - mi il cor sen - to man-car - mi il

f *p*

66

cor sen - to sen - to man-car - - - - - mi il

70

pp *pp* *[pp]*

cor.

pp

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DUTCH SUMMARY

Reeds in het Seicento maakte de Grieks-Romeinse mythologie een ingrijpende evolutie door als onderwerpsreservoir voor Italiaanse opera. Was de Ovidiaanse mythe hét terrein van de *favola per musica* in de Laat-Renaissance en Vroeg-Barok, dan werd ze in de Venetiaanse barokopera uitgehold tot een retorisch *conchetto*, een onderwerp van spot en een excuus voor aria's en spektakel. Toen in de jaren 1690 een nieuwe generatie de krijtlijnen uittekende voor de *opera seria* en zich hiervoor op classistische beginselen beriep, leek de rol van de mythologie voorgoed uitgespeeld. Serialibrettisten gaven de voorkeur aan historische thema's die ze in hun voorwoorden uitgebreid documenteerden. Deze praktijk stond in schril contrast tot de Franse *tragédie en musique*, waarin hoofdzakelijk mythen en ridderromances werden aangewend. Ondanks – of misschien net omwille van – dit alles zou een nieuwe groep hervormers de mythologie rond 1750 weer omarmen. Verlichte figuren als Frederik de Grote en Francesco Algarotti vormden de opera seria om tot subliem totaalgebeuren naar sensualistische maatstaven, en aldooende werd de mythe gerevaloriseerd.

In het eerste hoofdstuk (“The Will for Truth”) wordt de ondergang van de mythologie tussen ca. 1590-1730 in breder cultuurhistorisch licht geplaatst. We tonen aan hoe de opkomst van een *volonté de vérité* (Foucault) in de zeventiende eeuw ervoor gezorgd heeft dat de allegorische interpretatiewijze van de mythe – het stokpaardje van het Florentijnse Neoplatonisme – aan geloofwaardigheid inboette. Mythen golden niet langer als fictieve verschijningen van diepere waarheden, doch als ziektebeelden van primitieve culturen die in tegenspraak stonden met een moderniteit die christelijk en rationalistisch ingesteld was. Deze afkeer voor de mythe kan geattesteerd worden in de poëtica's van La Mesnardière (1639) tot en met Arteaga (1782-5), en bij uitstek in Muratori's *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (1706). In laatstgenoemde traktaat werd namelijk een pleidooi gehouden voor een *poesia seria e nobile* die het tegenbeeld vormde van het Homerische epos en die ‘waarschijnlijke,’ historische plots representeerde. Muratori's stellingen kunnen getoetst worden aan het oeuvre van zijn vriend, de Venetiaanse librettist Apostolo Zeno.

In het tweede hoofdstuk (“Addressing the divine: the ‘numinous’ accompagnato”) gaan we na wat de disciplinerende van het bovennatuurlijke in muziekdramaturgische zin impliceert. We stellen vast dat, hoewel de *deus ex machina* gemeden werd, de verbale suggestie eraan bleef bestaan. Drie fenomenen, geïntroduceerd aan het einde van de

zeventiende eeuw, kunnen hieraan gekoppeld worden. Op cultuurhistorisch vlak was er de censuur vanwege de Inquisitie, die niet toeliet dat heidense goden als ‘God’ aangesproken werden. Op scenografisch vlak was er de introductie van Bibiena’s *scena per angolo* die de centraal geplaatste machinerieën deed verdwijnen en de ‘oneindige’ illusie doorsneed. Ten derde was er de classicistische poëtica, die afkerig stond tegenover dénouements die met een *deus ex machina* gepaard gingen. Paradoxaal genoeg, echter, deed het verdwijnen van het bovennatuurlijke bij de componist het verlangen ontstaan net datgene te suggereren wat onzichtbaar geworden was. Dit verlangen kwam in het bijzonder tot uitdrukking in scènes waarin personages met het bovennatuurlijke in contact traden: invocaties van boven- en onderwereld, *ombra*-scènes, deliria, enzovoort. Dergelijke ‘numineuze’ momenten werden vanaf ca. 1685 met behulp van het orkestrale *recitativo stromentato* beklemtoond.

Het derde hoofdstuk (“Arcadian Moonlight on Endymion”) belicht de houding van de Arcadische Academie tegenover de Endymionmythe, zoals overgeleverd in drie libretti (Christina van Zweden en Guidi, 1688; Lemene, 1692; Metastasio, 1721). Bij het toetsen van libretto en partituur aan traktaten (Crescimbeni, Gravina, Mezzabarba), gaan we na hoe de representatie van een ‘onmogelijke’ liefde tussen de kuise godin Diana en de godvruchtige herder-jager Endymion op sterk uiteenlopende manieren voorgesteld werd door leden van dezelfde poëtische beweging.

Het vierde hoofdstuk (“From *Effeminato* to *Virtuoso*”) belicht de impact van Fénelons bestseller *Les aventures de Télémaque* (1699) op de opera seria, en meerbepaald op Alessandro Scarlatti’s *Telemaco* (Rome, 1718). We gaan na welke episode van Fénelons boek tot opera geadapteerd werd, welke aanpassingen hierbij aangebracht en welke motieven beklemtoond werden. We stellen vast dat vooral aandacht besteed werd aan de *gender*-aspecten van Fénelons verhaal. In hoofdstukken I tot VIII herdefinieert de titelheld namelijk zijn viriliteit door de *mollesse* (*mollezza*), voortvloeiend uit de liefde voor de zingende tovenares Calypso, af te wijzen. Deze herdefiniëring vindt haar neerslag in zowel tekst als libretto van *Telemaco*.

In het vijfde hoofdstuk (“Structural Aspects of Operatic Myths: the Case of *L’Ifigenia*”) treden we in de voetsporen van Claude Lévi-Strauss en leggen we structurele processen bloot in Niccolò Jommelli’s *L’Ifigenia* (Rome, 1751). Aan de hand van Lévi-Strauss’ *synchro-diachrone* leesmethode gaan we na hoe Jommelli en zijn librettisten de verschillende tradities van de Iphigeneia in Aulis-mythe permuteerden en aan de hand van de Metastasiaanse canon verrijkten om op de publieke verwachtingen in te spelen.

Het zesde en laatste hoofdstuk (“Frederick’s Athens”) werpt licht op de heropflakking van de mythe in de hervormingsopera na 1750, zij het vanuit een minder vanzelfsprekend perspectief: het hof van Frederik de Grote. Frederik revaloriseerde de mythe in het kader van een Voltairiaanse strijd tegen *l’infâme*, belichaamd door het Piëtisme, maar ook vanuit de wil om opera tot totaalspektakel te herdefiniëren (cf. Krause, 1752; Algarotti, 1755). In uittreksels uit het repertoire van het Königliches Opernhaus in Berlijn (b.v. *Ifigenia in Aulide*, 1748; *Fetonte*, 1750; *Orfeo*, 1752) herontdekken we de bronnen, motieven en gevoeligheden van deze ‘pre-Gluckiaanse’ hervormingsbeweging.

Naast illustratiemateriaal biedt de appendix een exhaustief overzicht van de aanwezigheid van de Greco-Romeinse mythe in de opera tussen 1690 en 1800. Deze database wordt tevens in een *hypertext*-versie meegeleverd.